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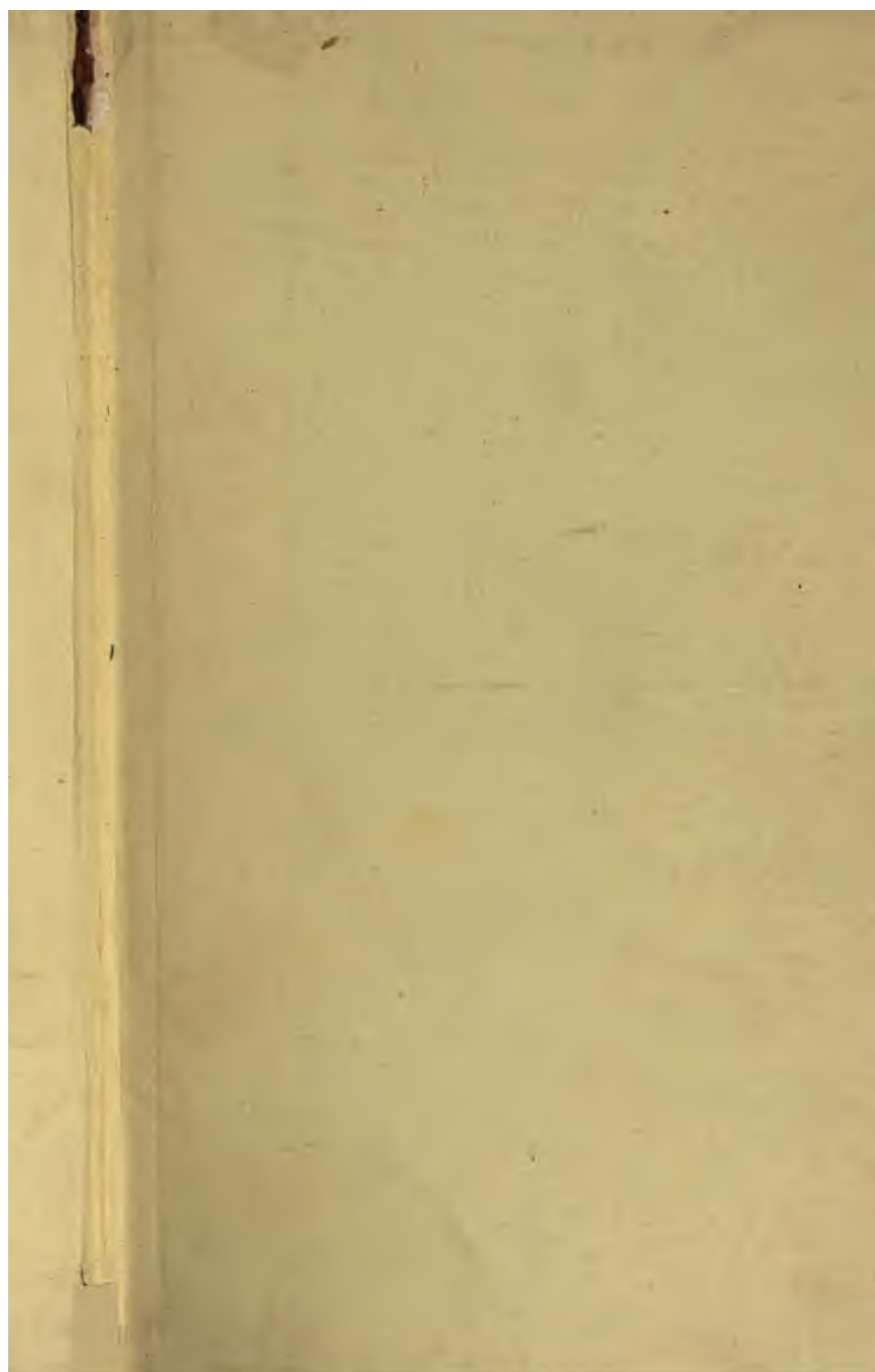
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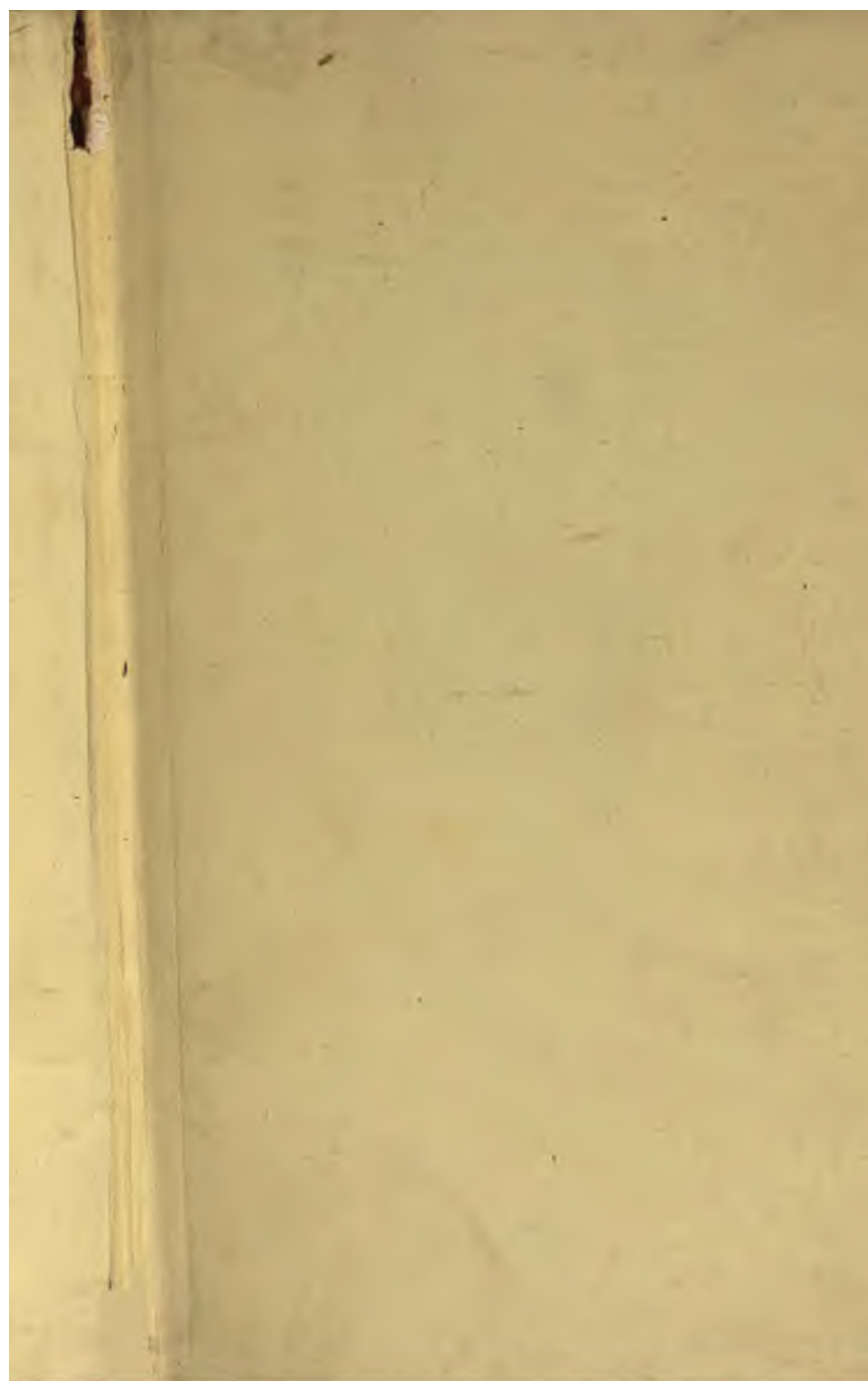














**HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE BUFFS.**



HISTORICAL RECORDS  
OF  
THE BUFFS,  
EAST KENT REGIMENT,  
3RD FOOT,  
FORMERLY DESIGNATED  
THE HOLLAND REGIMENT  
AND  
PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK'S  
REGIMENT.

VOL. I.  
1572—1704.

BY  
CAPTAIN H. R. KNIGHT, *p.s.c.*,  
LATE THE BUFFS.

LONDON :  
GALE & POLDEN, LTD.,  
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## PREFACE.

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If, in compiling the Historical Records of the Buffs, I have digressed somewhat from the narrow limits of regimental records into the regions of political and military history, it has been with the object of showing clearly but briefly the cause and course of the campaigns in which the regiment has played so important and honourable a part for so many years, and the share it has had in making the history of the British nation.

To trace minutely the career of the regiment during the wars of the latter quarter of the seventeenth and the commencement of the eighteenth centuries is a matter of impossibility. The despatches and records of the time are very brief and rarely make mention of individual regiments. Newspapers, as we know them, and war correspondents were non-existent, and for a knowledge of the minor details of these campaigns we are mainly indebted to the diaries of men who took part in them, such as Captain Robert Parker, the Reverend Edward d'Auvergne, Sergeant John Millner, Doctor Hare and others. Regimental casualty rolls are rarely forthcoming, and in them as a rule only officers are mentioned, and these frequently not by name.

As regards the War Office records of the time, in addition to the fact that the books and documents were frequently most carelessly kept, a very large number are not forthcoming, having been lost or destroyed, or taken

away by various Secretaries of State on vacating office.\* The compilation therefore, of an accurate and continuous regimental record is practically impossible.

By the kindness of the Foreign Office and of Sir Henry Howard, K.C.M.G., C.B., H.B.M. Minister at the Hague, I was enabled to obtain access to the Dutch National Records, and I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the kindness which I received from Colonel de Bas, Keeper of the Military Records, and Jhr. Mr. Th. van Riemsdijk, Keeper of the National Archives, who did all in their power to assist me in my researches.

I am much indebted to the authorities at the Public Records Office, at the Reading Room of the British Museum and at the Royal United Service Institution for assistance and advice, and I must also gratefully acknowledge the assistance and information I have derived from the various works which I have quoted, more particularly from Colonel Clifford Walton's History of the British Standing Army, the Honble. J. W. Fortescue's History of the British Army, Sir F. W. Hamilton's History of the First or Grenadier Guards, Colonel D. Mackinnon's History of the Coldstream Guards, Colonel J. Davis' History of the Second Queen's, Colonel L. Edye's Records of the Royal Marines and Professor Charles Dalton's English Army Lists and Commission Registers. To Mr. John Murray my best thanks are due for allowing me to make use of some of the plans in Sir F. W. Hamilton's History of the First or Grenadier Guards.

H. R. KNIGHT.

Naval and Military Club.  
9th March, 1905.

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\* The fact that the papers and documents connected with their office were considered the private property of the various Ministers and Secretaries of State, and were frequently removed by them on vacating office, accounts for the large number of important State Papers to be found among the private collections of manuscripts preserved in the libraries and muniment rooms of so many old family mansions in the country.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
PREFACE - - - - -	v.
LIST OF AUTHORITIES CONSULTED - - - - -	xv.
INTRODUCTION—1572-1664 - - - - -	i
Extract from Cannon's Historical Record of the Third Regiment of Foot, or The Buffs; with Author's notes and references to contemporary Dutch and English State Papers, refuting certain erroneous statements and opinions - - - - -	3

### CHAPTER I.

1664-1665.

- 1664—The close of the career of the British regiments (4 English, 3 Scotch) remaining in the service of the Netherlands towards the end of 1664 and in the early part of 1665—Statement of the number of companies and nominal rolls of the officers of the regiments in question.
- 1665—The birth of a regiment; return to England of the officers and men of four English regiments disbanded in the Netherlands, and their formation into the Holland Regiment, subsequently known as "The Buffs"—Robert Sidney commissioned first colonel—Establishment (6 companies of 100 men each) and rates of pay of the various ranks - - - - - 83

### CHAPTER II.

1665-1666.

- 1665-6—War with Holland—Regiment assigned to service in the fleet and placed on naval payment—Action off

	PAGE.
Lowestoft—Four days' action in the North Sea— Establishment of regiment augmented to 10 companies— Details of the armament of the regiment— Dutch fleet defeated off the mouth of the Thames -	117

## CHAPTER III.

1667-1668-1669.

- 1667—Raising of a new company to replace one transferred to the Barbadoes Regiment—De Ruyter captures Sheerness and attacks Chatham—Establishment of regiment increased by 2 companies—Peace concluded—The regiment discharged from naval payment and constituted part of the land forces—Reduction of establishment to 10 companies of 60 men each.
- 1668—Sir Walter Vane succeeds Colonel Sidney in command of the regiment.
- 1669—Description of regimental uniform, taken from the diary of the Grand Duke Cosmo of Tuscany - - 130

## CHAPTER IV.

1670-1671-1672.

- 1670—Stations of companies—Detachments supplied for service afloat.
- 1671—Three companies detached for service with the Emergency Regiment, formed in anticipation of renewed hostilities with the Dutch, and partly employed in the fleet.
- 1672—War with Holland—Detachments and complete companies furnished for service in the fleet—Action of Southwold Bay—Recruiting in the City of London—Stations of companies—One company detached for service in a regiment in French pay - - - 142

## CHAPTER V.

1673-1674.

- 1673—Establishment of companies augmented—Various encounters at sea off the Dutch coast—Establish-

ment of companies reduced to 60 men—Sir Walter Vane is allowed to accept a major-general's commission in the Dutch service, and is succeeded in the colonelcy by the Earl of Mulgrave.

- 1674—The Earl of Mulgrave's old regiment amalgamated with the Holland Regiment—Stations of companies—Peace concluded—Companies transferred from the Earl of Mulgrave's Regiment disbanded and establishment of remaining companies reduced - - - 163

## CHAPTER VI.

1675-1678.

- 1675—A new company raised to replace that serving in France, which is finally transferred to the French service—Various movements of companies—Order regulating the precedence of regiments.
- 1676—Stations of companies at beginning of year—Drafts furnished for service with the Virginia expedition.
- 1677—An eleventh company added to the establishment of the regiment.
- 1678—Establishment increased to 20 companies of 100 private soldiers each—Second battalion formed—8 companies proceed to Flanders—Various movements of companies—Grenadiers added to the regiment—Battle of St. Denis—Peace of Nimeguen—Second battalion disbanded - - - - - 183

## CHAPTER VII.

1679-1680.

- 1679—Establishment of regiment on disbandment of second battalion—Grenadier companies abolished—Rising in Scotland—Stations of companies.
- 1680—Establishment of regiment for the year—Tangier expedition - - - - - 207



CHAPTER VIII.

1681-1685.

- 1681—Stations of companies.
- 1682—The Earl of Mulgrave deprived of his command—  
Philip Earl of Chesterfield appointed "*Colonell of  
Our Holland Regiment of Foote Guards.*"
- 1683-4—Earl of Chesterfield resigns on a question of the  
precedence of his regiment—The Earl of Mulgrave is  
reinstated in the colonelcy of the regiment—Distribu-  
tion of regiment—Proportion of various arms carried  
—Review on Putney Heath—Extract from Nathan  
Brooks' first printed Army List, giving a list of the  
officers and a description of the dress and of the  
colours.
- 1685—Death of Charles II. - - - - - 222

CHAPTER IX.

1685-1688.

- 1685—List of officers of the Holland Regiment—Grena-  
dier company re-established—Monmouth's rebellion—  
Fresh order regulating the precedence of regiments  
issued—Movements of companies—Earl of Mulgrave  
vacates command of regiment and is succeeded by  
Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe.
- 1686—Establishment revised ; rates of pay and allow-  
ances—Regiment in billets in Southwark—Encamp-  
ment on Hounslow Heath—Movements of Com-  
panies.
- 1687—Change of quarters—List of officers.
- 1688—Encampment on Hounslow Heath—Movements of  
companies—Roll of officers—Description of colours 235

CHAPTER X.

1688.

- 1688—Strength of companies increased—Movements of  
Holland Regiment—Landing in England of William  
III. and flight of James II.—Stations of Holland  
Regiment - - - - - 262

CONTENTS

xi.

PAGE.

CHAPTER XI.

1689-1690.

- 1689—Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe outlawed and deprived of his command, being succeeded by Colonel Charles Churchill—Other changes among the officers on the accession of William III.—Movements of companies—Change of title of regiment—Regiment proceeds to Holland—Battle of Walcourt—In winter quarters at Bruges.
- 1690—Return of regiment to England—Naval battle off Beachy Head—Stations of regiment - - - 277

CHAPTER XII.

1690-1691.

- 1690-1691—Suppression of rising in Ireland and operations in Flanders - - - - - 301

CHAPTER XIII.

1692.

- 1692—Stations of regiment—Return to Flanders—Establishment of regiment—Formations in order of battle—Composition of British force in Flanders—Movements of the French and of the allied forces - - 308

CHAPTER XIV.

Steinkirk, 1692.

- 1692—The eve of the battle—Battle of Steinkirk—Statement of casualties—In winter quarters at Ghent - 319

CHAPTER XV.

Landen, 1693.

- 1693—Movements of the armies in the spring—Strength and composition of the British army in Flanders—Storming of the lines of Dottignies—Description of

	PAGE.
position near Landen—Battle of Landen—Bravery of William III.—Gallant defence of colours—Distribution of army in winter quarters - - - -	331

## CHAPTER XVI.

1694.

1694—Establishment of regiment—Composition of British contingent in Flanders—A campaign of manœuvres -	354
--	-----

## CHAPTER XVII.

1695.

1695—Composition of army in the field in May, 1695—Attack of Knocke—Investment of Namur—Surrender of Dixmuide—Surrender of Namur—In quarters at Ghent - - - - -	365
---	-----

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1696-1697.

1696—Projected invasion of England—Composition of British army in Flanders—Measures for the defence of Bruges—In quarters at Ghent.	
1697—Fall of Ath—Race for Brussels—Peace concluded—Return of army to England—Stations and movements of companies—Reduction of establishment - -	384

## CHAPTER XIX.

1698-1699-1700.

1698-9-1700—Discontent and insubordination in the army—Further reduction of establishment—Composition of the standing army—Movements of companies - -	397
---	-----

## CHAPTER XX.

1702—The Cadiz-Vigo Expedition.

1702—Increase of establishment—Death of William III. and accession of Queen Anne—Regiment detailed for	
--	--

Cadiz expedition—Strength and composition of expeditionary force—Landing and reduction of forts— —Looting—Re-embarkation of troops—Attack on French fleet in Vigo—Return to England—Move- ments and stations of companies—List of officers - -	404
---	-----

## CHAPTER XXI.

1702-1703.

1702-3—Review of course of affairs on the continent.	
1703—Regiment ordered to join Marlborough in Flanders —Arrears of pay—Establishment of regiment—Com- position of army in Flanders—Defence of Tongres— Investment and capture of Huy—Capture of Limburg	428

## CHAPTER XXII.

1704.

1704—Recruiting for the army in England—Goal deliveries —Increase of strength of British contingent in Flanders—Marlborough's march into Germany—Rela- tions between Marlborough and the Margrave of Baden—Strength of allied forces - - - -	444
--	-----

## CHAPTER XXIII.

1704—Schellenberg.

1704—Description of the battlefield—Battle of Schellen- berg—Casualties - - - - -	454
--	-----

## CHAPTER XXIV.

1704.

1704—Movements subsequent to the battle of Schellen- berg— <i>Ordre de Bataille</i> of the British contingent— Preparations for the battle of Blenheim - - -	465
--	-----

## CHAPTER XXV.

1704—Blenheim.

1704—Description of ground—Disposition of allied forces —Disposition of French forces—Battle of Blenheim —Casualties, trophies, and booty, and return of French prisoners taken - - - - -	475
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVI.

1704.

1704—Movements subsequent to battle of Blenheim— Regiment detailed for escort to French prisoners en route for Holland—Capitulation of Ulm—Surrender of Landau and Trarbach—Bounties granted to troops who took part in the battle of Blenheim - - -	497
--	-----

APPENDIX.

Nominal roll, succession and commission list of the officers appointed to the Holland Regiment, after- wards Prince George of Denmark's Regiment, and now The Buffs, from 1665 to 1704; with a note by the Author - - - - -	507
---	-----

INDEX.

MAPS AND PLANS.

Battle of Steinkirk.	
Battle of Landen.	
Attack on Cadiz.	
Descent in the Bay of Vigo.	
Sketch Map to illustrate the Campaigns in Flanders and Brabant.	
Sketch Map to illustrate the Campaign of 1704.	
Battle of Blenheim.	



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N.B.—A considerable number of the old War Office books and documents at the Public Records Office have been recently renumbered.

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## ERRATA.

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- Page 119, line 9, *for* Chirgeon *read* Chirurgeon.  
Page 131, line 22, *for* Miscellany Book *read* Miscellany Order Book.\*  
Page 164, line 16 and note, *for* Miscellany Entry Book *read* Miscellany Order Book.  
Page 173, marginal reference, *for* Mis. Ent. Bk. *read* Mis. O. Bk.  
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Page 216, line 26, *for* Miscellany Entry Book *read* Miscellany Order Book.  
Page 233, line 3, *for* Ens. Jno. Neules *read* Ens. Jno. Meules.  
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Page 285, line 37, *for* soubatteroit *read* souhaitteroit.  
Page 350, line 3 of foot note, *for* that *read* than.  
Page 376, line 34, *for* Naumur *read* Namur.  
Page 388, line 22, *for* Lander *read* Lauder.  
Page 389, line 30, *for* Grammount *read* Grammont.  
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Page 450, line 27, *for* Manheim *read* Mannheim.  
Page 451, line 1, *for* Mondesheim *read* Mondelsheim.
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\* N.B.—The series of old War Office Manuscript Books now preserved at the Public Records Office, which were formerly catalogued as Miscellany *Entry* Books, have recently been classified as Miscellany *Order* Books, and re-numbered.



## INTRODUCTION.

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Little or nothing is known, beyond what we are told by Stow and Sir Roger Williams,\* of the circumstances which attended the raising at Greenwich, on the first of May 1572 of the three hundred volunteers from the troops of the City of London, which small force formed the nucleus of the numerous body of British troops who for some seventy-six years, fought so valiantly in the defence of the United States of the Netherlands against the Spaniards, and who on being finally disbanded in 1664 by the States General, for refusing to forswear their allegiance to the King of England, were in 1665 formed into the Holland Regiment, now known as the Buffs.

If any records were kept at the time, which is doubtful, they have long since been lost or destroyed, and careful researches made at different times among the archives of the City of London, have failed to disclose any information on the subject.

How many of the volunteers on that memorable May day were actually members of the Trained Bands and citizens and freemen of the City of London we cannot tell, but that the majority were Londoners is undoubted, and for many years London contributed a very considerable quota of the recruits raised in England to reinforce the British troops in the Low Countries, the methods used by the City Authorities to obtain them being occasionally summary and drastic.

To trace in detail the career of these troops from 1572 to 1664, would be an undertaking beyond the scope of this work, but a concise and accurate sketch is given by Mr. Cannon (the compiler of the historical records of the British army prepared under the direction of the Adjutant-

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\* "Stow's Annales" and "Actions in the Low Countries," by Sir Roger Williams.



General) in his "Historical Record of the Third Regiment of Foot or The Buffs," published in 1839. That portion of the book dealing with the period in question, is by kind permission of the authorities, reproduced here. Mr. Cannon has however fallen into the popular error, that the English troops in the Netherlands were in 1653, reduced to *one* regiment, which was *then* designated the "*Holland Regiment*," and that it was *recalled, as a regiment*, by Charles II. in 1664.

As will be seen in Chapter I. of this work, the archives both at the Records Office in London, and at the Rijks Archief at the Hague, show conclusively that there were *four English regiments* in the service of the Netherlands until the late autumn of 1664, when they were disbanded under circumstances of considerable hardship, for refusing to forswear their allegiance to Charles II. and to swear fidelity to the States General of the Netherlands. The officers and men who returned to England, were formed into the Holland Regiment in the spring of 1665.

H. R. K.



## EXTRACT FROM :

*“ Historical Record of The Third Regiment of Foot, or The Buffs ; formerly designated The Holland Regiment. Containing an account of its origin in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and of its subsequent services to 1838.”*

*Compiled and prepared for publication under the direction of the Adjutant-General.*

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11th September, 1899).

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This distinguished regiment is the representative of that renowned body of British troops which fought in the glorious cause of civil and religious liberty in the Netherlands, during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James I., and King Charles I., and which by their valour and prowess, during a struggle of more than seventy years, enabled the brave and persevering inhabitants of the “ UNITED PROVINCES ” to wrest their country from Spanish domination, and to obtain from the other powers of Europe an acknowledgment of their independence as a free state.

That extensive and wealthy tract of country, called the Netherlands, was conquered by the Romans before the beginning of the Christian era. On the irruption of the northern nations it was subjected to their sway ; it also composed part of the monarchy of the Franks, which rose on the ruins of Gaul ; and Charlemagne united those countries with the wide empire he formed for himself out of Germany, France, and Lombardy. When Charlemagne’s possessions were divided among his successors, the Netherlands became at one time provinces of Germany, at another of France, and in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries they were divided into a number of petty sovereignties, the heads of which held partly of Germany and partly of France. By marriage, inheritance, or conquest, several of these were frequently united under one chief, and in the fifteenth century almost the whole were

subject to the house of Burgundy. Archduke Maximilian, afterwards Emperor of Germany, married the heiress of this family; his son, Philip I., acquired by marriage the Spanish monarchy; and the next heir, Charles V., was elected to the Imperial crown: thus in the early part of the sixteenth century those extensive provinces had again become part of a vast empire.

1556. Charles V., after governing with despotic sway nearly forty years, resigned his dominions in Spain and the Netherlands\* in 1556 to his son Philip II., who was married to Mary Queen of England; but he could not prevail on the princes of Germany to elect Philip to the Imperial throne; which dignity they conferred on Ferdinand, Charles's brother. Philip having governed the provinces nearly ten years, appointed Margaret, Duchess of Parma, regent; in a short time afterwards the Flemings solicited the aid of the English and Scots against the tyrannical conduct of the cruel and haughty King of Spain; and a British force appeared in Belgium to fight in the cause of freedom, of which the THIRD FOOT is the only remaining corps. This event was occasioned by the following circumstances.

The errors of the church of Rome had brought on the Reformation, and the Protestant religion had extended itself to the Netherlands. Philip II., in conjunction with the Pope, undertook to extirpate this new heresy, as the reformed religion was then designated. He accordingly sent to the Netherlands an inquisition of bishops, whose cruel and sanguinary persecutions excited the Flemings to revolt, particularly in Antwerp.

1568. The king, enraged at the resistance of the Flemings, resolved to govern the Low Country provinces with military and arbitrary authority; for this purpose he employed Ferdinand of Toledo, Duke of Alva, a general who had acquired renown in the wars of Charles V. This commander conducted in 1568 a powerful body of veteran Spaniards from Italy to the Netherlands, and his avowed animosity to the Flemings, with his known ferocious and tyrannical character, struck that people with terror and consternation: their privileges were abolished by edict, and arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals were erected.

The unequivocal tendency of these proceedings to substitute

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\*The Netherlands consisted at this period of the *Duchies* of Brabant, Luxembourg, Limburg, and Guelders, the *Earldoms* of Holland, Zealand, Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Namur, and Zutphen, with the Marquisate of the Empire, and the *Lordships* of Utrecht, Friese, Overysse, Groningen, and Malines, containing two hundred and twenty-five cities and towns, and six thousand five hundred and twenty-nine villages.—*Orlers*.

the inexorable will of a despot for the expansive spirit of freedom induced William, Prince of Orange, who was descended from a sovereign family of great lustre and antiquity in Germany, and had fixed his residence in the Low Countries, where he was respected on account of his personal merit, to oppose the progress of the Spanish usurpations. He had formerly used his influence in allaying the popular tumults at Antwerp, but he now saw the necessity of restraining the proceedings of the Spanish monarch.

1568.

King Philip, being displeased with the prince's conduct, issued on the 18th of January, 1568, a warrant for apprehending him, and on his refusing to appear he was declared a rebel, condemned, and his possessions in the Low Countries were confiscated. The prince appealed to the Emperor, but not obtaining redress, he called upon his friends in Germany, France, and the Netherlands, to aid him in an appeal to arms. Men flocked to his standard from various parts of Europe, and he soon was at the head of upwards of twenty thousand Protestants. With this force he advanced into Brabant; but his newly-raised troops were unable to cope with the veteran Spaniards under the conduct of Alva, and he was forced to retire.

The Duke of Alva cited the Count of Egmont and Count Hoorn to appear before his tribunal, and notwithstanding their great merits and past services they were beheaded in the market-place at Brussels.

Many Protestant families fled from the Netherlands, and took refuge in distant countries. Others, irritated by a complication of cruelty, oppression, insolence, usurpation, and persecution, only awaited a favourable opportunity to free themselves from the Spanish yoke.

Count Ludwig of Nassau, brother of the Prince of Orange, proceeded to Paris to procure succour from Charles IX., and he obtained a promise of aid to a limited extent. He was also countenanced and assisted by the English ambassador; and having collected a few bands of horse and foot he advanced in 1572 into the province of Hainault.

1572.

Among the adventurers who accompanied Count Ludwig was a small band of Englishmen, who, viewing with indignation the cruel proceedings practised upon the Flemings, tendered their services to fight in the cause of civil and religious liberty, and was commanded by a brave and experienced officer, SIR WILLIAM MORGAN;\* this band of volunteers was the van of a

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\**Historia Belgica*; and the Civil Wars in the Netherlands, by Thomas Churchyard, Esq.

1572. more powerful aid which the persecuted Flemings afterwards received. In the attack and capture of *Mons*, the capital of the province of Hainault, on the 24th of May, 1572, and in the defence of this place when it was besieged by the forces of the Duke of Alva, the English under SIR WILLIAM MORGAN gave presage of that ardour and contempt of danger for which they afterwards became celebrated.

When the tide of popular feeling was at its height, the Duke of Alva appointed one of the ready instruments of his cruelties, an Italian, named *Scipio Campi*, governor of the town of Flushing, in the island of Walcheren; he also purposed to have erected a citadel, and to have placed a garrison of Spaniards in the town, to overawe the inhabitants. Soon after the new governor's arrival, the magistrates and burgesses, being alarmed at a report of his designs, demanded to see his commission, and this not satisfying them, they searched his person, and found directions from Alva for several of them to be brought to the scaffold. This discovery aroused their indignation; they immediately hanged the governor and several of his followers, prepared to defend the town, and sent deputies to England to solicit aid.

Queen Elizabeth felt great displeasure at the progress of extermination carried on against the Flemings; and at the erection of so great a military power in a state so near her dominions. Her Majesty was therefore disposed to aid them; but the immense power of the King of Spain, and the great force he maintained in the provinces, induced her to adopt cautious measures. She had given protection to all the Flemings who took shelter in her dominions, many of whom being intelligent and industrious artists and mechanics, much benefit and advantage were derived from the useful manufactures which they introduced into England, and which were previously unknown in the kingdom.

In the month of March of this year the citizens of London had, in obedience to her Majesty's commands, selected from the several companies three thousand men, who were appointed and equipped as "*men at arms*" and "*shot*," in the usual manner, and instructed in the military exercises by experienced officers. On the 1st May they were mustered and exercised in presence of Her Majesty at Greenwich,\* and among them were many veteran officers and soldiers, who had served in Ireland, Scotland and France, but were at this period unem-

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\*The five and twenty and six and twenty of March, by the Commandment of the Queenes Majesty her counsell, the citizens of London assembling at their severall hals, the maisters chose out the most likely and active

ployed. CAPTAIN THOMAS MORGAN, an officer of distinguished merit, being privately countenanced by several noblemen and other persons who were favourable to the Flemish cause, and assisted with money by the deputation from Flushing, raised a company of three hundred men, among whom were upwards of one hundred gentlemen of property, who, being inspired with a noble enthusiasm for the cause of religion and liberty, enrolled themselves under the veteran CAPTAIN MORGAN.\* This company was the nucleus of a numerous body of British troops, which after the peace of Munster in 1648 was reduced to one regiment, and having been recalled to England in 1665 is now the THIRD REGIMENT OF FOOT, OR THE BUFFS.

1572.

N.B.—This statement is inaccurate. There were four English and three Scotch regiments in the Dutch service

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persons of every their companies, to the number of three thousand, whom they appointed to be pikemen and shot, the pikemen were forthwith armed in faire collets and other furniture, according thereunto: the gunners had every of them his caviler, with the furniture, and murrians on their heads. To these were appointed divers valliant capitaines, who to train them up in warlike feates mustered them thrise every weeke, sometimes in the artillery yard, teaching the gunners to handle their peece, sometimes at the Miles end, and in Saint Georges field, teaching them to skirmish. In the which skirmish on the Miles end, the tenth day of Aprill, one of the gunners of the Goldsmithes company, was shot in the side with a peece of a scouring sticke, left in one of the calivers, whereof he died, and was buried the twelfth of Aprill in Saint Pauls churchyard, all the gunners marching from the Miles end, in battell ray shot off their calivers at his grave.

#### MUSTER AT GREENEWICH.

On May day they mustered at Greenwich before the queenes maiesty, when they shewed many warlike feates, but were hindered by the weather, which was all day showering, they returned that night to London, and were discharged on the next morrow.—*Stow's Annales*.

- \* "At this time there was a fair muster of Londoners before the Queenes Maiestie at Greenwich. Amongst the Londoners were divers Capitaines and souldiers, who had served some in Scotland, some in Ireland, some in France. And having nothing to doe, with the countenance of some great men who favoured the cause, and the small helpes of the deputies of Flushing, Capitaine Thomas Morgan levied a faire company of three hundred strong; amongst whom were divers officers who had commanded before, with many Gentlemen, at the least above one hundred, amongst which myself was one. This band was the first that served the Neatherlanders; I meane since Duke d'Alva came to be Governor and Capitaine Generall of the Neatherlands. Capitaine Morgan and his company arrived in good time: for at his arrival Flushing was in great distresse."

"Actions in the Lowe Countries," by Sir Roger Williams, who was a soldier of Captain Morgans company.

1572. until 1664. They were disbanded in the winter of that year, and the officers and men of the English regiments which returned to England were in the spring of 1665 formed into the Holland Regiment (now the Buffs) on the English establishment. Vide Chapter I. of this work.—  
H. R. K.

The company, thus formed, immediately embarked for *Flushing*, and arrived on the eve of a meditated attack on the town by the Duke of Alva's troops, when the Spaniards, intimidated by the appearance of this resolute band of Englishmen, immediately desisted, until they received an accession of numbers.

The English did not remain many days at *Flushing* before an eager spirit of enterprise led them to make sorties on the enemy, and they soon acquired the character of valiant men; they also gained, by their peaceful and orderly demeanour towards the inhabitants, the esteem of the magistrates and burghers, who were desirous of having CAPTAIN MORGAN for their governor.

Previous to the arrival of CAPTAIN MORGAN's company at *Flushing*, the Count de la Marke, and several other persons who had fled to England, procured a number of English and Scots seamen, and Flemish exiles, and having equipped a small fleet, sailed for the coast of Holland. Arriving at the *Briel*, they landed, and advanced against the town, in military parade, with drums and trumpets, and with colours flying, made an attack on the gate. The Spanish garrison fled towards *Rotterdam*. The people, being delivered from the presence of their oppressors, flew to arms, and in a few days almost the whole province of Holland and that of *Zealand* had revolted from the Spaniards, and had openly declared against the tyranny of Alva. The Prince of Orange united the revolted towns into a LEAGUE, and thus laid the foundation of the Dutch republic.

In the mean time SIR HUMPHRY GILBERT, a gentleman of great bravery and personal merit, but of little skill in military affairs, had engaged with the burghers of *Flushing* to aid them with fifteen hundred English, in addition to the three hundred who had previously arrived under CAPTAIN MORGAN, and so great was the popular feeling in England in favour of the cause of the persecuted Flemings that ten companies (or ensigns)\* of foot of one hundred and fifty men each, were raised in a few

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\* Companies of foot were at this period styled *ensigns*, and troops of horse were called *cornets*.

days, and arrived at Flushing, to the great joy of the inhabitants. A few ensigns of French and Walloons had previously arrived, and the town was not only considered out of danger from the Spaniards, but part of the force was disposable for other services. 1572.

During this period the troops in Mons, of which SIR WILLIAM MORGAN and a band of gallant English volunteers formed a part, were defending the town against the power of Spain with signal intrepidity; and SIR HUMPHRY GILBERT resolved to make an incursion into Flanders in order to divert the attention of the enemy. He sailed from Flushing with fourteen hundred English, six hundred French, and four hundred Flemings, and after an ineffectual attempt on Sluys and Bruges, captured a Spanish convoy with sixteen pieces of artillery and several ammunition waggons.

While engaged in these services information was received of the surrender of Mons, and of the advance of twenty ensigns of Spanish foot and several cornets of horse towards Bruges, when SIR HUMPHRY GILBERT retreated to the coast and embarked. An attempt was afterwards made by this small force on the town of *Ter-Goës* in the island of South Beveland, in which the newly-raised English displayed more valour than military skill, and the attack having failed the troops returned to Walcheren.

After landing on the island, the English took post at *Southland*. Don Rufello, the Spanish governor of Middleburg, sallied out of that city in the night, with two thousand men, to surprise the troops in their quarters, and such was the savage barbarity with which this warfare was conducted, that he brought with him a number of ropes, designing to hang on the spot all the English whom he should take prisoners; but an alarm having been given, the men seized their weapons and assembled in the market-place. The veteran Spaniards came on with daring audacity, expecting to gain an easy victory, but were charged by a body of English pikemen and halberdiers; a fierce conflict took place in the street; fresh combatants came running forward; the battle increased; many were slain on both sides, and two English ensign-bearers had their colour-staves broken in the conflict, but preserved their colours; and, eventually, the Spaniards were overpowered and pursued half the way to Middleburg, and numbers taken prisoners. The English soldiers were enraged at finding the Spaniards in possession of so great a number of ropes, and being informed of the use for which these cords were intended, they hanged the captives in their own halters.\*

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\* Sir Roger Williams.



1572. Encouraged by this success SIR HUMPHRY GILBERT made a second attempt on *Ter-Goës*; the troops, having made good their landing, drove the Spaniards into the town, and commenced the siege in high spirits; a breach having been made, CAPTAIN MORGAN'S company highly distinguished itself in a midnight assault; a body of French also behaved well, but, owing to difficulties which could not be overcome, the attack did not succeed. The garrison made a resolute defence, and a body of Spaniards and Walloons having marched seven miles through the water, from Bergen-op-Zoom across a ford which was never before deemed practicable, succeeded in relieving the town, when the besieging army quitted the island, and SIR HUMPHRY GILBERT returned to England.

The Prince of Orange had, in the mean time, garrisoned several towns in Holland, and he urged the inhabitants by every motive which religious zeal, resentment, or love of freedom could inspire, to make a vigorous resistance against the power of Spain. At the same time the Duke of Alva having assembled an immense army at Brussels, advanced towards Holland; he crossed the Waal and the Rhine in the depth of winter, and besieged *Haerlem*, where two hundred English were in garrison, with Scots, French, and Flemings, amounting to about three thousand men. The burghers were also armed, and such were the zeal and enthusiasm which prevailed among the Hollanders that three hundred women enrolled themselves in a company under Mrs. Margaret Kenault to fight in the cause of liberty.\*

1573. The besieged made a desperate defence, and frequently sallied and attacked the Spaniards with varied success. During the progress of the siege a company of English arrived in the vicinity of the town from Flushing; ten newly-raised companies also arrived from England, which were constituted a regiment, and CAPTAIN THOMAS MORGAN was appointed its colonel. The Prince of Orange was most anxious to relieve the place, and he sent a number of armed burghers to join his troops under the Baron of Battenburgh. This general had about six hundred horse and six thousand foot under his orders, including the armed burghers, and with this force he advanced with more valour than discretion against the besieging army of twenty-six thousand veterans. The English, Scots, and French formed the leading column, and behaved well; but the result was a complete overthrow, in which the baron was killed.

After defending the town for seven months with great bravery the besieged were forced by famine to surrender in the middle

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\* Sir Roger Williams.

of August, 1573, and the Spaniards revenged the immense loss of life, which the siege had occasioned in their army, by the execution of more than two thousand of the inhabitants. This extreme severity, instead of striking the Hollanders with terror, rendered them desperate; and when the Duke of Alva besieged *Alkmaër* he encountered a vigorous resistance, which he could not withstand, and having been finally repulsed, the Hollanders discovered that their insolent enemies were not invincible.

1573.

Among the troops who distinguished themselves in the defence of this place, was a body of gallant Scots, who had previously performed excellent service in the defence of *Haerlem*. One Scottish ensign-bearer, named Cornelius, is stated to have killed above twenty Spaniards with his own hands while resisting an attack on the town.\*

While the Duke of Alva was engaged in the siege of *Alkmaër*, a few companies of English, Scots, French and Flemings embarked from Dort, in Holland, under Colonel de Poyet, and having landed in the night on the coast of North Brabant, attacked and carried the town of *Gertruydenberg* by escalade at daybreak, and put the garrison to the sword; the governor and a few men only escaped over the wall and fled to Breda. At the same time COLONEL MORGAN's regiment and several Scots companies were engaged in repulsing the attack of a detached Spanish division on *Delft*, and other places between Rotterdam and Leyden, in which service CAPTAIN CHESTER highly distinguished himself at the head of two hundred English men-at-arms, for which he was promoted by the Prince of Orange to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

The steady resolution of the Hollanders and Zealanders, with the bravery of the daring English, Scots, and French adventurers who fought against the power of Spain, defeated the designs of the tyrannical Duke of Alva, who, finding at last the pernicious effects of his violent councils, solicited to be recalled; and his request being acceded to, he departed from the Netherlands in 1574.

1574.

Louis de Requesens, commendator of Castile, was sent from Italy to replace the Duke of Alva, but, though a man of milder disposition, he could not appease the violent hatred which the revolted Hollanders had conceived against the Spanish government, and the war was continued with as much obstinacy as before evinced.

The Zealanders being desirous of capturing *Middleburg*, the capital of the province, COLONEL MORGAN's English regiment

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\* History of the Netherlands, by Edward Grimston, Serjeant at Arms.

1574-

and a few Scottish ensigns were sent from Holland to the Island of Walcheren to engage in this service. A Spanish fleet arrived, and having landed a body of troops, there was no force on the island sufficient to prevent their relieving the town, but, in retiring, the Spaniards were engaged in a sharp skirmish with MORGAN's men; and the English, though repulsed in the first onset, came off victorious. The Spaniards retreated to their shipping, designing to sail to Antwerp, and the English and Scots requested to be permitted to embark on board the Holland and Zealand fleet and fight their adversaries at sea. The Flemish admiral, being a valiant seaman, consented; the troops embarked; and the fleet pursued the enemy. CAPTAIN YORKE, being on board the vice-admiral's ship with COLONEL MORGAN's company of English, boarded the Spanish vice-admiral's ship with the native energy and resolution of Britons. A valiant Scottish captain, named ROBINSON, having embarked his men in a good Flushing vessel, boarded the enemy's rear-admiral with signal gallantry. The other vessels behaved with equal intrepidity; the English, Scots, French, and Flemings fought manfully:—thirty Spanish vessels were destroyed, and the victors returned in triumph, bringing with them the Spanish vice-admiral's, rear-admiral's, and several other ships.

The constant presence of a military force was required at this period in Ireland, in consequence of the aid privately given to the insurgents in that country, from time to time, by the Pope of Rome and King of Spain; the English government availed itself, therefore, of the military experience acquired by Her Majesty's subjects in the Low Countries, and COLONEL MORGAN was withdrawn from Holland with seven hundred men of his regiment, who were reviewed by Queen Elizabeth near St. James's palace, and the colonel was sent with four hundred men to Ireland. Sir Roger Williams states, that these were the first good harquebusiers who had been seen in England, and their activity and dexterous use of fire-arms brought the musket and harquebus into more general use in Her Majesty's dominions.

In the meantime, the siege of *Middleburg* in Zeeland, in which part of the English troops was engaged, was continued, and the Spaniards were forced to surrender.

While this siege was in progress, the Prince of Orange sent Lieut.-Colonel Edward Chester with ten English ensigns to assist in the defence of the city of *Leyden*. This officer having acquired some practical knowledge in war, urged the citizens to provide magazines of provisions, &c.; but a delay occurred, and in the meanwhile a powerful Spanish army arrived and invested the place. A desperate defence was made; but five

English ensigns were forced to quit the town for want of provisions. At length the Hollanders opened the dykes and sluices, and the peasants were active in ruining their fields by inundation rather than again fall under the hated tyranny of Spain;—these proceedings forced the Spaniards to raise the siege. 1574.

To reward the brave and successful resistance of the inhabitants, an university was erected at Leyden in the following year (1575); and the anniversary of the deliverance of the city is still commemorated by public rejoicings. 1575.

Notwithstanding this repulse, the governor, Requesens, still pursued the war, and the contest seemed too unequal between so mighty a monarchy as Spain and two small provinces, however fortified by nature, and defended by the resolution of the natives, aided by the troops of other nations, who voluntarily fought in the cause of liberty. The Prince of Orange resolved, therefore, to sue for foreign succour, and to make application to one or other of his great neighbours,—the sovereigns of France or England. France at this period was torn by domestic dissensions, and had not leisure or ability to pay regard to foreign interests. A solemn embassy was therefore sent to London by the States of the two provinces of Holland and Zealand, and, after the most humble supplications to Queen Elizabeth, they offered her the possession and sovereignty of the two provinces if she would exert her power in their behalf.

Although many motives might have induced the queen to accept of this liberal offer, yet as she had never entertained the ambition of making conquests, or gaining new acquisitions, her system of policy being to maintain by frugal and cautious expedients the tranquillity of her dominions, she refused the sovereignty proffered her; but in return for the good will which the Prince of Orange and the States had shown her, she endeavoured to mediate for them an agreement with the King of Spain. Philip appeared to entertain this negociation in good part; but no agreement ensued, and the war in the Netherlands was continued with the same rage and violence as before.

The governor, Requesens, dying suddenly, the Spanish troops became discontented for want of pay, and licentious by the want of an able commander. They mutinied against their superiors, plundered the cities of Maestricht and Antwerp, slaughtered many of the inhabitants, and menaced other towns with the same fate. All the provinces, except Luxembourg, united for mutual defence, and called in the Prince of Orange and the Hollanders as their protectors. Several skirmishes occurred; and Colonel Balfour encountering a Spanish division near Liege, 1576.

1576. broke the enemy's ranks by a furious charge of his Scottish bands, and put the mutineers to flight. At length a treaty, commonly called the *Pacification of Ghent*, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the restoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces stipulated to pursue.

1577. Don John of Austria, natural brother to Philip, was appointed governor, and finding on his arrival at Luxembourg, that the States had so fortified themselves, and that the Spanish troops were so divided by their situation, that there was no possibility of resistance, he agreed to the terms required of him. The Spaniards evacuated the country, and the provinces were freed for a short period from their calamities.

It was not, however, easy to establish a peace, while the councils of popish priests and the thirst of revenge and dominion governed the King of Spain, and the Flemings were agitated with resentment of past, and fear of future injuries. The ambition of Don John, who coveted this great theatre for his military talents, led him rather to inflame than to appease the quarrel, and as he found the States determined to impose very strict limitations to his authority, he broke all the articles, seized Namur, and procured the recall of the Spanish army from Italy.

The cause of the persecuted Flemings continued as popular in England as before; the English companies in their service were recruited; and CAPTAIN JOHN NORRIS, second son of Lord Henry Norris, a gallant young man, who had already distinguished himself in Ireland, engaged a choice band of three hundred men to accompany him to the seat of war. This company sailed in July, 1577, to Dunkirk; they were equipped with the best weapons and armour which could be procured, and marched across the country to Antwerp, where the Prince of Orange then resided, and was actively engaged in levying an army to resist the power of Spain.

Don John was also employed in making preparations for war. This prince, endowed with a lofty genius, and elated by the successes of his youth, had opened his mind to vast undertakings, and looking much beyond the conquest of the revolted provinces, had projected to espouse Mary, Queen of Scots, and to acquire, in her right, the dominion of the British kingdoms.

Queen Elizabeth, aware of these intentions, and seeing now, from the union of all the provinces, a prospect of their making a vigorous defence against Spain, no longer scrupled to engage in the protection of their liberties, which seemed so intimately connected with her own safety. After sending them twenty

thousand pounds for the pay of their troops, she concluded a treaty of alliance with them on the 7th of January, 1578, in which she stipulated to assist them with five thousand foot and one thousand horse, at the charge of the Flemings, and to lend them £100,000 on receiving the bonds of some of the most considerable towns of the Netherlands for its repayment within the year. It was further agreed that the commander of the English army should be admitted into the council of the States, and nothing be determined concerning war or peace without previously informing the queen or him of it; that they should enter into no league without her consent; that, if any discord arose among themselves, it should be referred to her arbitration; and that, if any prince, on any pretext, should attempt hostilities against her, they should send to her assistance an army equal to that which she had employed in their defence.

1578.

The queen represented, through her ambassador Thomas Wilkes, to the king of Spain, that, by entering into this treaty with the States of the Netherlands, she had prevented them from throwing themselves into the arms of France; that she had religiously acted the part of a good neighbour and ally; had refused the sovereignty of Holland and Zeeland when offered her; and had advised the Prince of Orange to submit to the king. On the other hand she required that Don John, whom she could not but regard as her mortal enemy, should be recalled; that the Spanish army should be withdrawn; and that the Flemings should be restored to their ancient liberties and privileges.

King Philip dissembled his resentment against the queen; but his resolutions to exterminate the Protestant religion, and to subvert the privileges of the Flemings, remained unabated; and he continued to supply Don John with money and troops.

During the summer of 1578 the army of the States took the field; the English regiments were commanded by Colonels Norris, Morgan, Cavendish, and Cotton; and part of the army encamped at *Reminant*, near Malines. Don John, whose army lay at Louvain, sent two soldiers in disguise to set fire to the houses near the camp, designing, while every person's attention was thus engaged, to surprise the army with his whole force; but his spies were detected and imprisoned. The Spanish commander, ignorant of this event, marched out of Louvain, and about nine o'clock on the morning of the 1st of August his van-guard of arquebusiers approached the camp, and were engaged in a sharp skirmish with the "shot" of COLONEL CAVENDISH's regiment. The English drove back their adversaries across several fields to a large heath, where the main

1578. body of the Spanish army appeared in order of battle. Fresh troops advanced and renewed the conflict; and the Spaniards, extending their attack to the left, encountered a body of gallant Scots, under Colonel Stewart. The Scots displayed their usual valour, and, owing to the heat of the weather, they had left their armour and doublets in their tents, and fought in their shirts;\* being attacked by very superior numbers, they were forced to retire to the camp; but during their retrograde movement they disputed every defensible spot of ground with great bravery. The Spaniards advanced in great force against CAVENDISH'S arquebusiers, and the latter, extending themselves along the fields, held their adversaries in check for two hours, but were nearly overpowered, when COLONEL NORRIS arrived with eleven companies of English from Brookam, and restored the fight. The Spaniards brought forward a large body of armed men to charge, when Captain Bingham, with a company of English, took post on a small hill, and, after sustaining the charge of the Spanish men-at-arms, he was driven from thence to the main road, where a sanguinary contest was maintained with unequal numbers. "LIEUTENANT WILLIAM MARKHAM, "a Nottinghamshire man, stern of countenance, strong of hands, "and courageous of heart, like a lion, casting down, overthrow- "ing, and overmatching whomsoever he met with,"† made great havoc among the ranks of his foes. Three brothers of the name of BINGHAM also highly distinguished themselves in close combat; and COLONEL NORRIS was seen, like another Hector, cutting down his adversaries with dreadful carnage. One small band of Englishmen was completely surrounded, but sold their lives at a dear rate. Thrice the Spaniards drove back the English, and thrice the English renewed the fight with an obstinacy which knew not how to yield. COLONEL NORRIS had three horses killed under him, yet he continued the combat. After a furious and well-contested engagement, the Spaniards were driven back, and retreated. The States sent letters to England, in which they commended the conduct of the English in strong terms, and especially the distinguished valour of COLONEL NORRIS and LIEUTENANT MARKHAM.

Notwithstanding this repulse, Don John gained considerable advantage over the Flemings and a body of Germans, (paid by Queen Elizabeth, and conducted to the Netherlands by Prince Casimir,) at *Gemblours*; on which occasion the Scottish Colonel Balfour was severely wounded: but Don John was cut off in

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\* Meteren, a Dutch historian, De Thou, Lord Bacon, &c.

† Churchyard's Civil Wars in the Netherlands.

the midst of his prosperity by poison, given him secretly, as was suspected, by orders from King Philip, who dreaded his ambition. 1578.

The Prince of Parma was next appointed to the command of the Spanish army, and he united valour and clemency,—negociation and military exploits. Opposed to him, Archduke Matthias commanded in chief the army of the United Provinces; and COLONEL NORRIS commanded the English and Scots.

During the campaign of 1579 a body of Scots, commanded by COLONEL BALFOUR, surprised *Menin*, and took the Spanish and Walloon garrison prisoners, with little loss. At the same time COLONEL NORRIS was engaged in several skirmishes in Brabant and Holland. 1579.

In October the enemy's general Lelain besieged *Steenwick*, a town of Overysse, on the confines of Friesland, with twelve hundred select lancers, and twenty-eight ensigns of foot; and the governor, having a weak garrison, sent to the States for aid. A small band of light horse and four ensigns of foot were sent, but these were waylaid and cut to pieces by the enemy. A second relief of five ensigns was sent, and experienced the same fate. The States called COLONEL NORRIS from Brabant, and, having promoted him to the rank of a general officer, sent him with two thousand men, including a small band of English cuirassiers under Lieutenant Roger Williams, to relieve the town. While on the march he encountered a band of Spaniards under Othon Sanches, which he overthrew and destroyed, on the 15th of December. The besieging army detached five cornets of lancers and eleven ensigns of foot to meet the English general, and an engagement taking place near the river Aa, the valiant NORRIS overthrew his adversaries and captured two ensigns. The enemy fled across the river on the ice, which broke under them, and numbers were drowned; in their haste to escape they threw away their armour, and a sufficient quantity was collected by the English to equip five hundred men. NORRIS afterwards attacked the enemy's entrenchments, gained some advantage, and threw a relief into the town.

The English general encamped at *St. John's* to watch the progress of the besieging army; and one of the enemy's principal officers, named Thomas of Alba, sent him a challenge to single combat with lance and sword. Lieutenant Williams requested to be allowed to fight the challenger, but NORRIS resolved to enter the lists himself. The combat took place between the two armies; but, both these valiant champions being expert with lance and sword, and completely cased in armour, after several fierce encounters they were separated. 1580.



1580. The enemy, having great superiority of numbers, surrounded the camp at *St. John's*, and, unable to overcome NORRIS's men in open fight, sought to accomplish their destruction by famine ; but a relief was obtained from Friesland, and the English general succeeded in throwing another supply into Steenwick. The Spaniards raised the siege during the night of the 23rd of February, and NORRIS marched to Brabant.

In the beginning of April, 1580, NORRIS, having assembled his English bands at Liere, on the river Nethe, procured the co-operation of Leven's and Temple's horse and foot from Brussels, and, surprising *Malines* during the night of the 9th of April, attacked and captured the place by escalade. While storming the walls, NORRIS encountered a Spanish friar, a tall stout fellow in armour, and slew him in single combat.

About five months afterwards GENERAL NORRIS marched, at the head of three cornets of horse and thirty ensigns of foot, into Friesland, to arrest the progress of the Spanish general Verdugo, and the opposing armies engaged at *Northorn* on the 30th of September. Captain Roger Williams highly distinguished himself at the head of the English cuirassiers, and overthrew and routed the enemy's van-guard ; Sir Thomas Morgan's regiment of foot behaved well ; but Verdugo, having great advantage of ground, charged, at a critical moment, with two cornets of chosen lancers, and broke through the Flemish foot. This produced confusion and disorder ; GENERAL NORRIS was shot through the hand with a musket-ball ; and his army was routed and sustained a severe loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

1581. After this disaster the fortune of the war was in favour of the Prince of Parma, who advanced the progress of the Spaniards by his arts as well as by his arms. During the two succeeding years the army of the States was commanded by the Prince of Orange, who sent an agent to Scotland in 1581 to compliment King James VI. on the valour displayed by the Scottish troops.

1582. In 1582 Francis Duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III. of France, after visiting England and conferring with Queen Elizabeth, whom he had purposed to have married, proceeded to the Netherlands, and was created Duke of Brabant ; he was also appointed to the chief command of the army of the States, and governor of the United Provinces. He procured from his brother the assistance of four thousand French troops, and gained the esteem of many of the Flemings by the appearance of devotion to their interests.

1583. In August, 1583, the Duke of Anjou and the Prince of Orange took up their quarters at *Ghent* ; and five thousand English,

Scots, French, and Dutch, were encamped within a few miles of the town. The Prince of Parma advanced against them with a powerful army, and they were ordered to retreat. GENERAL NORRIS covered this retrograde movement with his own regiment of seven ensigns, amounting to about a thousand men, and three cornets of horse, and fought the Spanish army from sun-rise to sun-set, still fighting and retreating until he arrived under the fortifications of Ghent. The Duke of Anjou and the Prince of Orange beheld the skirmish from the walls, and highly applauded the conduct of the English bands; several French officers and soldiers issued from the town, and joined in the contest, accounting it an honour to be permitted to fight under NORRIS's banners.

1583.

The States were, however, in danger of losing their liberties, from the means by which they had thought to establish them. The Duke of Anjou, urged by a restless ambition, and encouraged by pernicious counsels, sought to make himself absolute in the Netherlands. He had placed French garrisons in several fortified towns; but his conduct aroused the jealousy and excited the indignation of the resolute Flemings. The burghers of Antwerp revolted against his authority, and, after a sharp conflict between them and the French soldiers, in which numbers were slain on both sides, he fled to Dendermond. Here he was besieged by GENERAL NORRIS with twenty-three ensigns of English and Scottish foot, and forced to enter into a treaty with the States, and to surrender the towns which he had seized upon. He soon afterwards retired to France, where he died in the same year, and the Prince of Orange was again placed in the chief command of the army of the United Provinces.

This event had a natural tendency to distract the councils, and weaken the efforts, of the States in their resistance to their common enemy; at the same time their forces were inferior in numbers to their adversaries, and the Prince of Parma continued to prosecute the war with skill and vigour; thus, notwithstanding the intrepidity and valour of corps and individuals, the Spaniards were enabled to recover possession of several places of strength and importance. These reverses gave opportunity to the British corps to display their native physical powers and contempt of danger; and in 1584, when the Spaniards besieged *Fort Lillo* on the Scheldt, such a defence was made by Teligny, and by COLONEL BALFOUR, who had only four companies of Scots there under his command, that the Spaniards, after losing three weeks' time, and two thousand men, before this small fort, were forced to change the siege into a blockade.

1584.

1584. From the time that William I., Prince of Orange, stood forth as the champion of the Protestant Flemings, he had been considered by the Pope and King of Spain as an excommunicated and outlawed rebel, and numerous stratagems had been conceived to deprive him of life. The doctrines promulgated at this period by the clergy of the church of Rome, setting forth the merit of assassinating heretical princes, instigated desperate characters to engage in these diabolical practices; the scruples of conscience were allayed by the jesuitical publications which issued from the press, and the assassin usually obtained the benediction of an ecclesiastical dignitary before he proceeded in the execution of his undertaking. Attempts were made on the life of Queen Elizabeth, which were happily discovered and frustrated. Four desperadoes had already failed in their designs against the Prince of Orange; but the fifth, *Beltazar Gerard*, a Burgundian, succeeded in taking away the life of this famous restorer and protector of religious liberty, at Delft, in June, 1584.

The loss of this excellent prince and brave patriot produced a feeling of alarm and consternation throughout the confederate States. The Prince of Parma had already succeeded in wresting from them several fortified towns, and in reducing a considerable portion of territory to subjection to the Spanish authority; and he besieged Antwerp, the richest and most populous city of the Netherlands,—the subjection of which would, it was foreseen, give a serious blow to the already declining affairs of the United Provinces. Their only hope arose from the prospect of foreign succour. Being well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Queen Elizabeth, they applied to Henry III. of France; but that monarch was intimidated by the Catholic league, and the immense power of Spain, at this period the most potent state in Europe; and he dreaded the danger of associating himself with the Protestants of the Low Countries.

1585. The States, being reduced to this extremity, sent another solemn embassy to England, which arrived in London on the 26th of June, 1585, and obtained an audience of Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich Palace, on the 29th of that month. After representing to Her Majesty the evils suffered by their country from the violation of every privilege enjoyed by their ancestors, and from the sanguinary decrees issued by the King of Spain for the extermination of the Protestants, with the ill condition of their affairs since the death of the Prince of Orange, they tendered, a second time, the sovereignty of the Provinces to the Queen, on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. Her Majesty again declined the acceptance of this

1585.

addition to her dominions ; but, evincing a generous sympathy for the persecuted Flemings, whose interests she deemed closely connected with her own, determined not to permit, without opposition, the entire subjugation of the provinces to the tyranny and despotic sway of Spain. The Queen foresaw that, if she espoused the cause of these provinces, open hostility with King Philip was inevitable ; but, when she saw an evident necessity, she braved danger with magnanimous courage, and, trusting to her own wisdom, and the affections of her subjects, prepared herself to resist, and even to assault, the whole power of the Catholic monarch. A treaty was concluded with the States, and Her Majesty agreed to send an army of one thousand horse and five thousand foot to their assistance, and to pay them during the war, on condition that the general, and two others, whom she should appoint, should be admitted into the council of the States ; that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other ; that the Queen's expenses should be refunded after the conclusion of the war, and that the towns of Flushing, Bergen-op-Zoom, and the Briel, with the castle of Rammekins, should be consigned into her hands by way of security.

The States sent GENERAL SIR JOHN NORRIS to England to aid in the embodying of the new levies into corps, and the Queen employed this distinguished officer in superintending the equipment and arming of the several companies. Each county furnished a proportion ; the Livery Companies of the city of London also provided each a limited number of men for this service.\*

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\* On the three and twentieth of Julie certaine souldiers were pressed in the severall wards of the citie of London, which souldiers being furnished for the warres and clothed in red cotes, at all the charges of the companies and citizens set forth toward the seas on the thirteenth of August, and were transported over into Holland, Zeland, etc. : as other the like souldiers out of other parts of the realme before had beene, to serve for the defense of the low countries under Generall Norris and other approved captains.—*Holinshead (Stow's Annales)*.

In 1596 while the Lord Mayor and aldermen were hearing a sermon at Paul's Cross they received a letter from the Queen ordering them to furnish a thousand men for immediate service. They left their devotions, and exerted themselves with so much diligence that they had the number completed by eight o'clock that same evening, and armed and ready to march early next morning. They were destined to reinforce the French garrison besieged by the Spaniards in Calais, but the order being that very afternoon countermanded, this little corps was disbanded within a few hours from its formation. Similar orders were issued on the morning of Easter day ; upon which the chief magistrate, attended by proper officers,

1585. SIR JOHN NORRIS, having obtained the reinforcements, took leave of the Queen, and returned to Holland; and, after placing garrisons in the cautionary towns, he employed himself in clearing the borders of the Rhine of the enemy's detachments. His first attack was made on a strong fort at the junction of the river Yssel with the Rhine, near *Arnhem*, where on the 15th of October, 1585, the brave Captain Hennings, and several other Englishmen, obtained renown at the expense of their lives. After the capture of this place, NORRIS advanced with his English bands to the vicinity of *Nimeguen*, where he reduced another of the enemy's forts, and thus opened the navigation with the interior of Germany, from whence supplies were obtained for the English camp.

Although the usual season for military operations was past, yet the English general resolved to continue in the field as long as the winter would permit, and, setting his men to work with spades and pickaxes, with immense labour and industry he threw up a high mound, on the top of which he planted his cannon and fired upon the city of *Nimeguen*. The Prince of Parma assembled a body of troops, and advanced against the English general; and on the 15th November the Spanish ensigns were seen approaching in order of battle. NORRIS formed his bands for the conflict, and, after encouraging the men in a short speech to follow his example and prove themselves descendants of the heroes of Crècy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, he led forward a body of "men-at-arms" against the van of the Spanish army, which was instantly overpowered, and, by their falling back on the main body, the whole was thrown into confusion. The English followed up their first advantage—their adversaries were routed—three thousand Spaniards fell in the fight and during the pursuit, and nine ensigns were captured. The severity of the weather preventing further operations, NORRIS placed his troops in garrisons, and proceeded to the Briel, of which city he had been appointed governor by Queen Elizabeth; and on his arrival he was greeted with the acclamations of the people, the ringing of bells, and a salute from the guns of the fortifications.

During the winter Queen Elizabeth sent an additional body of troops to the Netherlands; the total number which Her Majesty furnished, amounted, according to Hollinshed's Chronicle, to

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went from church to church during divine service, and shutting the doors, speedily obtained the men required, who marched next night for Dover; but before they had arrived, intelligence was received that Calais had surrendered, and they returned home after a few days' absence.—*Hunter, Hist. of London.*

1585. "a power of eight thousand horse and foote, well appointed "with fit habiliments for warre; besides Her Majesty's ayde of "great ordinance and shippes;" and the Queen appointed her favourite courtier, Robert Dudley EARL OF LEICESTER, to the command of her army in the Low Countries, the Earl of Essex to the command of the cavalry, and Sir William Pelham, lord marshal of the field. The EARL OF LEICESTER embarked at Harwich on the 8th of December with a splendid retinue, being accompanied by the young Earl of Essex, the Lords Audley and North, Sir William Russell, Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Arthur Basset, Sir Walter Walters, Sir Gervase Clifton, and a select corps of five hundred lancers and light horse, also a body-guard of fifty archers, fifty musketeers, and fifty halberdiers. On the 10th he arrived at Flushing, where he was received by Sir Philip Sidney, the governor, the Grave Maurice, (second son of the deceased Prince of Orange,) and the magistrates and burghers; and the inhabitants of every town through which he passed expressed their joy by acclamations, triumphal arches, and public entertainments. The States conferred on the EARL OF LEICESTER the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, and treated him, in some respects, as their sovereign; but this proceeding displeased the Queen, and both the Earl and the States were reprimanded by Her Majesty.

1586. The English general had passed his days at court; he was not inured to the toils of war, neither had he sufficient practical knowledge of the military art to enable him to cope with the Prince of Parma. While the EARL OF LEICESTER was employed in processions and entertainments, the Spanish commander besieged *Grave*, a strong town situate on the south side of the river Maese. SIR JOHN NORRIS was detached with eight ensigns of English foot, to co-operate with a flotilla on the river under Count Hollock in the relief of the town; at the same time Captain John Price was directed to support them with a few additional companies. NORRIS advanced with three hundred men to a convenient post within an hour's march of the town, and commenced constructing a field-redoubt; but while employed in this work he was attacked, on the 5th of April, 1586, by three thousand Spaniards. Against this force he defended himself above an hour; the harquebusiers keeping up a sharp fire, and the pikemen and halberdiers engaging in close fight; but he was eventually forced to retire. While retreating, with the Spaniards at his heels, he met Captain Price with seven ensigns of foot coming to his aid; and, thus reinforced, he confronted the enemy. A volley from the English musketeers pierced the head of the enemy's column, and the

1586.

Spaniards fell back; the English pikemen charged, the Spaniards faced about and fled, and the English chased their adversaries three miles, and slew seven hundred men. On arriving at a mill on the road side, NORRIS's men encountered a reserve of a thousand fresh Spaniards, and were forced to retreat. In this day's skirmish the English and Dutch lost one hundred and fifty men, and the enemy about eight hundred. SIR JOHN NORRIS was wounded in single combat with a Spanish officer, and Captains Burrows and Price were applauded for their conduct.\*

A short time after this encounter, the wind proving fair, NORRIS's men advanced to the banks of the Maese, and skirmished with the enemy, while a number of vessels, laden with provisions and other necessities, sailed to the town. Grave being thus relieved, the English withdrew on the 24th of April, and on their return they captured two small forts, (called *sconces*,) which were garrisoned by the enemy. In the month of May they captured two other fortified places; and on Whitsunday the Lord Willoughby sallied out of Bergen-op-Zoom, of which he was governor, with a small party of English horse and foot, and captured a convoy of four hundred and eighty waggons, laden with provisions, on its way to Antwerp. Shortly afterwards, Van Hemert, the governor of *Grave*, surrendered the place, after a feeble resistance, for which he was brought to trial before a court-martial, and was beheaded.

After the capture of Grave, the Duke of Parma besieged *Venloo*; when the EARL OF LEICESTER sent a small body of English and French cuirassiers under Colonel Skinke and Captain Roger Williams to reconnoitre the besieging force; and Captain Williams, advancing with one hundred and fifty English horse to the enemy's camp, surprised and slew the outguard in the night:—"passing further he killed two courts of guard fully appointed, and, entering by force the quarter that the "Prince of Parma was in, killed a number of noblemen and gentlemen."† After this exploit, the enemy's camp being alarmed, this daring band galloped off, and escaped with trifling loss.

On the 30th of June a party of English horse under Sir Philip Sidney and Cornet Robert Sidney highly distinguished themselves in a skirmish with some Spanish cavalry from *Breda*; and in the beginning of July Prince Maurice of Nassau and Sir Philip Sidney penetrated into Flanders with a division of horse

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\* Sir John Norris's Despatch, printed in Hollinshed's Chronicle.

† Stow's Annales.

and foot; and, while the prince was cutting the banks to inundate the country, Sir Philip captured *Arsele*, where three hundred Spaniards, and a number of armed burghers, who made resistance, were slain. Advancing from thence, they captured *Dorp*, and subsequently took five small forts, and gained possession of five Spanish ensigns. 1586.

Towards the end of July, Sir Philip Sidney made a successful excursion into Brabant. About the same time twenty English cuirassiers and eighty foot, encountering a party of the enemy near *Arnheim*, slew eighty men, and took thirteen prisoners; and Cornet Butler, issuing suddenly from *Deventer*, captured four hundred head of cattle; while Cornet Sidney, proceeding with one hundred men to the vicinity of *Breda*, defeated three hundred of the enemy's foot and twelve lancers, and captured one thousand head of cattle. Thus the English evinced their native spirit of enterprise and intrepidity; but these exploits, though harassing to the enemy, and occasioning him much inconvenience, produced little effect on the operations of the main army under the Prince of Parma, who captured Venloo, took Nuys by storm, and besieged Rhineberg, which was garrisoned by twelve hundred English under COLONEL THOMAS MORGAN.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER, considering his force too weak to attack the Spanish army, endeavoured to draw off the Prince of Parma by forming another enterprise: he accordingly besieged *Doesburg*, and, a breach having been made, one Dutch and two English regiments\* were formed up to attack the place by storm, when the garrison surrendered.

The siege of *Zutphen* was next undertaken, which the Spanish general thought so important that he quitted Rhineberg and hastened to its relief. On the 22d of September Sir William Stanley, observing a strong division of the enemy advancing with a large convoy, put his regiment in motion to intercept them; at the same time SIR JOHN NORRIS came forward with another party; and as these two leaders were on the march, they were joined by the Lord Audley with one hundred and fifty men. The Spanish force proved to be two thousand two hundred musketeers, eight hundred pikemen, and fifteen cornets of horse. The encounter took place near the church at *Warresfeldt*; and after a few volleys the English pikemen

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\* Stow mentions one Scots and six English regiments of foot at this siege: the English regiments were Sir Thomas Shirley's, Sir William Stanley's, Sir William Pelham's, the Lord Audley's, SIR JOHN NORRIS's, and H. Digby's.



1586. charged and drove the enemy back to a strong post in the village. The enemy's cavalry issued from the village to charge their adversaries; the English horsemen advanced to meet the enemy; and at this moment the Earl of Essex, the Lord Willoughby, and Sir William Russell arrived from the camp with their troops of cuirassiers. The gallant NORRIS led the charge with a troop of cuirassiers; the young Earl of Essex, turning to his men, cried, "*For the honour of England, follow me,*" and throwing his lance into its rest, rushed upon the foe; the Lord Willoughby poised his lance and led his men forward with equal gallantry; and Sir William Russell and Sir Philip Sidney evinced a noble emulation for glory. These intrepid heroes rushed forward, and encountered the hostile squadrons. NORRIS engaged an Italian officer, whom he overthrew; Russell broke his lance at the first onset, but drew his sword and fought with astonishing resolution; and after a fierce conflict for three quarters of an hour, in which many men were killed, the enemy's horsemen galloped to the rear, and took refuge behind a column of pikemen. In this encounter the enemy lost an Italian nobleman of great reputation and family, the Marquis of Gonzago, who was slain by a brave English knight, Sir Thomas Perrott. The English had to lament the loss of the gallant Sir Philip Sidney, who received a severe wound, of which he afterwards died.\*

The army continued before Zutphen, and the infantry corps were employed in reducing several detached forts. One of these forts was attacked by storm on the 5th of October by a detachment of Sir William Stanley's regiment; the storming party was led by Captain Edward Stanley, who had a personal encounter with a Spanish officer of immense stature, and was knighted for his bravery. Another fort, and two small castles, were subse-

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\* Sir Philip Sidney led his troop of cuirassiers to the charge three several times, and behaved with astonishing intrepidity. In the last charge, his horse was killed under him, and while mounting another he received the wound of which he died. This young hero was distinguished for virtuous conduct, polite conversation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, which rendered him the ornament and delight of the English court; and his praise has been handed down to posterity by numerous authors. He wrote the *Arcadia*, a romance; and also employed his pen with credit on several subjects. While lying on the field wounded, a bottle of water was brought to relieve his thirst, but observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said, *This man's necessity is still greater than mine,* and resigned to him the water. King James VI. of Scotland, struck with admiration of Sidney's virtue, composed a poem in Latin, on the death of that young hero.

quently taken, and the Spaniards were restrained in their incursions into the adjacent country; but the siege of Zutphen was relinquished. 1586.

In the following spring the Prince of Parma obtained a reinforcement from Germany, and besieged *Sluys*, a fortified town of Flanders, situated on an arm of the sea. The governor, having only a garrison of eight hundred Flemings, and being ill-prepared for defending the place, applied for a reinforcement; when three companies of English foot, of two hundred men each, were withdrawn from Bergen-op-Zoom, and one from Flushing, and, with a few English volunteers led by Sir Roger Williams, were thrown into the town. Thus reinforced, the garrison made one of the most desperate defences on record. The EARL OF LEICESTER assembled an army to raise the siege; but was frustrated by the superior military conduct of the Prince of Parma. The garrison, in the meantime, persevered in the defence, and made several furious sorties, in which many Spaniards were killed. At length a practicable breach of two hundred and fifty paces in width was made, and the Spaniards attacked the place by storm five times, but were repulsed. The besieging army then commenced mining,—the English counter-mined,—and parties meeting each other in the subterraneous labyrinths, fought underground with sword, target, and pistol, for nine days. The assaults on the breach were repeated, and the besieged defended their post with pikes, halberts, and short weapons, for eighteen days—officers and men remaining at the breach, and having their provisions brought to them. Among the brave defenders of *Sluys*, Sir Roger Williams particularly distinguished himself; and Captain (afterwards SIR FRANCIS) VERE, a lineal descendant from John de Vere, fifteenth Earl of Oxford, always fought at the head of the men-at-arms in the defence of the fort and town; having been twice wounded, he was requested to retire, but he replied,—*I would rather be killed ten times in defending a breach than once in a house.* Captains Allen and Hart swam twice from the town to inform the States of the extremity to which the besieged were reduced; but, owing to there being no man of ability at the head of affairs, many schemes were debated and nothing executed. At length the garrison, being reduced from sixteen hundred to seven hundred men, their ammunition nearly exhausted, and without the prospect of being relieved, the officers held a consultation and agreed to surrender the town, on condition of being permitted to march out with their baggage and arms, drums beating, colours flying, and all the honours of war, and to embark for Zealand; at the same time they each took an oath

1587. to obtain these conditions or die. The Prince of Parma, finding what a desperate set of men he had to deal with, granted all the articles, and the garrison marched out on the 4th of August, 1587.

The lofty demeanour and want of military capacity evinced by the EARL OF LEICESTER occasioned him to become very unpopular in the Netherlands, and shortly after the loss of Sluys he returned to England. The States afterwards elected Count Maurice of Nassau, second son of the late Prince of Orange, as governor of the United Provinces; and the LORD WILLOUGHBY was appointed by Queen Elizabeth to the command of the English army in the Low Countries.

While these events were transpiring on the continent, Queen Elizabeth, knowing that, by engaging in defence of the revolted provinces, she had incurred the resentment of the Spanish monarch, made preparations for resisting his power. A number of men of each county were trained in the use of arms, and a fleet was sent out under the renowned Sir Francis Drake, who made several captures in the Spanish West Indies. This celebrated naval officer was afterwards sent out with another fleet, and he destroyed a number of Spanish vessels at Cadiz, insulted Lisbon, and took a rich caracca prize, with which he returned to England.

1588. King Philip breathed nothing but revenge against the English queen, and made vast preparations for the conquest of her dominions. He was encouraged in the hopes of extending his empire by the prosperous state of his affairs; Portugal was annexed to his kingdom, and the acquisition of the East Indian commerce and settlements, and the yearly importation of vast treasures from America, had materially increased his power and influence. His design of exterminating the Protestant religion was the point on which he rested his highest glory. Queen Elizabeth was the principal obstacle to the accomplishment of this object; and as the conquest of England would insure the immediate subjection of the Flemings, and pave the way for future acquisitions, he hoped not only to acquire an extent of power which would enable him to become the dictator of Europe, but also the renown of reuniting the whole Christian world in the Catholic communion. To the councils of the Catholic monarch the reduction of England appeared of easy execution; it lay nearer to Spain than the Netherlands, was not fortified by art or nature, and a long period of peace was supposed to have deprived it of military discipline and experience; at the same time it was expected that the Roman Catholics in the country would join the invading army.

1588.

Influenced by these hopes and motives, the Catholic monarch commenced preparations for the invasion of England, and every part of his dominions resounded to the din of armaments. All his ministers, generals, and admirals were employed in forwarding the design. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal artizans were employed in building vessels of uncommon size and force; naval stores were bought at great expense; provisions amassed; armies levied and quartered near the coast; and plans laid for fitting out such a fleet and embarkation as had never before been equalled in Europe. The military preparations in Flanders were no less formidable;—troops were assembled from all quarters to reinforce the Prince of Parma, who employed all the artizans he could procure in Flanders, Lower Germany, and the coasts of the Baltic, in the construction of boats and flat-bottomed vessels for the transport of troops. The princes and nobles of Spain and Italy were all ambitious of sharing in this great enterprise, and many men of family volunteered to serve in the expedition. No doubt was entertained but these vast preparations, conducted by officers of skill and experience, would be successful; and the Spaniards, ostentatious of their power, and elevated with hope, designated this armament the INVINCIBLE ARMADA.

Queen Elizabeth, finding that she had to contend for her crown with the whole force of Spain, made preparations for resistance; nor was she dismayed at that power, by which all Europe apprehended she must of necessity be overwhelmed. She relied, under the protection of Divine Providence, upon the spirit, the bravery, and the energies of her subjects in defending their country, their religion, and their liberties against the immense perils with which they were menaced; and her appeal to her people was instantly responded to. The commercial towns furnished ships for reinforcing the royal navy. The nobility and gentry hired, armed, and manned many vessels at their own charge; and monies were freely raised for the public use. The Lord High Admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham, was appointed to the command of the navy; and Admirals Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. An army was levied, and, as the English were inferior in experience to the Spanish armies commanded by veteran officers under the Prince of Parma, SIR JOHN NORRIS, SIR THOMAS MORGAN, and other distinguished officers were recalled from the Netherlands. Twenty thousand men were disposed along the southern coast, with orders, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to lay waste the country and retire, until reinforced from the neighbouring counties,

1588. before they engaged the enemy. An army under the EARL OF LEICESTER was encamped at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital; and another force, for guarding the Queen's person, was placed under the orders of the Lord Chamberlain;\* and were appointed to march wherever the enemy should appear.

The Armada, consisting of one hundred and thirty vessels, of which nearly one hundred were galleons of greater size than any ever before used in Europe, sailed from Lisbon about the end of May, 1588, under the direction of the Duke of Medina; but meeting with a tempest, was forced to take shelter in the bay of Corunna. Lord Howard, leaving Lord Seymour with a naval force off Dunkirk to intercept the Prince of Parma, put to sea

\* Return of the Forces assembled in 1588 to repel the Spanish Armada.

Counties by which furnished.	The Queen's Guard, commanded by the Lord Chamberlain.			Forces encamped at Tilbury under the Earl of Leicester.		
	Lan-cers.	Light Horse.	Foot.	Lan-cers.	Light Horse.	Foot.
Gloucestershire .....	20	100	2,500	...	...	...
Somerset .....	50	100	4,000	...	...	...
Sussex .....	20	100	2,500	...	...	...
Wiltshire .....	25	100	2,300	...	...	...
Berkshire .....	10	85	500	...	...	1,000
Oxfordshire .....	23	103	150	...	...	1,000
Cambridge .....	13	40	700	...	...	...
Northampton .....	20	80	600	...	...	...
Leicester .....	9	70	500	...	...	...
Warwick .....	17	76	500	...	...	...
Huntingdon .....	6	26	400	...	...	...
Dorset .....	120	...	1,000	...	...	...
Suffolk .....	70	230	3,000	50	200	3,000
Norfolk .....	80	321	...	...	...	3,000
Hertford .....	...	...	500	25	60	1,000
Surrey .....	...	...	500	8	98	1,000
Worcester .....	...	...	400	...	...	...
Devonshire .....	...	...	2,000	...	...	...
Southampton .....	...	...	2,000	...	...	...
Middlesex .....	...	...	1,000	35	88	...
Bedfordshire .....	...	...	...	17	40	500
Bucks .....	...	...	...	18	83	500
Kent .....	...	...	...	50	100	5,000
Essex .....	...	...	...	50	100	5,000
London .....	...	...	9,000	...	...	1,000
Total ... ..	483	1,431	34,050	253	769	22,000

with the English fleet, with the view of attacking the Spaniards in the harbours in which they had taken refuge, but, the wind changing, he returned to Plymouth.

1588.

After repairing the damage occasioned by the tempest, the Duke of Medina again put to sea, and Lord Howard quitted Plymouth to meet and attack the enemy. On the morning of the 21st of July, the English Lord High-Admiral, seeing the Armada coming in full sail towards him, in the form of a crescent, and extending a distance of seven miles, made arrangements and gave directions as to the mode of attacking this powerful armament. The spectacle which presented itself was the most magnificent that had ever appeared upon the ocean, and was calculated to infuse equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders. The lofty masts, the wide expanded sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons, which appeared like floating castles, were the subject of most pompous descriptions by the writers of that period; and an eloquent historian of Italy observed that, "though the ships bore every sail, yet the Armada advanced with a slow motion, as if the *ocean groaned with supporting, and the winds were tired with impelling, so enormous a weight.*" The English, however, beheld this tremendous armament without dismay, and having gained the wind, hung upon its rear as it advanced up the channel, and engaged it in skirmishes for several days. Each trial abated the confidence of the Spaniards, and added courage to the English; and the latter soon found that, even in close fight, the size of the Spanish ships was no advantage to them. The English nobility and gentry, who had equipped and armed ships, now hastened out of every harbour, and reinforced the admiral, who continued to hover round the Spaniards and avail himself of every opportunity of attacking them. At length the Duke of Medina cast anchor before Calais, in the expectation that the Prince of Parma would put to sea and unite his forces to the Armada.

In the mean time every preparation was made in England to repel the invaders should they attempt to land. Many noblemen and gentlemen who had raised troops of horse and companies of foot, advanced to the south, and a number of corps were reviewed by Queen Elizabeth at St. James's. The more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, the Queen appeared on the 9th of August on horseback at the camp at Tilbury, and riding through the lines, exhorted the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and religion, and professed her intention to lead them herself into the field against the enemy, and rather to perish in battle than to survive the slavery of her people.

1588. While the Armada lay at Calais, the English admiral filled several small vessels with combustible materials, and, having set them on fire, sent them, during the night of the 6th of August, one after another into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards, fancying they were fire-ships of the same contrivance with a famous vessel which had lately done much execution in the Scheldt near Antwerp, immediately cut their cables and took to flight with precipitation and disorder. The English fell upon them on the next morning while in confusion, and took or destroyed several vessels. By this time it was become apparent that the object for which these formidable preparations were made by the Spaniards could not be accomplished. The vessels provided by the Prince of Parma were designed for transporting soldiers, not for fighting, and when the prince was urged to leave the harbour, he refused to expose his fine army to such apparent hazard, so long as the English were able to keep the sea, and seemed to triumph over their enemy.

The Spanish admiral found, after many encounters, that he had lost a considerable part of his own fleet, and he had only destroyed one English vessel, he therefore prepared to return to Spain. The wind being contrary, he sailed northwards; the English fleet followed for some time, and had not their ammunition been nearly expended, they might have obliged the whole Armada to have surrendered at discretion. After the Spanish fleet had passed the Orkney Islands, it was overtaken by a violent tempest; the ships had already lost their anchors, and were obliged to keep at sea; the mariners, unaccustomed to such hardships, and not being able to govern such unwieldy vessels, yielded to the fury of the storm, and their ships were driven on the western isles of Scotland, and the coast of Ireland, where they were wrecked; thus, more than half the vessels of the boasted *Invincible Armada* were destroyed.

Such was the conclusion of this enterprise against the Protestant religion and against English liberty; an enterprise which had been preparing for three years; which had exhausted the revenue and force of Spain, and had filled all Europe with anxiety. Queen Elizabeth, ascribing this victory to Divine Providence, rather than to English intrepidity and skill, ordered a medal to be struck, which represented a fleet beaten by a tempest, and the vessels running foul of each other, with this inscription,—“*He blew with his winds and they were scattered.*” The 19th of November was set apart for public thanksgiving, and was celebrated throughout the kingdom with demonstrations of joy; and on Sunday the 24th of that month the Queen proceeded with her maids of honour in state to St. Paul’s

Cathedral, accompanied by her privy council, nobility, judges, heralds at arms, and state trumpeters, to return thanks for this happy deliverance. Her majesty proceeded from Somerset House on a splendid throne on wheels, in the form of a chariot, drawn by white horses; and in front of the throne were two pillars whereon stood a lion and a dragon. The gentlemen-pensioners and yeomen of the guard attended the procession; the livery companies lined the streets; and the lord-mayor and aldermen, having met the procession at Temple-bar, attended her majesty to the cathedral. After divine service the Queen commanded the colours taken from the Spaniards to be exhibited to the people. Her majesty also conferred rewards on the naval officers who had distinguished themselves, and gave pensions to the wounded and disabled seamen.

England being thus freed from the danger by which it had been threatened, the officers and soldiers who had quitted the Netherlands, were at liberty to return to their several posts. In the mean time the Prince of Parma, finding that all prospect of invading England had vanished, employed the troops which he had assembled to join the Armada, in the siege of *Bergen-op-Zoom*. The garrison consisted of twelve ensigns of English foot, and four cornets of Flemish horse, under the orders of Sir William Drury, who made a gallant defence; and during the siege SIR THOMAS MORGAN, the governor of the town, hastened from England, and assumed the command. This officer had acquired, in a very high degree the confidence and esteem, not only of the English who fought under his orders, but also of the Scots and Flemings, and his reputation was increased by his conduct in the defence of the town. Several sallies were made on the besieging forces with good success; and during a sortie of the garrison on the 11th of November, Colonel Balfour arrived with six hundred Scots and Flemings, and joined in the attack. The Prince of Parma, having lost many men, and his provisions being exhausted, set fire to his camp and retreated during the succeeding night, and on the following day he was pursued by the English commander-in-chief with twenty ensigns of foot, and all the cavalry.\* After returning from the pursuit, "the LORD WILLOUGHBY, to honour with some recompence the "well-deserving, knighted SIR FRANCIS VERE, (who then began "to show himself,) Sir Thomas Knowles, Sir N. Parker, and Sir "J. Pooly, for their worthy valours."†

During the succeeding year the command of the English

\* *Les Lauriers de Nassau*, par Jean Jeanszoon Orlers, &c.

† *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*.



1589. troops in the Low Countries was conferred on SIR FRANCIS VERE, of whom it was said, that "amongst all the Queen's swordsmen he was inferior to none."\* He held this command for twenty years, and was highly esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, and also by the States of the United Provinces. His first exploit, as commander-in-chief of the English, was the defence of the island of *Voorn*, in which service he evinced military abilities of a high order. The Prince of Parma had assembled an army of about twelve thousand men, a battering train, and a number of flat-bottomed boats, for the capture of the island; and to oppose this force the States had only eight hundred men, of whom six hundred were English under SIR FRANCIS VERE. Prince Maurice suggested the expediency of retiring, but the English general obtained permission to defend the island, and by great diligence and perseverance he succeeded in defeating the purpose of the enemy.

Shortly afterwards the English commander was sent with nine ensigns of English and seven of Dutch foot, and twelve cornets of horse, to relieve the town of *Rhineberg*, which was besieged by a Spanish army, commanded by the Marquis of Warrenbon; and he succeeded in throwing troops and provision into the town. The enemy, however, continued the siege, and SIR FRANCIS VERE was despatched a second time to the relief of *Rhineberg*, on which occasion he highly distinguished himself. The convoy had arrived within two miles of the town, and when passing a defile through a wood, a body of Spanish harquebusiers came boldly forward and commenced a sharp fire, but were driven back by the English. As the rear-guard emerged from among the trees, an immense force of the enemy appeared marching with colours flying, when SIR FRANCIS VERE immediately charged them with a division of pikemen, while the rear companies of English harquebusiers opened their fire on the enemy's flanks. A sharp conflict ensued, and SIR FRANCIS VERE's horse was killed under him by a pike, and himself wounded. At length the enemy gave way before the superior valour and prowess of the English, "which they did without any great disorder in troops; and as they were hard followed by our men, turned and made head manfully, which they did four several times before they broke, and at last they flang away their armour and scattered asunder, thrusting themselves into the thickets. I commanded our men not to disband, but to pursue them, and, passing forward, I easily discomfited the five hundred horsemen, who presently left their horses and fled

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\* Sir Robert Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*.

"into the bushes; amongst whom, it was said, the Marquis of Warrenbon was in person, for the horse he was mounted on was taken among the rest. 1589.

"The horsemen who fled into the thickets we followed not, but went on straightway till we encountered with the twenty-four companies of Neapolitans, who, discouraged with our success, made no great resistance. We took eighteen of their ensigns, and made a great slaughter of their men till we had recovered the bridge. Night coming on, I made my retreat, and two hours after sun-set came with the troops into the town.

"This fight was begun and ended with one of the two English troops, which could not exceed four hundred men; the other, which Sir Oliver Lambert led, only following, and showing itself in good order, and ready, if occasion required; the Netherlands remained on the plain with the horsemen and Count Overstein.

"The enemy lost about eight hundred men, and, by an Italian lieutenant of horsemen, (who was the only man taken alive,) I understood that the Count Mansfeldt was newly, before this encounter, arrived, and had joined his forces with those of the Marquis of Warrenbon, in which were all the Spanish regiments, making two hundred and twenty ensigns, besides other forces, so that the whole strength was supposed thirteen or fourteen thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, of their oldest and best soldiers."\*

Thus SIR FRANCIS VERE succeeded not only in relieving the town, but also in establishing his own reputation, and in adding new lustre to the English arms. That a Spanish army of fourteen thousand men should be repulsed by four hundred English, without the aid of cannon, or entrenchments, appears almost incredible, was the narrative not supported by collateral evidence.

This display of valour appears to have given the States General the greatest confidence in their English auxiliaries, whom they employed in services of the greatest difficulty, among which may be reckoned the relief of the castle of *Litkenhooven*, which was besieged in 1590 "by the people of that country, aided with some good number of the Duke of Cleves', the Bishops of Colens' and Paderbourn's soldiers, which they call "Hannoveers."\* For this service SIR FRANCIS VERE was despatched with between seven and eight hundred English foot, and five hundred horse, and with these troops he stormed a fort 1590.

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\* Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries.

1590. which the enemy had constructed opposite the entrance to the castle. The assault was made with distinguished gallantry, "one soldier helping another up, some got to the top of the "rampires, at which the enemy gave back so as the way became "more easie for others to climb to the top, and so finally the "place was forced, and all the men put to the sword, being in "number three hundred and fifty, all chosen men, with the losse "and hurting of about fourscore of my men."\* Thus the place was relieved and preserved from the power of the enemy.

The next exploit of these heroic English was the attack of a royal fort near *Wesel*, in the duchy of Cleves, at the confluence of the Lippe and the Rhine, the possession of which enabled the enemy to pass their forces across the latter river in safety. This fort was attacked on two successive nights by escalade, and the horsemen, with their swords and pistols, joined in the assault, but the ladders proved defective, and the assailants were forced to retire. Yet these undaunted warriors prepared for a third attack, but the enemy, dismayed at the fury of the assailants, beat a parley and surrendered the fort, and, on marching out, the garrison proved to be two companies of Germans, and two half companies of Italians, which, as SIR FRANCIS VERE states in his commentaries, were nearly as strong in numbers as the assailants; for, besides the English foot he had with him, he used no troops or countrymen, excepting a few horsemen.

1591. The accession of King Henry of Navarre to the throne of France being opposed, on account of his being a Protestant, by the combined Catholic princes and nobles called the "Leaguers," Queen Elizabeth sent a body of troops to his aid, and a few English and Scots companies were withdrawn from the Netherlands in April, 1591, and proceeded to France, where they highly distinguished themselves under the gallant SIR JOHN NORRIS.

In the same year the English troops in the service of the States were employed in the siege of *Zutphen*, a strong town situate on the right bank of the Issel, where Prince Maurice of Nassau, (afterwards Prince of Orange,) commanded in chief, and SIR FRANCIS VERE, and his brave companions in arms, made their attacks on the side of the town next the river. There was a strong fort on this side of the town, of which Sir Francis obtained possession on the 24th May, 1591, before the siege was commenced, by the following stratagem:—"I chose a good "number of lusty and hardy young soldiers, the most of whom

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\* Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries.

1591. "I apparelled like the country women of those parts, the rest like the men, gave to some baskets, to others packs, and such burthens as the people usually carry to the market, with pistols, and short swords, and daggers, under their garments, willing them, by two or three in a company, by break of day to be at the ferry of *Zutphen*, which is just against the fort, as if they stayed for the passage-boat of the town, and bad them sit and rest themselves in the mean time as near the gate of the fort as they could, for avoiding suspicion, and to seize upon the same as soon as it was opened. This took so good effect that they possessed the entry of the fort, and held the same till an officer with two hundred souldiers (who was laid in a covert not farre off) came to their seconds, and so became fully master of the place; by which means the siege of the town afterwards became the shorter."\* In this siege SIR FRANCIS VERE was at the head of fourteen ensigns of English, and Colonel Balfour commanded ten ensigns of Scots.

After signalizing themselves in the capture of *Zutphen*, which town surrendered on the 30th of May, the forces proceeded to the fertile and agreeable grounds on the right bank of the river Yssel, and besieged *Deventer*, where the fourteen English companies under SIR FRANCIS VERE, and the ten Scots companies under Colonel Balfour, again performed the part of "valiant men," particularly the English, who led the assaulting party when the town was attacked by storm. Owing to the imperfect construction of a bridge of boats, some difficulty was experienced in carrying on the attacks, and Prince Maurice was desirous of relinquishing the siege; but the English general induced him to persist. The enemy sallied during the succeeding night to destroy the bridge, but was repulsed by the English pikemen, and the town surrendered on the following day.

While these operations were in progress, Sir Edward Norris, governor of Ostend, issued from the town with part of his English garrison, and captured the fort and village of *Blakenberg*, on the sea coast between Sluys and Ostend. He afterwards took by storm a strong fort upon the downs, which he destroyed, and returned with the guns to Ostend.

The capture of Deventer was followed by the conquest of several forts and strong-holds which the enemy occupied in Friesland; but while the troops were thus employed, the Prince of Parma crossed the river Waal with the Spanish army, and besieged *Knodsenburg fort*, at the ferry opposite Nimeguen. The States immediately recalled their army from Friesland, to

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\* Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries.

1591. attempt to raise the siege, but on arriving at the vicinity of the besieging army, it was found so superior in numbers and position, that Prince Maurice did not venture to engage it. At length SIR FRANCIS VERE, by a daring attack on the enemy's out-posts with a detachment of light horse, succeeded in drawing a strong column of Spanish cavalry from their main body, and Prince Maurice charged this column with two cornets of lancers, and one of carabiniers;\* but the Spaniards proved victorious, and, having routed the Flemish horsemen, pursued them with great slaughter. SIR FRANCIS VERE, ever watchful and prepared to take advantage of any event that might occur, had placed in ambush a body of his English pikemen and musketeers in the thick underwood on each side of the road; as the Spaniards, in the heat of the pursuit, passed these parties, a few volleys from the musketeers, and a fierce charge of the pikemen, put the pursuing horsemen into disorder, and laid a number of cavaliers dead on the road. Prince Maurice's horsemen rallied and returned to the charge, and the Spaniards were nearly all slain or taken prisoners. Three cornets (or standards) were taken; one of them, belonging to the Prince of Parma's own troop of horse, had a representation of Christ on the Cross, embroidered on one side with the inscription, "*Hic fortium dividit spolia,*" and on the other side the Virgin and Child, with "*Quem genui adoro*" inscribed thereon.† The Prince of Parma was so troubled at the loss of his cavalry, that he raised the siege, repassed the Waal above Nimeguen, and retreated.

After the departure of the Spanish army, Prince Maurice, having strengthened the garrison of Knodsenburg fort, crossed the Scheldt, and on the 19th of September he besieged the town of *Hulst*. Sixteen English ensigns under SIR FRANCIS VERE, and ten Scots ensigns under Colonel Balfour, were engaged in the siege, and the garrison surrendered on the 24th of September.

Encouraged by this success, the Prince undertook the siege of *Nimeguen*, a strong town situated on the left branch of the Rhine, called the Waal; the English and Scots were again employed in the several attacks, and the town surrendered on the 22nd of October. This conquest concluded the campaign of 1591, and the army was thanked by the States for its brilliant success.

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\* The *Carabiniers* were a few troops of horsemen equipped as cuirassiers, and armed with large pistols called *carabines*, instead of lances.—*Orlers*.

† *Orlers*.

The war in France between Henry IV. and the Leaguers being continued, several additional English companies were withdrawn from the Netherlands, and sent to France, where they served under the gallant Earl of Essex. The army in the Netherlands, however, took the field as usual, and in May, 1592, ten ensigns of English, commanded by SIR FRANCIS VERE, advanced to the confines of Friesland, and were engaged in the siege of *Steenwick*. This place was besieged towards the end of May; and on the 3rd of July the exterior works were assaulted by storm; the first attack was made by Count William of Nassau, with a body of Friesland foot; the second by the English, led by SIR FRANCIS VERE; and the third by a party of Hollanders. Several outworks which commanded the town were carried sword in hand, when the garrison beat a parley, and delivered up the place on the following day. SIR FRANCIS VERE was wounded in the assault. 1592.

In November of the same year the Prince of Parma died, and was succeeded in the government of those provinces of the Netherlands which remained subject to Spain, by Count Peter Ernest of Mansfeldt.

The war was, however, prosecuted by both parties with the same vigour as before; and at the siege of *Gertruydenberg*, a strong town situate on an arm of the sea called Biesbosch, six ensigns of English foot, under SIR FRANCIS VERE, and ten of Scots, under Colonel Balfour, were conspicuous for their gallantry and good conduct. The order and discipline established in the camp of the besieging army were such, that the inhabitants of the surrounding country took refuge there with their goods, provisions, cattle, and poultry, which they found to be in the same safety as at their own farms. The town surrendered in the middle of June, 1593, and the Scots, having suffered much during the siege, were placed in garrison there until recruited. 1593.

The Scots were, however, withdrawn from Gertruydenberg in the autumn, and in the beginning of October they were engaged in a sharp skirmish with the Spaniards under Verdugo, on which occasion Colonel Balfour was severely wounded.

During the winter SIR FRANCIS VERE raised several additional companies of foot in England for service in the Netherlands, and fifteen companies, of two hundred men each, were formed into a regiment, of which this distinguished officer was appointed colonel.

The Spanish general Verdugo, having besieged *Coverden* in the spring of 1594, Prince Maurice marched to its relief with an army of eighty-six banners, of which twelve were English under 1594.

1594. SIR FRANCIS VERE, and ten Scots under Colonel Murray. On the advance of this force the Spaniards raised the siege (6th May) and retreated without venturing an engagement.

Having compelled the enemy to retire, the army besieged *Groningen*, a populous town situated on the river Hunes; and nineteen English and ten Scots ensigns were engaged in this service. The English distinguished themselves in beating back the sallies of the garrison,\* and on the 22nd of July the town surrendered.

1595. After these successes, Queen Elizabeth, observing that the States had not only firmly established themselves as a Commonwealth, but had acquired power to make conquests, called upon them, in 1595, to repay the sums of money which Her Majesty had expended for their advancement, and also suggested that it would no longer be necessary for England to maintain auxiliary troops for their aid. The States acknowledged that they were indebted to the English for their successes, and, after alleging the condition of the former treaty, by which they were not bound to repay her until the conclusion of a peace, pleaded their present poverty, and the expense of supporting the war; they, however, agreed to free the Queen of the expense of paying the English troops; and made proposals for repaying, by instalments, the money which Her Majesty had expended. Her Majesty was pleased to acquiesce, and the number of English troops to be retained in the pay of the States was fixed at four thousand men.

1596. In 1596 Cardinal Albert, Archduke of Austria, whom the Spanish monarch had placed at the head of his affairs in the Low Countries, besieged Calais; and SIR FRANCIS VERE's regiment, amounting to two thousand two hundred men, with a detachment of Lodowrke's Dutch regiment, embarked from Holland to assist Henry IV. of France in raising the siege; at the same time Queen Elizabeth commanded some forces to be levied in England for the same service;† but before the fleet

\* "Ils firent aussi plusieurs sorties, notamment au quartier des Anglois et Frisons, ou plusieurs braves capitaines Anglois demeurerent, et entre autres les capitaines Brooks et Wray." *Orlers*.

† The levies in England were made with great facility at this period. On Easter Sunday, in 1596, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London received a message from the Court to raise one thousand men immediately for the relief of Calais. The Aldermen, with their Constables, proceeded to the several churches, fastened the doors, and selected from the congregation the number of men required, who were immediately equipped and sent to Dover. *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Thomas Birch, D.D.*

arrived off Calais the town had surrendered. SIR FRANCIS VERE's regiment afterwards proceeded to Plymouth, and formed part of an expedition against the coast of Spain, under the orders of the high admiral Lord Charles Howard, and the chivalrous young Earl of Essex; SIR FRANCIS VERE being second in command, with the title of lord marshal of the field, Sir John Winkfield, campmaster-general, and Sir Coniers Clifford, serjeant-major-general.\* 1596.

The expedition left England in the beginning of May, and, proceeding towards the coast of Spain, arrived off *Cadiz* on the 20th of that month. The English navy attacked the Spanish shipping in the bay; the soldiers acted as marines, and, after a fierce engagement, the Spanish admiral's and two other ships were burnt, two ships were captured, and a valuable fleet of merchantmen destroyed. After the defeat of the Spanish navy, the Earl of Essex landed with his own regiment, and VERE's veteran regiment from Holland, and two hundred and fifty gentlemen volunteers, when the Spaniards retired from the beach without making opposition. The remaining corps having landed, three regiments were detached to cut off the communication between the town and adjacent country, while the Earl of Essex advanced with his troops and volunteers in quest of a convenient post for encamping near the walls, designing to besiege the town in the usual way; but as the earl advanced, a Spanish force appeared in order of battle before the town, and he resolved to attack the enemy immediately.

Sir John Winkfield, with two hundred select musketeers of VERE's regiment, drove in the Spanish skirmishers in gallant style; but being attacked by the enemy's main body, he retired upon the supporting column, consisting of three hundred men under Sir Matthew Morgan; and the two divisions, charging together, drove the Spaniards back with great slaughter. At the same time the Earl of Essex, with his own corps, and the remainder of VERE's regiment, joining in the pursuit, the whole of the enemy's force fled in confusion and dismay. The Spanish cavalry, quitting their horses, saved themselves,—some by the gates and others by climbing over the walls. The English, following in hot pursuit, scrambled up the rampart and fired upon the Spaniards who defended the wall; while Captain Usher, with a few men of VERE's regiment, passing quietly along the ditch towards the bay, found a part weakly guarded, and

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\* The office of serjeant-major-general was similar to that of adjutant general at the present time, and campmaster-general, to that of quarter-master-general.



1596. forced an entrance. The Spaniards, astonished and confounded by the fury of their assailants, fled from their posts in disorder; and the English, pouring over the outer walls with their characteristic intrepidity, followed the fugitives towards the town in full career.

A warlike spirit of enterprize, a noble emulation for glory, and a feeling of animosity towards the cruel Spaniards, fired the breasts of the English officers and men; the gallant Earl of Essex headed the assaulting force; the attack was made with an impetuosity which overcame all opposition;—the inner gates were forced, and the victorious soldiers crowded into the town. On entering the streets they were assailed with shot and stones from the tops of houses, yet they forced their way to the market-place, broke open the town-house, and after a sharp fight with the Spaniards in the upper rooms, established themselves in this post, from whence detachments scoured the streets, and pursued several parties of the enemy into Fort St. Philip, and the abbey of St. Francis. The troops in the abbey surrendered immediately, and those in the castle and Fort St. Philip on the following morning. Thus was captured in a few hours the important fortress of *Cadiz*, which has since withstood the efforts of a powerful army for years. The brunt of the attack was given and maintained by less than a thousand men; but they were principally VERE'S veterans from the Low Countries, and the high-spirited gentlemen volunteers who were aspiring to honour and renown, of whom more than sixty were knighted for their distinguished conduct on this occasion. The proud and ambitious Spaniards felt the indignity of having one of their chief cities captured and plundered, and a valuable fleet destroyed in one of their own harbours.

The success of this enterprise astonished all Europe; and Doctor Hawkins, writing from Venice, observed:—"The action at *Cadiz* is more renowned through all these parts of the world than any action that has happened in this or the preceding age, so that they all cry at Venice, '*Great is the Queen of England.*'" It was considered a distinguishing feature of the virtue of the English army that three thousand Spanish ladies and merchants' wives were permitted to retire from *Cadiz* without being molested.

Incursions were subsequently made into the interior, several villages were destroyed, and quantities of cattle and provision captured and brought into the city. At length a question arose respecting the retaining of *Cadiz*, and SIR FRANCIS VERE proposed to defend the place with four thousand men, until the Queen's pleasure was known. The Earl of Essex also spoke of

remaining in the city; but a council of war decided that the castle, forts, and walls should be demolished, the cannon removed on board the fleet, and the town set on fire and evacuated; this was accordingly done, and the soldiers retired on board of the fleet.

1596.

From Cadiz the expedition sailed to *Faro*, a seaport of Portugal, in Algarve, near Cape Santa Maria, which was taken and destroyed, and the adjoining country for many miles plundered and laid waste. Shortly afterwards the fleet returned to England.

During the absence of VERE's veterans from the Low Countries, the Spanish commander suspended his enterprises against France, marched to Flanders, and, after menacing several places, attacked *Hulst*, and endeavoured to become master of the coast. The States were immediately alarmed, and became importunate for succours from England: they wished to have SIR FRANCIS VERE and his veteran bands sent back; and on the return of the expedition from Cadiz, these companies immediately proceeded to Holland, without landing in England.

During the following winter four thousand of the enemy's foot and six hundred horse were stationed at *Turnhout*, an open village situate between the heaths of Ravel and Balk, twenty-four miles from Antwerp, and the States gave Prince Maurice orders to attack them. The English infantry under SIR FRANCIS VERE, with one hundred select English horse under Sir Robert Sidney, formed part of the force destined for this service, and were assembled at Gertruydenberg, from whence they advanced on the morning of the 23rd of January, 1597, with great secrecy, towards *Turnhout*. The leading column was composed of the English, Prince Maurice's guards, and a few select companies of Dutch; but notwithstanding the precautions taken, the Spaniards had information of their advance, and quitted the village a short time before the van of the army arrived. SIR FRANCIS VERE and the Count Hollock were sent forward in pursuit, and the English carabineers, with a few musketeers, overtook the enemy's rear guard in a narrow road with thick underwood on both sides, and drove it under the protection of a column of pikemen. A sharp skirmish was continued a distance of five miles, until the enemy arrived at an open heath extending about three miles, where the Spaniards formed four columns, with their cavalry on the flanks, and continued their retreat. VERE's horsemen and musketeers kept up a sharp fire; Prince Maurice arrived with a reinforcement; and Count Hollock's men gained the enemy's flank, when a determined charge broke the

1597.

1597. hostile columns, and the Spaniards and Neapolitans were cut down with a terrible slaughter. About three thousand of the enemy were killed and taken prisoners, and upwards of forty colours captured. "The English under SIR FRANCIS VERE and "Sir Robert Sidney extremely distinguished themselves, and the "success of the day was universally ascribed to their discipline "and valour."\*

In the following spring a thousand English veterans were again recalled from the Low Countries to serve in another expedition against Spain. Although the Spanish navy had been much shattered and destroyed by the attacks of the English, the King of Spain was preparing a squadron and a body of troops at Ferrol and Corunna, for a descent upon Ireland; and the veterans from the Low Countries formed part of an expedition of six thousand men, with a powerful fleet, under the Earl of Essex, designed to attack the Spanish shipping in the harbours.

The English fleet encountered a furious storm immediately after it put to sea, and was shattered and dispersed; and before it could be refitted the Earl of Essex found that the provisions for the voyage were so far exhausted that it would not be safe to take so numerous an army with him; he therefore dismissed all the soldiers to their homes, except the thousand veterans from the Low Countries; then, laying aside all thoughts of attacking Ferrol and Corunna, proceeded towards the Azores to intercept the Spanish West Indian fleet. On arriving at the Azores, the Spanish island of *Fayal* was attacked and captured; and precautions taken to insure the success of the enterprise; but owing to a thick fog and the advantage of the wind the Spanish fleet escaped into the fortified harbour of Angra before the English could overtake them. A descent was afterwards made on one of the Azores called St. Michael, and the town of *Villa Franca* (which is founded on a bed of lava, and has since been partly destroyed by earthquakes) was captured; but while the fleet was watering, two thousand Spaniards, well armed and equipped, assembled at the capital of the island, and advanced to attack the few English troops which had landed. SIR FRANCIS VERE sent forward thirty of his veterans, who took possession of a chapel beyond Villa Franca, and opening a sharp fire on the head of the Spanish column, held it in check until night, when the Earl of Essex, having no intention of remaining on the island, re-embarked the troops. The fleet returned to England, bringing with it three Spanish ships, which had been intercepted and taken, and which were of sufficient value to repay the expences of the expedition.

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\* Hume.

In the mean time, thirteen ensigns of English foot, which had been left in the Netherlands under the orders of Colonel HORACE VERE, (brother of Sir Francis, and afterwards LORD VERE, Baron of Tilbury,) with ten ensigns of Scots commanded by Colonels Balfour and Murray, had been engaged in the siege of *Rhineberg*, which surrendered on the 21st of August;—also in the siege of *Meurs*, which surrendered on the 13th of September;—*Groll*, which surrendered on the 28th of September;—*Breevort*, which surrendered on the 12th of October;—and of *Enschede*, *Oldenzael*, and *Ootmarsum*, which were taken by capitulation on the 18th, 21st, and 23rd of October. After the capture of these places the English and Scots were engaged in the siege of *Lingen*, a town situate at the extreme boundary of the Low Countries; and during the siege the garrison made a brisk sortie and burnt a mill; but was driven back by the Scots, who were at the head of the attack. On the 12th of November the garrison surrendered.

Queen Elizabeth, having an esteem for military men of distinguished merit, conferred the appointment of governor of *Briel* on SIR FRANCIS VERE. Several noblemen and distinguished personages applied for this command; but Sir Francis Vere had become so conspicuous for valour, discretion, and virtue, that the Queen, who admired and rewarded these qualities wherever they were found, honoured the gallant knight with the appointment.

The success which had already attended the arms of Queen Elizabeth and the United Provinces, alarmed the Spanish monarch, who caused reinforcements to be sent to the Low Countries from Germany, Italy, and other places; and in the summer of 1598 one of his commanders, Don Francis Mendoza, Admiral of Arragon, threatened the United Provinces with an invasion. Prince Maurice formed a line of encampments along the Waal and the Maese, to oppose the designs of the enemy. His army was composed of English, Scots, French, Germans, Swiss, and Dutch, and the troops of each nation had a separate post assigned to them, and extended a distance of twenty-four miles: the English were posted at Haften, and the Scots on the island of Voorn.

Mendoza formed the project of making a descent on Bommelwaert, an island between the Waal and the Maese, and of capturing the town of *Bommel*, which stands on the island. The English were employed in operations to counteract the purpose of the enemy; and during the night of the 22nd of May, 1598, a party of English and French attacked the enemy's entrenchments, and killed upwards of six hundred men. The

1598. Scots were also sharply engaged in repulsing an attack of the Spaniards on *Voorn*, and on one occasion their commander, Colonel Murray, was killed. Mendoza continued the siege of *Bommel* for a short time; but Prince Maurice, having formed an entrenched camp, interrupted the operations of the Spaniards without risking a general engagement, and forced them to retire.

1599. In the mean time the rebellion had been continued in Ireland, and the Earl of Tyrone and other lawless chiefs were abetted and aided in their open hostility to Queen Elizabeth's government by the King of Spain and the Pope of Rome. The Queen appointed the Earl of Essex to the command of a body of troops sent to reduce the insurgents to obedience; at the same time her Majesty again recalled a number of her hardy veterans from the Low Countries to accompany the Earl of Essex in his enterprise, and their places were supplied by new levies from the city of London and other parts of England.\*

1600. The English troops in the Low Countries were employed in the spring of 1600, in the siege of *Fort St. André*, built on the island of *Bommelwaert* at the confluence of the *Maese* and the *Waal*. This fort surrendered on the 6th of May, 1600; and the German and Walloon troops in garrison, dissatisfied at not receiving their pay from the Spaniards, entered the service of the States of the United Provinces.

The Archduke Albert blockaded Ostend; and the States, having, after the capture of *Fort St. André*, their frontiers free from danger, resolved upon an offensive war in Flanders. Two thousand vessels were collected, and the troops were embarked for the purpose of landing at Ostend, but being prevented by contrary winds, the fleet passed up the *Scheldt*, the flat-bottomed boats, in which the troops were embarked, were run aground at high-water near a small fort called the *Philippine*, on the 22nd of June, and, being left by the tide on dry land, the men debarked with facility. On the following day the army, consisting of three thousand horse and twelve thousand foot, marched in three divisions, commanded by Count Ernest of Nassau, Count Solms, and SIR FRANCIS VERE, whose division consisted of ten cornets of lancers, cuirassiers, and mounted harquebusiers; one thousand six hundred English pikemen and musketeers, and two thousand five hundred Frieslanders.

\* "In the beginning of the month of January souldiers in Essex and divers other shires. and also in the city of London, were pressed, and being furnished of all things necessary for the wars, were sent into the Low Countries, to remain on service in place of olde souldiers from thence to be transported and sent into Ireland. All subsidy-men in the city were cessed at eightpence the pound, goods or lands, towards this charge."—*Stow's Annales, or General Chronicle.*

Proceeding by Ghent and Bruges, to the vicinity of Ostend, a communication was opened with the town; and the army, having gained possession of several small forts, afterwards undertook the siege of *Nieuport*, a fortified town in the earldom of Flanders, situate on the river Yprelee, about two miles from the sea.

1600.

The Spanish commander assembled the forces under his orders, and advanced to besiege the forts of Oudenburg, Plassendael, and Bredene, and to cut off the communication of the army of the States with Ostend. In order to impede the movements of the enemy, Prince Maurice detached during the night, between the 1st and 2nd of July, Sir William Edmond's regiment of Scots foot, a regiment of Zealanders, and four cornets of cavalry, under his cousin, Count Ernest of Nassau, to take possession of the bridges and oppose the advance of the enemy to the downs of *Nieuport*. The enemy had, however, passed the bridges, and the detachment was attacked by the whole Spanish army, and routed with great slaughter. The Scots regiment behaved with great bravery, but it was completely annihilated.\*

After defeating this detachment the Archduke advanced on the same day (2nd of July) to the downs or sand-hills near *Nieuport*, where he encountered SIR FRANCIS VERE's division, which had forded the haven that morning, and was formed in order of battle among the steep and rugged sand-hills,—its left to the sea, and its right towards *Nieuport*; the tops of the sand-hills were crowned with Friesland musketeers, and in the intermediate spaces appeared one thousand English pikemen, and six hundred musketeers, supported by the lancers and mounted harquebusiers. At the sight of this formidable array, the Spanish army halted, and sent forward a few detachments to skirmish; these were supported by additional combatants, and a sharp engagement ensued. When the action commenced, the main body of the army of the United Provinces had not passed the haven, consequently the English had to sustain the brunt of the battle for some time, and both horsemen and foot highly distinguished themselves,—engaging the enemy in close combat, and sustaining and repulsing the reiterated attacks of such superior numbers of Spaniards and Italians, that their conduct appears almost without parallel in the annals of war.

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\* "Toute la perte étant tombée du côté des Ecossois, qui perdirent tous leur  
"chefs et capitaines, en telle sorte qu'il y demeura bien huit cents sur la  
"place, entre lesquels il y avoient onze capitaines, beaucoup de lieutenants  
"et autres officiers."—*Orlèrs*.

1600. The action became more fierce and sanguinary every moment, and SIR FRANCIS VERE was seen amidst the combatants controlling and directing the storm of battle, and urging his English bands to deeds of heroism. He was shot through the leg, afterwards through the thigh, and received several other wounds; but, though streaming with blood, he continued at his post. At length, many of his officers and men having fallen, he sent to Prince Maurice, who was passing the haven with the main body, for a reinforcement; but before any troops came to his aid, his men were so overmatched with numbers, and exhausted with fighting, that they were forced to retire; and while making this retrograde movement, his horse was killed, and fell upon him. From this perilous situation SIR FRANCIS VERE was rescued by Sir John Ogle, and one of Sir Robert Drury's men, and conveyed in safety to the rear.\*

A troop of English lancers, another of harquebusiers, and about three hundred English foot, soon rallied, and this small party "made an exceedingly great charge on a sudden, for the "enemy, in hope of victory, followed hard, and being upon the "sands where horse might serve upon them, were soon routed, "most cut to pieces, the rest saving themselves by flight as they "could in the downs, while our men, both horse and foot, "followed them. Our men on the tops of the hills, who had "kept their places from the beginning, having a fair mark, plied "the enemy with shot. Our English soldiers on all hands "resorted to the fight, and pelted the enemy with shot, and "pressing upon them, made them recoil. The Count Maurice,† "seeing things on these termes, caused the battel to advance, "and his horsemen to make a proffer upon the enemy's, upon "which sight, without attending any strokes, the enemy was "routed and chased out of the field.

"The enemy lost above one hundred and twenty ensigns " (colours,) most of his foot slain, not many of his horse "lost. On our side, in a manner, the whole loss fell upon "English, of which near eight hundred were hurt and slain, eight "captains slain, the rest, all but two, hurt, and most of my "inferiour officers hurt and slain. In the rest of the army there "was no losse at all to speak of, especially amongst the foot.

"I dare not take the whole honour of the victory to the

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\* Sir John Ogle's account of the battle of Nieuport.

† When Prince Maurice observed the English rally and make head against such an immense superiority of numbers, flushed with the prospect of victory, he cried to those around him in a transport of joy, *Voyez ! Voyez ! les Anglois qui tournent à la charge !—Ogle.*

"English, one thousand six hundred men, I will only affirm that  
"they left nothing for the rest of the army to do, but to follow  
"the chase."\* 1600.

After the overthrow of the Spanish army, the forces of the States remained before Nieuport fourteen days, and afterwards proceeded to the vicinity of Ostend, and captured a large Spanish fort called Isabella. In the autumn the army embarked for the United Provinces.

On the breaking out of the war between the King of Spain and the States of the Low Countries, *Ostend* was a small village in the earldom of Flanders; in 1572 it was enclosed with palisades and wooden gates, to protect it from the incursions of the Spaniards; and five years afterwards, the States, considering the advantageous situation of the place, fortified it in a more formidable manner. The Prince of Parma, having reduced a great part of Flanders to obedience, captured Dunkirk, and Nieuport in 1583, and afterwards appeared with his army before *Ostend*; but was repulsed with loss. From this period *Ostend* had stood alone in the provinces subjected to Spain, and the facility with which it could be relieved by water, had enabled it to resist every attempt of the enemy. The garrison had also made frequent incursions into the adjacent country, and had raised heavy contributions; to prevent which, the States of Flanders had erected eighteen forts, in which they kept strong garrisons. The expense of these garrisons had, however, proved burdensome to the people, and large sums of money had from time to time been offered to the Spanish governors to defray the expense of the capture of *Ostend*. 1601.

The States of the United Provinces had, in the meantime, projected the capture of these eighteen forts, and the making of additional conquests in Flanders, and had made choice of SIR FRANCIS VERE to command the troops to be employed in this enterprise; at the same time the attention of Archduke Albert was to be diverted by the siege of Rhineberg, which town had been re-captured by the Spaniards in 1598. Having resolved on this enterprise, the States sent SIR FRANCIS VERE to London, in the spring of 1601, to solicit Queen Elizabeth for an additional aid of three thousand English, which her Majesty granted.

Meanwhile the States of Flanders had offered the Spanish governor nine hundred thousand crowns to defray the charge of capturing *Ostend*, and while SIR FRANCIS VERE was in England, the Archduke had assembled a powerful army, and he commenced the siege of the town in the beginning of July, 1601.

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\* Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries.



1601. Instead of thinking of capturing the forts, the States of the United Provinces had to direct their attention to the preservation of the town; and Prince Maurice, who had commenced the siege of Rhineberg, was requested to send the twenty-two English companies in his army to the coast, to be embarked for *Ostend*. His highness was, however, opposed by a powerful Spanish army in Brabant, and he refused to part with more than eight companies of the celebrated English veterans. To these eight companies were added four additional English companies from the garrisons of Holland, and seven companies of Dutch; and with this force SIR FRANCIS VERE sailed for *Ostend*, and landed on the 11th of July on the sands opposite the town. The English general immediately commenced strengthening and augmenting the defences of the town; and on the 23rd of July he received a reinforcement of one thousand five hundred men from England.\* The immense preparations of the Archduke, with the steady resolution of SIR FRANCIS VERE, and the troops under his orders, gave an interesting character to the contest, and occasioned all the nations of Europe to look with intense anxiety at the progress of the siege. SIR FRANCIS VERE, having been wounded in the head, proceeded to Zealand for recovery. The Spaniards, thinking to overwhelm the garrison with the fury of their batteries during his absence, kept up a tremendous fire on the town, and the besieged answered this storm of fire and balls with energy. A French historian observes,—“From morning to morning, day and night, there was nothing heard but the thundering of cannon, and the hissing of balls from both sides.

“The brave English soldiers, observing what storms of great shot came daily rolling into the town, (the besiegers having already discharged little less than thirty-five thousand shot against it,) and perceiving that all the houses were like to be beaten about their ears, advised themselves to take this course:—There was a plot of ground in the town commonly used for a market-place, which was something higher than the rest of the streets; here they did earth themselves, digging it hollow, and fitting themselves with cabins and lodgings within the ground. The like did they by another void piece of ground upon the south-west, whereby they thought themselves

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\* “On the 23d of July there arrived one thousand five hundred Englishmen from England in *red cassocks*, and the whole were presently divided amongst the first twelve companies.”—*History of the Siege of Ostend*.

The city of London furnished one thousand men; and the equipment of these levies cost the citizens 3*l.* 10*s.* for each man.—*Stow*.

"secure from the enemy's batteries, so did they sufficiently  
 "testify their own resolution rather to interre themselves in the  
 "graves which they had digged, than to quit their possession of  
 "the place unto the enemy. Hereupon the besiegers shot  
 "arrows with letters into the English quarters, promising ten  
 "stivers a day to such as would serve the Archduke against the  
 "town; but these offers were slighted by the English, who  
 "hated falseness as much as they contemned danger."\*

1601.

The garrison was strengthened and encouraged to make an extraordinary defence, by the arrival on the 20th of August of two thousand additional troops from England; and Prince Maurice having captured Rhineberg, sent a reinforcement from his army of twenty ensigns of Scots, French, Walloons, and Frieslanders, who arrived at *Ostend* on the 23rd of August. Thus reinforced, the garrison made several sallies; and although the Spaniards used great diligence, keeping up an almost constant fire of red-hot balls, flint stones, and musket-shot, until a great part of the town was in ruins, yet the defenders did not relax in their efforts, and the final reduction of the town appeared remote.

On the 19th of September SIR FRANCIS VERE returned from Zealand cured of his wound, and his presence inspired the troops with confidence. The weather was unusually severe, provisions became scarce, and, during the winter, several men were frozen to death; yet the defence was continued with unabating vigour. The damage done to the works each day was repaired in the night, and the enemy was only induced to continue the siege by the promise of an additional one hundred thousand crowns, to be paid by the States of Flanders, and the sense of shame and disgrace which would attend a failure, after such vast preparations had been made.

Early on the morning of the 4th of December, SIR FRANCIS VERE, after remaining all the previous night on the ramparts, retired to rest; but he had scarcely laid himself down when an alarm was given, and, seizing his sword, he ran half-undressed to the breach, where he found his own company hotly engaged with a Spanish storming party; the English men-at-arms were displaying great gallantry, and several English officers were seen confronting a phalanx of Spanish pikemen, and cutting off the heads of the pikes with their swords.† After a sharp contest the assailants were repulsed and driven back, with the loss of five hundred men, left dead in and near the breach.

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\* The continuation of the Siege of Ostend, in Vere's Commentaries.

† Narrative of the Transactions at Ostend, by Sir John Ogle.

1601. About a fortnight afterwards, the garrison being reduced in numbers by sickness, and the provisions nearly exhausted, SIR FRANCIS VERE engaged in a parley with the enemy, and he displayed extraordinary abilities in amusing the Archduke with discussions about the terms of surrender, until a supply arrived from Zealand, when he broke off the negociation. The Archduke, enraged at being thus foiled, called to his aid additional forces, and on the 7th of January, 1602, he made an attempt to carry the place by storm, with ten thousand men. The garrison was reduced by sickness, and other casualties, to one thousand two hundred able men, yet such excellent dispositions had been made by the English general, and such a sanguinary tenacity was evinced by the troops, the sick men quitting their beds to take part in the fight, that the enemy was again repulsed, and two thousand Spaniards and Italians were slain. The garrison had only forty men killed, and one hundred wounded.

After defending the town for eight months, SIR FRANCIS VERE was relieved by a Dutch governor, and he sailed for England to recruit his health; but the English troops remained in garrison, and the losses were replaced by recruits from the city of London, and other parts of England. The Archduke, becoming more resolute as the siege was protracted, obtained the aid of another army from Italy; and the year 1602 was passed in fighting around the ramparts of *Ostend*, where many hundreds were killed on both sides, and others died from disease.

1603. While the English were acquiring renown in the defence of *Ostend*, Queen Elizabeth died, (24th March, 1603,) and was succeeded by King James VI. of Scotland, (James I. of England,) who concluded a treaty of peace with Spain, but did not recall his subjects from the service of the States of the United Provinces. The English defenders of *Ostend* had, consequently, the honour of remaining at their post, and on the night of the 13th of April, 1603, they had another opportunity of displaying their valour, in repulsing a storming party of Spaniards and Italians, who were chased from the ramparts with the loss of above a thousand men.

During this summer the Marquis Ambrosia Spinola, a man of extraordinary genius and ability in military affairs, arrived before *Ostend* to aid the Archduke in the siege, and he engaged to expend his own immense riches in carrying on the operations, in case of need. He drew to his camp the best engineers in Europe, and the attacks were carried on with greater vigour than ever. Under his directions an immense machine, or movable tower on wheels, was constructed, called Pompey's Chariot, by means of which he expected to gain possession of the works;

but when it was brought forward, one of the wheels was broken by the fire of the artillery from the town, and the machine was rendered useless. New works were afterwards constructed, and both sides laboured and fought with unabating vigour throughout another year. 1603.

In the spring of 1604, Prince Maurice undertook an expedition to Flanders, with the view of drawing the besieging army from before the town; and having sailed from Holland in April, with twelve thousand men, he took the island of Cadsand, from whence he proceeded to the main land on the coast of Flanders, and captured several forts, while his horsemen scoured the country and amassed the spoil of several towns and villages. The Spanish commander continued, however, to keep *Ostend* closely besieged; and he attacked the town by assault on the 17th of June, and again on the 16th of July; but so obstinate was the defence, and unremitting the exertions of the besieged, that when the Spaniards succeeded in gaining possession of the old rampart, they found within that a second, and a third rampart, forming a kind of citadel, which they termed "New Troy." Notwithstanding these obstacles, the besiegers continued their works, mining the ramparts, erecting forts and batteries, and occasionally giving assaults at various points; but labouring, more especially, to cut off the communication of the town with the sea, by means of floating batteries, and other devices. While the garrison, equally resolute in the defence, annoyed the Spaniards with countermines, sallies, and a spirited fire from the cannon and small arms; and when the guns became unserviceable from constant use, they were replaced with others from Holland. 1604.

In the mean time Prince Maurice, though unable to compel the Spaniards to raise the siege of *Ostend*, captured the strong town of *Sluys*, in which service six ensigns of English troops and seven of Scots were engaged, and distinguished themselves.

One hundred and twenty thousand men had already perished in the siege and defence of *Ostend*,\* and the storm of war still raged round this devoted fortress with unabated fury, when an assembly of the States of the United Provinces took into consideration the great expense of defending the town, which they only desired to possess for the purpose of having free access to Flanders, to carry on the war in the enemy's country, and as the possession of Cadsand and *Sluys*, which Prince Maurice had

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\* Stow, &c., &c. In the History of the Siege of Ostend it is stated that the besieging army lost seventy-two thousand, and the garrison fifty thousand men.

1604. recently captured, would answer the same purpose, they resolved to give up *Ostend*, which was become a heap of ruins. Accordingly, towards the end of August, 1604, after a siege of three years and one month, the garrison capitulated; and in the beginning of September it marched out with drums beating and colours flying, taking every thing away except a few pieces of damaged cannon, and some spoiled ammunition. All the inhabitants put their goods on board of vessels, and quitted the place, excepting one old man and two women, who chose to remain among the heaps of ruin. When the garrison marched out, four thousand brave soldiers were seen issuing from the town, most of them exhibiting scars, and other marks of honour; the English and Scots troops, (both belonging to the same sovereign since the accession of King James the First,) composed the rear-guard; the whole marched to Sluys, and joined the army before the town; and rewards, and promotion, were bestowed on the gallant men who had so signally distinguished themselves.

1605. In the early part of the campaign of 1605, an expedition was fitted out from Zealand, for the purpose of making an attack upon Antwerp, but the design was frustrated by contrary winds. During the summer the Marquis Spinola marched the Spanish army from Flanders towards Friesland, and captured several small fortified towns. The English troops were employed in various movements to counteract the designs of the enemy, and in October they had another opportunity of adding to their numerous honours. The Marquis Spinola had so manœuvred, that, according to the writers of that period, he had "grasped" up Prince Maurice and his men against the sea shore, with "more than three times their number." The Prince was attempting to effect a retreat, when the enemy attacked his rear with great fury, and routed several troops of mounted harquebusiers. The danger being imminent, SIR HORACE VERE obtained permission to quit his post in the main body of the army with his English bands, and to attack the enemy. Having forded a deep river, he charged the Spaniards with great bravery, drove them back a considerable distance, and afterwards retired in good order; but, as the English were repassing the river, the enemy came down upon them in great numbers, when SIR HORACE VERE faced about with the rear-guard of sixty men, and withstood the charge of the Spaniards on the brink of the stream with astonishing bravery. These sixty men were overpowered, and nearly all killed; but their gallant conduct saved the army from a serious disaster. SIR HORACE VERE'S horse was shot under him, but lived to carry him across the

river,\* and the army effected its retreat without further loss. 1605.  
The English troops afterwards proceeded, with the remainder of the army, to Holland.

During the following year the Spaniards attempted to capture 1606.  
the town of *Sluys* by surprise. Several men swam, during a dark night, to a part of the works which had recently been damaged by fire, and having broken the locks of the draw-bridges and gates with petards, a party of Spaniards attempted to force an entrance, but were resisted by the watch. An English captain and sixteen soldiers, who were in quarters near the gate, hearing the report of fire-arms, seized their weapons and rushed half-dressed to the gateway, and assisted in repelling the assailants; other combatants also hastened to the scene of conflict, and the Spaniards were driven back. English blood had now become warm, and not satisfied with repulsing their adversaries, the English captain and sixteen men issued from the gate, followed by the watch and many of the other men, whom the noise had drawn to the spot, and attacked the Spaniards with great fury. This sudden onset put the enemy into disorder, numbers were slain, and the remainder sought their safety in flight. In the panic and confusion which prevailed in the dark, many of the fugitives threw away their weapons and armour to facilitate their flight, and a sufficient number of arms were afterwards collected to equip a thousand men. Many of the Spaniards who were slain had property on their persons to a considerable value. "The Englishmen, who (besides the watch) "were the first that sallied forth against the enemy, had the best "purses and booty; and, whereas most of them went out half-naked, they came into the town again with good apparel."†

After the failure of the attack on *Sluys*, the Marquis Spinola besieged *Rhineberg*; and a Scots regiment, engaged in the defence of the town, lost its colonel, Sir William Edmonds, a brave and experienced officer, who had risen by merit from the ranks, and was killed in September, 1606, by a musket shot in the head. Sir Edward Cecil's English regiment was also engaged in the defence of *Rhineberg*. The States requested Prince Maurice to relieve the town, and he put his army in motion for that purpose; but he was too slow in his movements, and the garrison surrendered on the 1st October, 1606, before he arrived to its relief.

The King of Spain had, in the mean time, conferred the 1607.  
Netherlands on Archduke Albert of Austria, who was married

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\* Collins' Historical Collections of the Vere Family.

† History of the Netherlands, by Edward Grimston, Serjeant-at-Arms.

1607. to the Infanta, Isabella Clara Eugenia of Spain, and both parties having become weary of the war, negotiations were commenced in 1607, with the view of terminating hostilities for a given period. As a preliminary article the Archduke and Infanta "declared in their own names, and in that of the King "of Spain, that they would treat with the said Lords of the "States General of the United Provinces, in the quality of *free* "countries, provinces, and states, to which they pretend no "claim."
1608. While these negotiations were in progress, the English commander-in-chief in the Netherlands, SIR FRANCIS VERE, died on the 28th August, 1608, and was succeeded in his command by his brother SIR HORACE VERE, afterwards LORD VERE, *Baron of Tilbury*.
1609. The articles for a truce for twelve years having been sent to Spain, were ratified by His Catholic Majesty on the 25th of July, 1609, and thus the independence of the United Provinces was formally acknowledged, for which they were, in a great measure, indebted to British valour and magnanimity.
1610. Scarcely was this treaty concluded, when a dispute arose on the subject of the succession to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers; and many of the soldiers who had fought for the liberty of the United Provinces, were employed as auxiliaries to the Marquis of Brandenburg, who claimed this territory, in which he was supported by the States. In 1610, four thousand English and Scots, commanded by Sir Edward Cecil, were engaged in the siege of the city of *Juliers*, which the Archduke Leopold had seized, and had collected an army for its defence. The English were particularly distinguished by the spirit and resolution with which they carried on their approaches, and made their attacks. Besides the Hollanders and British, French and Brandenburg forces were also employed in the siege; a spirit of emulation and rivalry prevailed among the troops of the several nations, which should most distinguish themselves, and the British, though fewest in numbers, made the first breach, and were the first that passed over the ditch to the wall.\* Such was the valour and perseverance of the besieging army, that the Archduke was forced to surrender in the early part of September. Several English companies were afterwards placed in garrison, at the city of Juliers.
1613. The States, being enabled to reduce the strength of their military forces, several companies of Scots, whose services were

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\* Continuation of Grimston's History of the Netherlands, by Thomas Crosse, M.A.

no longer required in the Low Countries, engaged in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. These Scots became the nucleus of a corps, which is now represented by the First, or the Royal Regiment of Foot, in the British Line. 1613.

Notwithstanding the truce which existed, the States had occasion, in 1614, again to assemble an army in the cause of liberty, and of the Protestant religion. The Protestant inhabitants of the city of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, being prevented attending divine service at Juliers, a town situate near to them, by a decree of the council, which was composed of Roman Catholics, took arms and expelled all the Jesuits, through whose advice the decree had been made; the Roman Catholic magistrates were also removed from their offices, and Protestants elected in their stead. The expulsion of the Roman Catholics excited the indignation of the Emperor of Germany, who issued a mandate against the Protestant inhabitants of the town; and this document having been sent to Archduke Albert, the Marquis Spinola was despatched with an army of thirty thousand men from the Spanish Netherlands, against the city of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which he forced to surrender at discretion. Spinola, having displaced the Protestant magistrates, restored the Catholics, punished the offenders, and afterwards captured several places in the duchy of Cleves. 1614.

These proceedings against the Protestant interest did not prove agreeable to the States of the United Provinces, and Prince Maurice advanced with their army, of which the English, under SIR HORACE VERE, formed part, into the duchy of Cleves, took possession of Emmerick, and several small places, and proceeded to Rees. Thus the peace of Europe was again endangered; but while the public mind was agitated with hope and fear, further hostilities were prevented by the interposition of the courts of England and France.

In 1616, King James I. delivered up the cautionary towns on the coast of the Netherlands, which had been surrendered to Queen Elizabeth as a guaranty for the repayment of the money which Her Majesty expended in their cause. The States, however, knowing the great value of the British troops, retained a body of English and Scots in their service. 1616.

The tranquillity of Europe, during the seventeenth century, was never of long duration: contests on the subject of religion and liberty were constantly breaking out in some part of the continent, and the neighbouring states became involved in the conflict. The Catholics ranged themselves on the side of monarchy, and the Protestants on the side of liberty, and, 1619.



1619. whenever a rupture occurred, religious zeal brought crowds of combatants into the field.

The States of Bohemia took arms against the Emperor of Germany, and claimed the observance of all the edicts in favour of the Protestant religion, with the restoration of their ancient laws. The Emperor Ferdinand II. made great preparations for the recovery of his authority. The States of Bohemia, being desirous of having a prince at their head who could assist them with his arms and influence, tendered the crown of Bohemia, which they considered elective, to Frederic, Elector Palatine, who accepted the offer, and proceeded to Bohemia to support his new subjects.

1620. The King of Spain took part with the house of Austria, and, while the armies of the empire were advancing into Bohemia, the Marquis Spinola assembled thirty thousand men in the Spanish Netherlands, to invade the Palatinate. At the same time SIR HORACE VERE, the commander of the English forces in the Netherlands, with his nephews, the young Earls of Oxford and Essex, raised a regiment of from two to three thousand men in England, to assist in the defence of the Palatinate. The cause in which the Elector Palatine had embarked was so popular in England, that SIR HORACE VERE's regiment was composed principally of men of property, and is said to have made the most splendid appearance of any corps which had been seen for many years.

The English forces in the Low Countries also took the field with the army under Prince Maurice, and having advanced to the frontiers of the territory belonging to the States, a few men of each company were placed under the command of Prince Henry of Nassau, to accompany VERE's newly-raised English regiment into Germany.

The forces assembled to oppose the enormous power of Spain and Austria, were, however, too few in number to make effectual resistance. The result was, Frederic was defeated at the great and decisive battle of Prague, and fled with his family into Holland; and Spinola, meeting with little resistance in the Palatinate, soon reduced the greatest part of the principality. The English, under SIR HORACE VERE, had the mortification to find that, owing to the apathy and divisions among the princes of the union, their efforts were unavailing; a small part of the country was, however, preserved by them until the end of 1623.

1621. In 1621, the truce between Spain and the United Provinces having expired, both parties prepared to engage in war with sanguinary obstinacy. The Spaniards commenced with attacking the towns in the duchy of Juliers, garrisoned by the

troops in the service of the States of the United Provinces, and the rich corn-fields and fine pastures of this fruitful part of the country, the picture of rural industry and prosperity, became the scene of conflict and bloodshed. Count Henry Vanderberg appeared in the summer of 1621, with fourteen thousand Spaniards, Burgundians, Germans, and Italians, and a battering train, before the city of *Juliers*, which was garrisoned by six companies of English and eight of Dutch and French foot, and one troop of cuirassiers. The Spanish commander completely invested the place, and formed fortified lines of circumvallation; but he had to contend with men emulous of fame, particularly the English, who were proud of their national celebrity for intrepidity and steady resolution, and were resolved to maintain their character.

1621.

When the Spanish army appeared before *Juliers*, Prince Maurice assembled the forces of the States General and advanced to the banks of the Rhine, designing to pass the river by a bridge of boats; but he was opposed by the Marquis Spinola with another Spanish army, and prevented from raising the siege.

Meanwhile the troops in *Juliers* made a gallant defence. In September they issued from the town, slew a number of Spaniards, and destroyed some works on the river Ruhr. Another desperate sally was made in October, when the enemy's ordinary guards were overpowered, and the Spanish camp thrown into confusion; but Count Vanderberg rallied his men and repulsed his assailants.

During the progress of the siege, an English captain, John Haydon, and a Dutch officer, challenged any two officers of the besieging army to personal combat with sword and pistol, which was accepted, and two stout Burgundians entered the lists. The English officer slew his antagonist, but the Dutchman was killed by the other Burgundian.

The garrison defended the town until January, 1622, when it was forced to surrender from want of provisions; it, however, obtained honourable terms, and marched out with drums beating and colours flying, the Spanish general furnishing six hundred waggons for its baggage and stores.

In the mean time another body of Spaniards had made an attempt on *Sluys*, in Flanders, and on the island of *Cadsand*, but these places were so well defended, that the assailants were forced to retire with loss.

In this year Archduke Albert of Austria died, and his duchess, the Infanta of Spain, retired to a religious establishment for life; her Royal Highness having no issue, the provinces which

1621. continued in the Catholic interest, reverted to the crown of Spain.
1622. The Spanish commander having resolved on besieging the important fortress of *Bergen-op-Zoom*, sent, in the spring of 1622, an army into the duchy of Cleves, to menace the frontiers of the United Provinces on that side. Count Henry of Nassau assembled six thousand men in the fruitful plain of Emmerich, on the right bank of the Rhine, from whence he marched to Rees, where he was joined by another body of troops under Prince Maurice. At the same time part of the garrison of Bergen-op-Zoom was withdrawn to strengthen the threatened frontier. Spinola, finding his stratagem had succeeded, proceeded by expeditious marches towards Brabant, and sent a detachment forward under Louis de Velasco, who besieged and captured Steenberg, without meeting with much opposition.

This proceeding exposed the designs of the enemy to Prince Maurice, who instantly detached fourteen companies of English and Scots under COLONEL HENDERSON, and eleven companies of Flemings, Walloons, and French, under Colonel Fama, who arrived at Bergen-op-Zoom in July, three days after the Spanish detachment appeared before the town. The arrival of the brave Scottish COLONEL HENDERSON was hailed with joy both by the burghers and troops in garrison, "for which," Crosse, the historian of the Netherlands, observes, "there was good cause, "for he was a man of great experience and virtue." The garrison consisted of forty-nine companies of foot, of several nations, and a few troops of cuirassiers. To the English and Scots was allotted the defence of the south side of the town; and scarcely was the mode of resistance settled when the garrison resolved on a sortie to attack the Spaniards, who had taken post behind a hill at a short distance from the town, to await the arrival of reinforcements, and had formed a fortified camp. A select body of men, accordingly, issued from the town on the afternoon of the 22nd of July, and marching towards the camp met a body of Spaniards advancing towards them, "whom "the English and Scots of the vanguard encountered courageously, and drove from the plain into places which were high "and well-fortified; where fighting hand to hand at the "push of pike, our men did beat them out of their "first intrenchments and forced them to retire into their "chiefest fortifications." The Dutch cuirassiers behaved well on this occasion; — a company of volunteers also distinguished themselves, and the enemy's cavalry was broken and put into disorder. "After the conflict was ended, our

"men, having shown what they durst do, retired towards the town."\* 1622.

The Marquis Spinola arrived at the Spanish camp on the 28th of July, with additional forces, and the siege was commenced with vigour. At the same time the besieged laboured with great industry to strengthen and increase the works, and to annoy the enemy with sorties and skirmishes; and while they were thus engaged, an event occurred which produced a great sensation in the Netherlands.

King James I. had commenced negociations with the King of Spain, with the view of procuring the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Infanta, and encouraged by the favour shown by the King of England to the Spanish court, Spinola procured an English regiment to fight for papacy and tyranny against their countrymen, who were shedding their blood in the cause of liberty and the Protestant religion. On the 2nd of August the brave English defenders of *Bergen-op-Zoom* saw, with feelings of horror more easily conceived than expressed, about two thousand of their countrymen in the Spanish camp, and the red cross of St. George floating among the colours of the enemy. Many of the English deserted the Spanish service, and fled to *Bergen-op-Zoom*, and, being reproached by their countrymen in the garrison, asserted that they had been deceived, having understood that they were engaged for the service of the States.

The garrison continued to annoy the enemy with skirmishes and sallies; and on the evening of the 16th of August, a party of English and Scots issued from the horn-work near the Antwerp-gate, took possession of a high piece of ground in the wood, and commenced constructing a half-moon. About eleven o'clock, a body of Spaniards advanced to storm this little work, but were repulsed by the forty English and Scots who defended it. A second assault was given with additional numbers, and the guard was driven back, but being supported by a reserve, the English and Scots recovered the half-moon sword in hand, and chased the enemy to a hill in the wood. The Spanish general sent forward another body of troops, which assaulted the half-moon with great fury, but was driven back with loss. After breathing a short time, the Spaniards advanced to the attack with greater fury than before; the little band of Britons heard the sound of a trampling multitude, and saw through the dark foliage of the wood a host of combatants rushing forward to assault them, and they immediately sent forward a volley of musket shot which smote the head of the enemy's column and

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\* Crosse.

1622. laid many a foe in the dust. The Spaniards passed over their dead and wounded companions with apparent unconcern, and assaulted the entrenchment with pike and sword. The English and Scots stood firm, and disputed every foot of ground; and the brave COLONEL HENDERSON was seen fighting at the head of his men with signal gallantry. At length he was shot through the thigh, and fell to the ground; when one of the soldiers cried, "Our colonel is dead;" but the colonel shouted aloud, "I am not dead, charge! charge! forward against the enemy!" Colonel Fama, hearing the noise of battle in the wood continued for several hours, sent a reinforcement to aid the British; the Spaniards had effected a lodgment under the parapet, where they maintained their ground, but were unable to gain a single foot of the works, and about three in the morning the fighting ceased. COLONEL HENDERSON was afterwards removed to the Hague, where he died of his wound.

A company of two hundred Swiss arrived at Bergen-op-Zoom on the 20th of August, under Captain Waltofer, and were engaged on the same evening in repulsing an attack on the half-moon near Wouve-gate. The assault was given in the dark with such fury, and so many hand-grenades were used that (according to Crosse) "the earth seemed to tremble, and the firmament to be on fire. The English and Scots fought more like lions than men," and the Swiss, emulous of equalling their brave companions in arms, fought with their two-handed swords with great bravery. "In a word, the enemy were so well beaten that, in the morning when it was light, nothing was to be seen about the semi-circle of the half-moon but the slaughtered bodies of men, and in some places they lay in heaps, one upon another, like sheaves of corn in a harvest field."

The communication with Bergen-op-Zoom by water being open, Colonel SIR CHARLES MORGAN arrived on the 26th of August, to take command of the English and Scots; and the fame of the gallant defence of the town having spread throughout Christendom, a number of distinguished persons arrived in the character of volunteers, to learn the art of war. Among others, Sir William Nassau, afterwards Count of Moeurs; Lord Mountjoy, son of the great Mountjoy, afterwards Earl of Devonshire; Sir Robert Oxenbridge, with his two brothers, Henry and William; W. Wentworth, Esq., T. Reynolds, Esq., and others, who placed themselves under the orders of SIR CHARLES MORGAN, and took their turn of duty on the works.

In the beginning of September, three thousand of the enemy made a night attack on the works occupied by the troops under Colonel Fama, when SIR CHARLES MORGAN led a company of

English to the assistance of the French and Walloons, and the Spaniards were repulsed with immense loss. In a few days afterwards the English commander made use of a stratagem by which he gained an advantage over the enemy. 1622.

The muskets were, at this period, discharged by means of lighted rope matches, and when infantry advanced for any particular service in the night they could be discerned at a distance by their lighted matches. SIR CHARLES MORGAN caused a number of these matches to be fastened to a long cord, which was extended, during the night of the 7th of September, breast high, across one of the roads leading to the enemy's camp. The Spaniards, seeing the lighted matches, issued from their camp, and opened a sharp fire on the supposed adversaries; in the mean time, SIR CHARLES MORGAN sallied with his English and Scottish bands, drove the enemy from the trenches with great slaughter, and destroyed in a few hours a battery and other works which it required many days to restore.

On the following day the enemy received a reinforcement of fifty-six companies of foot, seven troops of horse, and a train of artillery. The besieged were not dismayed by the arrival of these new opponents, but sallied on the succeeding night, and demolished more of the enemy's works: and scarcely a night passed without the enemy being assaulted at some part of their lines; in which service the French, Walloons, Swiss, and men of various nations, emulated their companions, the daring and intrepid English and Scots.

At length the Spaniards began to mine, and the besieged to countermine, and various stratagems of war were carried on under ground. On the 1st of October a mine was sprung, which destroyed part of the rampart, and the enemy immediately stormed the breach, and gained some advantage; but SIR CHARLES MORGAN led forward a chosen band of English and Scots, and drove the enemy out of the works in admirable style.

The Spanish army had sustained an immense loss in this siege, and the garrison had gained such an ascendancy over the minds of their adversaries that the attacks were made with langour and timidity, at the same time Prince Maurice was advancing with an army towards the town. Under these circumstances, the Marquis Spinola raised the siege and retired. The fame of this gallant defence gave additional reputation to the English and Scots, of whose conduct their countrymen at home were justly proud.

On the 6th of October a body of troops was detached from Bergen-op-Zoom, to retake the town of *Steenbergen*, which was immediately surrendered, and replaced under the authority of the States of the United Provinces.

1623. The Protestant princes of Germany who had united against the Catholic interest, having dissolved, the forces of the empire were at liberty to complete the conquest of the Palatinate, and in the autumn of 1623 General Tilly besieged *Heidelberg*, the capital of the electorate. Several English companies of SIR HORACE VERE's regiment were in garrison at this place, and made a desperate defence, but were overpowered, and the place was taken by storm.

After this conquest the imperial general advanced to *Manheim*, a town garrisoned by nine companies of English and twelve of Dutch, commanded by SIR HORACE VERE. This place was formerly a pretty village of a few houses and a castle, and was chosen in 1606 by the reigning elector for the site of a town, and was peopled by emigrants, who had been driven from the Netherlands by religious persecution. When General Tilly besieged the town, in October, 1623, the fortifications were not completed; but the English general made an excellent defence, and, by sallies and other means, he forced the Germans to change the siege into a blockade. By this means the enemy reduced the garrison, from want of provisions, to the necessity of capitulating, and it marched out with the honours of war.

From *Manheim* General Tilly proceeded to *Frankenthal*, the only remaining town of the Palatinate which stood firm to the elector, where Sir John Burrows commanded the garrison, consisting of a few English and Dutch companies of foot and two hundred horse. Here the imperial general had again recourse to a blockade. Sir John Burrows frequently sallied, and procured provisions by the sword, and having performed every thing which could be expected from valour and patient endurance, an arrangement was at length made that the town should be delivered into the hands of the Archduchess, until the dispute between the elector palatine and the emperor should be settled.

1624. The negotiations between the courts of England and Spain respecting the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Infanta, having been broken off, the States of the United Provinces were enabled to obtain additional troops from England, and in the summer of 1624 four regiments of fifteen hundred men each were raised and embarked for Holland under the command of the Earls of Oxford, Essex, and Southampton, and the Lord Willoughby, and arrived in the Low Countries in August.

Notwithstanding the arrival of this powerful reinforcement, the Spanish general continued to have a great superiority of numbers, and after menacing the frontiers of the territory belonging to the States at several points, he besieged, in the

autumn of this year, the large and important town of *Breda*, situate on the river Merck, and defended by a garrison of English, Scots, French, and Dutch, under the veteran Justin of Nassau. The English troops in the garrison were commanded by SIR CHARLES MORGAN, and were employed in the defence of the works in the vicinity of Bosgate, in which they acquitted themselves with gallantry.

1624.

The Marquis Spinola surrounded the town with deep entrenchments, strengthened with redoubts, forts, and towers, so as to defend his troops from the attacks of an army designed to relieve the town, and also from the sallies of the garrison; and having amassed immense magazines of provisions and military stores, he resolved on reducing the place by famine. Meanwhile the garrison endeavoured to annoy the besieging army by sallies, and the soldiers and burghers, resolving to hold out to the last extremity, placed themselves upon a limited allowance of provision; and they were encouraged by the prospect of being delivered by the arrival of additional forces from England.

The loss of the Palatinate, and the reduction of so many Protestants under the power of Papacy and foreign domination, excited a deep feeling of sympathy in England; and during the winter of 1624 twelve thousand foot and two hundred horse were raised and placed under the orders of Count Mansfeldt, to be employed in the recovery of the Palatinate, and in raising the siege of Breda. In the mean time the Marquis Spinola laboured with indefatigable industry to augment the strength of his lines of circumvallation; his cavalry scoured the country in large parties, and brought supplies of provision to his camp; and he called to his aid additional forces. The States were equally industrious in their endeavours to drive the Spanish army from before the town. Three ships laden with stones and clay were sunk in the Merck, and an immense number of men was employed in damming the channel of the river, that the Spaniards might be forced by the inundations to decamp, or the town relieved by boats. A great part of the country was laid under water, and the Spanish camp much incommoded; but the Marquis Spinola caused deep pits to be made to drain the inundation from among his tents, and sluices cut in the river to empty the water in another direction. His men were, however, reduced to an unhealthy state, and numbers perished by disease. He was also afflicted himself with great bodily weakness and pain, and was carried about in a litter to superintend the progress of his works. His lines of circumvallation were enlarged, and extended over a space from twenty to thirty miles; his works



1624. were considered, by the writers of that period, as without parallel in history, and Crosse states, that, "if Pompey or Cæsar had been living, they would not have believed the existence of "such extensive works."

1625. During the winter Count Mansfeldt embarked from England with two troops of horse and six regiments of foot, of which the Earl of Lincoln, Viscount Doncaster, Lord Cromwell, Sir Charles Rich, Sir John Burrows, and T. Gray, Esquires, were colonels, and sailed to Calais; the French government having agreed to permit these troops to march through France, and also to add a considerable body of cavalry to the expedition. On arriving at Calais Count Mansfeldt learnt that no orders had been received for his admission; and after waiting for some time in vain, he was obliged to sail for Zealand, where he arrived towards the end of February, 1625. Here again he was subject to disappointment. No proper measures were concerted for the disembarkation of the troops. After waiting some time before Flushing, he sailed to Gertruydenberg. The rivers were frozen, and some scruples arose among the States on account of a scarcity of provision. Meanwhile a pestilential disease prevailed among the soldiers, who had been long crowded in narrow vessels, and deficient of provision; half their number died while on board; and the remainder, having landed at Gertruydenberg, marched a few stages up the country; but appeared more like living skeletons than men prepared to undergo the fatigues and toils of war.

Meanwhile the Marquis Spinola was strengthening his lines, and calling to his aid additional forces, to resist the attack of the army which the States were assembling to raise the siege; and in the midst of his care and anxiety he sustained a severe loss from fire. He had deposited an immense quantity of provisions in the church of Ginniken, which a Dutch emissary contrived to set on fire; and Spinola is stated to have lost on this occasion twenty thousand sacks of wheat, twenty thousand sacks of rye, six thousand sacks of barley, sixteen thousand sacks of oats, four thousand sacks of peas and beans, four hundred fitches of bacon, two hundred jars of oil, two hundred firkins of butter, three hundred bundles of salt fish, two hundred barrels of herrings, two hundred barrels of salt meat, and twenty-three thousand cheeses, besides flour and other articles.\* Notwithstanding this disaster the Marquis Spinola continued steadfast in his purpose, and used every exertion to repair the loss. Several Catholic

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\* The continuation of Grimston's History of the Netherlands, by W. Crosse, M.A.

princes supplied sums of money, and taxes were levied in advance. 1625.

On the 27th of March, 1625, King James I. of England died, and was succeeded by his son, Charles I. Maurice, Prince of Orange, also died in April, and his brother, Prince Henry Frederick, succeeded to the dignity of the Prince of Orange, and was also appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the United Provinces.

The forces of the States were assembled to attempt to raise the siege of Breda; and on the 17th of May SIR HORACE VERE advanced with seventy ensigns of foot, of several nations, to attack the enemy's works at the village of *Terheyden*. The English taking the lead in this enterprise, surprised an Italian guard before daylight, climbed up the ramparts, and attacked and carried two forts in gallant style. They afterwards made a spirited assault upon another work, but were unable to overcome the difficulties which presented themselves, and were ordered to desist. The Earl of Oxford's ensign-bearer, Ancient Stanhope, attempting to fix his colour on the top of one of the turrets, was killed by an Italian officer; but the gallant earl rushed forward, and being seconded by a soldier named Lane, rescued the colour from the enemy, and brought it off, by which act of heroism he gained great honour; but he died a fortnight afterwards of a disease produced by excessive exertion. In this action twenty pikemen of Sir Edward Hawley's company, who were newly raised men from Somersetshire, were conspicuous for their valour and intrepidity.

The Spanish army was found so strongly entrenched and fortified at every point, that all thoughts of relieving the town were laid aside, and information to this effect was sent to the governor, with permission to surrender on the best terms he could procure. Although the Marquis Spinola offered the garrison honourable conditions, SIR CHARLES MORGAN, who commanded the English, and Colonel d'Hautervie, who commanded the French, would listen to no proposals, saying the honour of their countries were concerned. The governor wrote to the Prince of Orange, who sent an express order to surrender; and the garrison marched out on the 5th of July, with the honours of war. The Marquis Spinola stood near the gate, and saw the troops march out; he saluted the governor, the English commander, and other distinguished individuals, and paid a just tribute of praise to the valour and patient endurance of the soldiers.

After the surrender of Breda, the remaining men of the twelve thousand English raised for the recovery of the Palatinate, under Count Mansfeldt, advanced into the duchy of Cleves, and

1625. encamped near Rees. They were reduced from famine, sickness, and other causes, to five hundred men, and these were afterwards disbanded, for the want of money for their pay and subsistence.

1626. In order to carry on the war with greater vigour, the Spanish monarch made extensive preparations in the spring of 1626, in Spain, Italy, Flanders, and other places. This occasioned the States to give orders for the recruiting of their army, which consisted of five thousand eight hundred and fifty-three horse, and sixty-one thousand six hundred and seventy foot; of which the following corps were British:—

## ENGLISH.

	Number of Mon.
General Lord Vere's troop of horse . . . . .	100
—— Cecil's . . . . .	100
Lord Mountjoy's . . . . .	100
Sir Robert Currie's . . . . .	100

Number of  
Colours.

Lord Vere's regiment of foot . . . . .	32	4090
Viscount Wimbleton's . . . . .	15	1910
Sir Charles Morgan's . . . . .	14	1820
Sir Edward Harewood's . . . . .	14	1820
Sir James Leveson's . . . . .	12	1500
Earl of Essex's . . . . .	12	1500
Lord Willoughby's . . . . .	12	1500

## SCOTS.

Sir William Balfour's horse	. . . . .	100
Captain Thomas Edmonds's	. . . . .	100
Colonel Brogue's regiment of foot	15 . . . . .	1910
Sir Francis Henderson's	. . . . 14 . . . . .	1820
Sir John Burlacie's	. . . . 12 . . . . .	1500

\*Total . . 19,970

When the army took the field, a party of English was detached, with other forces under Count Ernest of Nassau, to besiege *Oldenzael*, a town of Overysse, possessed by the Spaniards, which was taken after a short resistance. During the siege a few companies of English were detached against *Broeckhuise Castle*, which was captured in two days.

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\* Crosse's continuation of the History of the Netherlands.

In 1627, the English took part in the siege of the town of *Groll*, and the operations being protracted by the spirited defence made by the garrison, a Spanish army, commanded by Matthias van Dulken, attempted to relieve the place, but failed, and it was taken by capitulation on the 20th of August, 1627. 1627.

In the spring of the following year, King Charles I. having expended large sums in an unsuccessful expedition against Spain, and being unable to procure from Parliament the necessary supplies for prosecuting the war, commanded the *four* English regiments raised and sent to Holland in 1624, to be reduced to *one*, which was to be commanded by SIR CHARLES MORGAN, and its establishment was fixed at one thousand five hundred and thirty-five men.\* No alteration, however, appears to have been made in the old regiments which had been in the Netherlands since the time of Queen Elizabeth. 1628.

The siege of *Bois-le-Duc*, a strong fortress situate at the conflux of the rivers Dommel and Aa, was undertaken by the Prince of Orange, in the summer of 1629, and the English regiments of Vere, Cecil, Morgan, and Harewood, besides the English troops of cuirassiers and harquebusiers, and a body of Scots, formed part of the besieging force.† This fortress had, for many years, 1629.

\* A copy of the order for this reduction is preserved among the Harleian Manuscripts, No. 1584; and each company was directed to consist of the following numbers :—

	Number of Men.
Colonel Sir Charles Morgan's company . . . .	200
Lieut.-Colonel Sir Thomas Conway's . . . .	150
Major Henry Wentworth's . . . . .	150
Captain Tirwhett's . . . . .	115
„ Ashburnham's . . . . .	115
„ Cromwell's . . . . .	115
„ Bartlett's . . . . .	115
„ Ernerley's . . . . .	115
„ Vauxson's . . . . .	115
„ Talbott's . . . . .	115
„ Essex's . . . . .	115
„ Fielding's . . . . .	115
Total ...	<u>1535</u>

† The following noblemen and gentlemen served as volunteers at this siege :—

Attached to General Lord Vere's first company, Lord Houghton, Sir Walter Erle, Sir Roger Bartu, Sir Henry Hungate, and fifty-eight other gentlemen volunteers; attached to Lord Vere's second company, thirty-four gentlemen volunteers; attached to General Cecil's company, the Viscount of Wimbleton, Lord Doncaster, Lord Fielding, Lord Craven, Sir Thomas Glemman, and thirty-five gentlemen volunteers; attached to

1629. been deemed impregnable; but it surrendered on the 15th of September, after a siege of five months. The English had Lieut.-Col. Sir Edward Vere, and Captains Roes and Byrone, killed; and the Scots lost Captain Ramsey, and Lieutenant Huns.\*

In the autumn of the same year *Burich*, and several forts on the frontiers of the territory belonging to the States General, which had been taken by the Spaniards, were recaptured. A body of troops also passed the Rhine, and several places in the duchies of Cleves and Berg, and the country of Mark, were rescued from the power of Spain.

1630. Notwithstanding their successes, the United Provinces had so far exhausted their pecuniary means by these wars, that they were unable to pay their army regularly; and, in the winter of 1630, the Prince of Orange presented to them a remonstrance, in which he stated that several regiments had arrears due to them from 1614, inclusive.†

The following British troops are included in the list of corps, to which arrears were due:—

#### ENGLISH.

	Number of Men.
Sir Thomas Lucas's troop of harquebusiers . . .	100
Sir Robert Honeywood's troop of cuirassiers . . .	100
Sir John Conyer's ditto . . .	100
Captain Porter's troop of harquebusiers . . .	100
Sir Charles Morgan's regiment of foot . . .	2300
Colonel Herbert's . . . . .	2180
„ Goring's . . . . .	2930
„ Culpepper's . . . . .	2150

#### SCOTS.

Captain Douglas's troop of cuirassiers . . . . .	100
„ Villiers's troop of harquebusiers . . . . .	100

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General Morgan's company, Sir Thomas Bland, Sir Sheffield Claphum, Sir John Gosling, and twenty-three gentlemen volunteers; attached to Colonel Harwood's company, thirty-six gentlemen volunteers; attached to Sir Edward Vere's company, five gentlemen volunteers; attached to Colonel John Cromwell's company, two gentlemen volunteers.

\* Historical relation of the famous siege of the Busse (Bois-le-duc), by Captain John Hexham.

† The heads of this remonstrance, with a list of the regiments in the service of the States General, are preserved in a manuscript book, formerly the property of King George II., and now in the British Museum.

	Number of Men.	1630.
Captain Bentham's troop of cuirassiers . . . . .	100	
Colonel Brogie's regiment of foot . . . . .	1296	
„ Lord Amy's . . . . .	1296	
„ Sir David Bettford's . . . . .	1296	
Total . . . . .	<u>14,148</u>	

Arrangements were subsequently made for the more regular payment of the troops, and the army was preserved in a state of efficiency.

This year (1630) a new champion stood forth in christendom, for the cause of the Protestant religion, namely, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, who invaded Germany with a small army, and his successful career astonished the nations of Europe. The victory which he gained at Leipsic, on the 7th of September, 1631, shook the imperial power, and several Protestant princes were delivered from the hands of their oppressors. 1631.

The army of the United Provinces continued to maintain the same cause successfully in the Netherlands, in 1632, and the four English and three Scots regiments took part in these triumphs. The Prince of Orange besieged *Venloo* and *Ruremonde*, in Spanish Brabant, and both these towns surrendered in June. Several small forts were also taken, and the siege of the famous city of *Maestricht* was commenced. The fortifications of this place were of great strength, a good garrison was also in the town, and before the lines of circumvallation were completed, a Spanish army, commanded by the Marquis of Santa Croix, and an army of Imperialists under the Count of Papenheim, were advancing to relieve the place. The garrison made several furious sallies, and the British troops were always found at the post of honour. During the night of the 1st of July the English, under Robert Earl of Oxford, carried one of the enemy's traverses by assault; and being afterwards attacked, defended the post with great valour for some time, but were eventually forced to retire by superior numbers. A Dutch historian observes, "Many English lost their lives gloriously, after giving distinguished proofs of their courage." During the night of the 29th of July, Captain Courtenay highly distinguished himself at the head of a company of English, in repulsing a sortie of the garrison, and was killed by a hand-grenade. At two o'clock on the morning of the 16th of August the besieged sallied and attacked the Scots quarter, but were repulsed by the 1632.

**1632.** veterans under Colonel Balfour. During the succeeding night four hundred Spaniards issued from the town, and, being concealed by a thick fog, surprised the English guard, and forced the trenches. Major Williams, of SIR CHARLES MORGAN'S regiment, encountered the enemy at the head of the inner-guard, and he had already performed prodigies of valour, when he fell mortally wounded. The second company of LORD VERE'S regiment, and a company of Scots, came rushing forward to the assistance of their companions, the EARL OF OXFORD also arrived with a reinforcement, and the Spaniards were forced back into the town. The English general immediately employed a number of men to strengthen this post, and the EARL OF OXFORD, while superintending the work, was killed by a musket ball.\*

The forces which had advanced to relieve the town attacked the besieging army with great fury, but were repulsed; and the siege being persevered in, the garrison surrendered on the 22nd of August. Among the English who fell at Maestricht was Colonel Sir Edward Harwood, Bart., who was much regretted by the army.†

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\* "Le Compte d'Oxford, qui etoit present au travail, y fut tiré & reçut  
"une balle de mousquet qui lui perça la teste, dont il fut tué sur la place,  
"laissant un regret universel dans le cœur de tous ses officiers & soldats."—  
*Histoire de Frederic Henry de Nassau, par J. Commelyn.*

† Within the Cloister Church at the Hague, on the east wall, is a black marble tablet with the following inscription:—

Hospes sis videns !  
Condit. hic  
Quicquid caducum fuit  
viri Militis  
D. Edwardi Harwood  
Angli  
Equitis Aurati, Norfolkia Oriundia  
qui  
Praepot. D. D. Ordin. Gener.  
In Obsidione Bommelæ (M.D. XC. IX.) primo militavit  
Ostendæ (M.DC. II) vexillo donatus ;  
Rhenobergæ propugnandæ (M. DC. VI.)  
Pro centurio Centurio evasit,  
Exin  
Legionis Angli Illust. D. Rob. Sidney  
Vice Com. de Lisle  
Pro tribunus Tribunus factus est  
Denique  
Post XXXIII. ann Stipendia  
Ad obsessam Mosæ-Trajectum

The works of Maestricht having been repaired, the siege of *Limburg* was undertaken, and this place surrendered on the 8th September after a short resistance. 16

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Tertio globulo perfossus, officio simul simul et fato  
Functus est.

Quod

Immortalis (viri fortis juxta ac boni,  
Deo Patriæque devotissimi)

Memoriæ

Nec non posterorum exemplo,  
Henricus Herbert et Nic Byron,  
Equites Aurati

Ille Fribanus Legionis,  
Hic Centurio Cohortis Anglicanæ  
P. C. A. D. M.DC.XXXVI.

TRANSLATION.

Thou that lookest on mayest be a stranger !

Here is buried

Whatever was perishable  
of the soldier

Sir Edward Harwood,  
an Englishman,

A Knight, deriving his origin from Norfolk,  
who

under very powerful generals, as a common soldier,

First served at the siege of Bommel (1599),

And was made Ensign at Ostend (1602) ;

At the storming of Rhinberg (1606)

He became Lieutenant :  
after that

He was made Lieutenant-Colonel  
Of the body of English commanded by  
The illustrious Sir Robert Sidney,  
Viscount of Lisle.

In fine

After serving 33 years,

At the siege of Maestrecht

He was pierced through by three successive  
bullets, and died whilst in the discharge of his duty.

That which pertained to the imperishable part  
of him ; *i.e.*, that he was a man brave as well  
as good, and most devoted to his God and Country,

Henry Herbert and Nicholas Byron,

Both Knights,

The former Colonel and the latter Captain in the  
English Army,

Hand down to the recollection and for the example  
of Posterity.

A. D. 1636.



1633. In the following year the English troops took part in the siege of *Rhineberg*, making their attacks on the north side of the town, and this place surrendered in the early part of June, 1633.

1634. The Spaniards were desirous of retaking *Rhineberg*, and having assembled a large army for that purpose, in the spring of 1634, they commenced the siege with vigour. The Prince of Orange, to divert them from their design, invested Breda; the Spaniards raised the siege and advanced to the relief of Breda, when the prince, having succeeded in his object, relinquished his attempt on this town.

In the meantime the fall of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, at the battle of Lutzen, and the loss of the battle of Nordlingen by the Swedes, gave the Emperor of Germany and King of Spain the ascendancy over the Protestant interest on the continent. In England, the undetermined limits between the royal prerogative and the privileges of the people were agitating the public mind, and the Protestants in Germany had little prospect of being able to procure effectual aid from the British court. The French monarch, was, however, disposed to aid the Protestant league. He had long been jealous of the enormous power of Spain and Austria, and he resolved to unite his arms with the Protestant cause. A French army advanced across the Rhine, to co-operate with the Swedes and Germans; and in the spring of 1635, a body of French troops, commanded by Marshals Chatillon and Brezé, marched to the Netherlands to co-operate with the forces of the United Provinces.

1635.

The French commanders encountered and defeated a Spanish army, commanded by Prince Thomas of Savoy, at Avein, in the duchy of Luxembourg, and afterwards formed a junction with the army under the Prince of Orange, of which the English and Scots brigades in the service of the States formed part. An attempt was made to bring on a general engagement; but the Spanish commander took refuge under the cannon of Louvain, and the Prince of Orange captured several small towns. The troops in *Tirlemont* made some opposition, and the place being taken by storm, the garrison, and also the inhabitants, suffered severely for their obstinate resistance. An attempt was afterwards made on the city of Louvain; but the Spaniards having received succours from Germany, and their immense cavalry intercepting the supplies of provision for the besieging army, the attack was relinquished. The Spaniards afterwards surprised the fort of *Schinck*, and made an incursion into the territory subject to the States General. The Prince of Orange resolved to re-take this fort; but the siege occupied six months.

1636.

A Spanish army advanced in the spring of 1636 to succour the

besieged; but was opposed by the forces of the States, and compelled to retreat to Cleves. The besieged, being closely pressed, surrendered the fort on the 30th of April. 1636.

After being engaged in several manœuvres in the spring and summer of 1637, the four English and three Scots regiments formed part of the army of forty cornets of cavalry, one hundred and ninety-five ensigns of infantry, and ninety-five pieces of cannon, which appeared before the important fortress of *Breda* in July, to rescue this portion of the hereditary dominions of the house of Nassau from the power of Spain. During the siege, the English were stationed in the lines of circumvallation near the gate of Ginneken, and the regiments were soon so strongly entrenched and fortified at their several posts, that when the Cardinal Infant arrived with a Spanish army of superior numbers, he was unable to make an impression, and was forced to retire without relieving the town. The English carried on their approaches on the left of the gate of Ginneken, and on the night of the 21st of August, SIR CHARLES MORGAN was wounded;\* Colonel Goring, being on duty in the trenches on the night of the 1st of September, had a similar misfortune.† The garrison made several sallies, but were repulsed; and throughout the siege the British were distinguished for the spirit with which they carried on their approaches and made their attacks. On the 7th of October the governor beat a parley, and agreed to surrender: and the Prince of Orange acknowledged that the gallantry of the British regiments had contributed materially to the speedy reduction of the place. This conquest secured the territory of the States General against the incursions of the Spaniards, and restored the navigation of the Waal, Maese, and the mouths of the Scheldt. 1637.

During the summer of 1638 the English brigade was employed in several operations designed to facilitate the capture of Antwerp; but this project was frustrated by the failure of an expedition under Count William of Nassau. 1638.

In the succeeding year another expedition to Flanders was undertaken; but the Spaniards were found in so excellent a 1639.

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\* "Le 21 de Aoust. Les Espagnols ayant quitté les environs de Breda, les François & les Anglois commencerent à travailler à leurs aproches, ceux cy à la main droit & ceux là à gauche de la porte de Ginneken, où MORGAN, gouverneur de Bergues-op-Zoom qui commandoit la garde cette nuit là au quartier des Anglois, fut blessé légèrement à la jambe d'une balle de mousquet."—*Commelyn*.

† "Le 1ère de Sept. Le Colonel Goring qui commandoit cette nuit dans les aproches des Anglois, fut blessé au pied d'une mousquetade."—*Ibid*.

1639. posture of defence that the Prince of Orange was induced to return with his army to Holland without effecting any important object. In the autumn of this year (1639) the English regiments were employed in operations on the Maese.

1640. Much manœuvring and some skirmishing occurred between the opposing armies during the campaign of 1640, and part of the army of the States General again penetrated into Flanders ; but no action of importance appears to have occurred.

1641. This system of cautious manœuvring, which both parties adopted, had the effect of prolonging the war. The operations of 1641 were, however, distinguished by the capture of *Gennep*, situate near the confluence of the little river Niers and the Maese, in the province of Limburg. This place was defended by an efficient garrison under General Thomas Preston, an Irishman who commanded a body of Irish in the Spanish service. In the lines of circumvallation the English regiments had their post on the banks of the Maese, opposite the town, and the siege was prosecuted with such vigour that the governor surrendered on honourable terms on the 27th of July.

After the works were repaired, the English regiments sailed down the Maese in small boats, and were subsequently employed in operations in Flanders, as a diversion in favour of the French, who besieged and captured *Aire*: they encamped for a short time near Sas-van-Ghent, and proceeded to St. Philippe, where they again embarked, and sailing to Bergen-op-Zoom, were distributed into garrisons for the winter.

1642. The summer of 1642 was passed in manœuvring and skirmishing, in which the English and Scots regiments took part. In the meantime, the public mind in England had become violently agitated by religious and political subjects, and the contentions between King Charles I. and his parliament gave rise to apprehensions of the most alarming character. Previously to the breaking out of hostilities, the Queen Henrietta-Maria conducted her daughter, the Princess Mary, who had recently been married to Prince William of Nassau, eldest son of the Prince of Orange, to Holland. Her Majesty visited the camp on the plain near the island of Voorn in the beginning of June ; and the four English and three Scots regiments constituted part of the force of eighty-four cornets of cavalry and one hundred and eighty-seven ensigns of infantry formed to receive her Majesty. After passing along the line in her coach, the Queen stood in a tent and saw the regiments pass in review. Her Majesty quitted the camp on the 5th of June ; and shortly afterwards the rebellion broke out in England. The States of the United Provinces, though they observed a strict neutrality, were more

disposed to favour the parliament in England than the royal cause; and the British troops in Holland were not ordered to return home. The regiments were, however, strictly loyal, and a number of officers and men returned to England and arrayed themselves under the King's standard.

1642.

In May, 1643, the French army, commanded by the youthful Louis de Bourbon, Duc d'Enghien, afterwards known as the great *Condé*, gained a decisive victory over the Spaniards at *Roucroÿ*, a town of the Ardennes. The English and Scots brigades in the service of the United Provinces embarked with the remainder of the army under the Prince of Orange from Bergen-op-Zoom, and landing near Sas-van-Ghent, were engaged in operations in East Flanders, as a diversion in favour of the French, who besieged and captured Thionville. In the autumn the two brigades returned to Bergen-op-Zoom.

1643.

The contest between King Charles I. and the parliament being continued, England was involved in a dreadful civil war, and some difficulty was experienced in procuring recruits for the British regiments in the service of the United Provinces. Ambassadors were sent to England to endeavour to effect a reconciliation; but the angry feelings, which had gained possession of both parties, could not be allayed by the friendly interposition of the States.

1644.

Meanwhile preparations were made for opening the campaign, and the four English regiments commanded by Colonels Craven, Herbert, Goring, and Cromwell, with the three Scots regiments under Colonels Erskine, Kirkpatrick, and Balfour, assembled from their several quarters in the spring of 1644, and proceeded to the general rendezvous of the army on a plain near the fort of Voorn, where they arrived about the middle of May. They were shortly afterwards embarked on another expedition to Flanders, and having effected a landing at St. Philippe, erected their tents on the banks of the canal.

The Prince of Orange, by several demonstrations of a design to penetrate further into the interior of Flanders, succeeded in drawing the Spanish forces from the immediate vicinity of *Sas-van-Ghent*, when his highness crossed the river Lys with his army, and captured several forts which obstructed his approach to the town, in which service the Scots under Colonel Erskine particularly distinguished themselves. The prince immediately besieged the town. The English took their post at Assenede, and the Scots at Selsaten, and performed a prominent part in the operations against the fortress. The Spanish garrison under Don Andrea de Parado made a resolute defence; and Don Francisco de Melo advanced with a numerous body of Spanish

1644. troops to relieve the place ; but after several fruitless attempts he was a spectator of the fall of this important fortress, which surrendered in the early part of September, after a siege of six weeks. The acquisition of this place, in the heart of the Spanish territories, occasioned the United Provinces to entertain extensive views in regard to the future boundaries of their republic. The works of Sas-van-Ghent were immediately repaired and augmented ; and an efficient garrison, of which nineteen companies of English formed part, was placed in the town.
1645. In the summer of 1645 the British regiments were again employed in operations in Flanders ; at the same time the French captured several strong towns from the Spaniards. At length a junction took place between the French army and the forces under the Prince of Orange, and his highness was desirous of undertaking the siege of Antwerp : this was, however, rendered impracticable by the movements of the Spanish generals. In the autumn the Prince of Orange undertook the siege of *Hulst* ; the British regiments had their post in the lines of circumvallation, and took part in the attacks ; and the garrison surrendered on the 4th of November.
1646. The Prince of Orange succeeded in procuring the consent of the States General to the siege of Antwerp being undertaken in the spring of 1646 ; at the same time the French agreed to co-operate ; but the merchants of the provinces of Holland and Zealand were averse to this enterprise, particularly those of Amsterdam, from the fear that, if Antwerp was restored to its former prosperity, it would injure the trade of the other towns. Actuated by these motives, the merchants succeeded in raising obstacles, and in retarding the preparations for the siege, until the designs of the Prince of Orange were frustrated. His highness was soon afterwards seized with a severe illness, of which he died on the 14th of March, 1647.
1647. This war having occasioned the States to contract an immense debt, they were disposed to entertain proposals for a peace ; at the same time the power of Spain, proving too weak to resist the united armies by which it was attacked, the Spaniards were also desirous of terminating this protracted war. The negotiations were carried on at MUNSTER in Westphalia, and a treaty of peace was concluded in 1648.
1648. Thus, after a struggle of more than seventy years' duration, the independence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands was established, and they took their station among the nations of Europe as a free state. The power of Spain, which, at one period, was the greatest in Europe, was reduced and humbled ;

and the Catholic monarch, who attempted to dictate to every other nation, and to destroy the reformed religion, was obliged to surrender his authority, and to abandon his designs. Throughout this long protracted contest, British valour had been conspicuous in effecting these mighty changes, and to this the Dutch were indebted, in a great measure, for their liberty, and for the influence they had obtained among the nations of christendom. The foregoing pages record the battles and sieges in which the English and Scots nobly evinced their national qualities and superior courage,—their perseverance under difficulties, and their determined bravery when brought into contact with an enemy. These qualities had been exerted in the best of causes,—those of liberty and the reformed religion; and the officers and men of the THIRD REGIMENT OF FOOT, OR THE BUFFS, may reflect with satisfaction on the brilliant career of their corps in a war, which ended in the deliverance of many thousands of protestants from foreign domination, and from popish tyranny.

1648.

While these events were taking place on the continent, the royal party in England had been overpowered; King Charles I. had fallen into the hands of the parliamentary forces, and he was brought to trial, and beheaded in January, 1649. A feeling of abhorrence prevailed in the Netherlands against the perpetrators of this diabolical act; and Dorislans, a native of Holland, who had resided some time in England, and had been employed as an assistant to the court which had condemned the King, arriving at the Hague in the character of an envoy, was seized upon, dragged from the table where he was sitting with some company, and put to death. This gave offence to the English parliament, and the little energy evinced by the Dutch magistrates in their attempts to bring the offenders to justice, plainly showed the detestation in which the regicides were held.

1649.

During the civil war in England the Dutch republic had continued to maintain a strict neutrality; but after the death of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, who was succeeded by his son William, married to an English princess, the States were accused of taking steps more favourable to the royal cause, and of betraying great prejudice against the parliament. William, Prince of Orange, died in October, 1650, leaving an infant son, (afterwards King William III. of England,) and the republican party in Holland appeared to have gained the ascendancy over the house of Orange. The English parliament, having changed the monarchy into a commonwealth, sent Chief Justice St. John to the Hague to cement a closer confederacy between the two republics; but he was unable to accomplish his mission, and

1650.

1652.

1652. during his stay in Holland he received many insults from the populace, and from the retainers of the Orange and Palatine families. These events were followed by a war between the English and Dutch, and the British regiments in the service of the United Provinces were now arrayed in direct hostility against the murderers of their sovereign. The conflicts during this war were, however, limited to engagements at sea, in which the English fleets usually proved victorious, and the States concluded a peace with Oliver Cromwell, who was at the head of the British nation in the character of Lord Protector.
1653. The States having now no enemy to fear, reduced the strength of their land forces; and the English veterans were incorporated into one regiment, which was designated the HOLLAND REGIMENT, and is now the THIRD REGIMENT OF FOOT in the British line. This regiment had been commanded by AUBREY DE VERE, twentieth EARL OF OXFORD,\* who was subsequently colonel of the royal regiment of horse guards; but after the reduction of the *four* regiments to *one*, which event is stated to have taken place about the year 1655, the colonelcy appears to have been conferred on the veteran COLONEL JOHN CROMWELL, who had for many years commanded one of the junior English regiments. At the same time the Scots brigade was reduced to two regiments; and the troops of cuirassiers and harquebusiers, of both nations, appear to have been disbanded.
- 1655.

N.B.—This statement is quite erroneous. The Dutch Military Records of the time, preserved in the Rijks Archief at the Hague, and the correspondence of Sir George Downing, the British Envoy to the States General, preserved at the Records Office in Chancery Lane, show conclusively that there were *four* English and *three* Scotch regiments in the service of the States General until the end

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\* "Aubrey de Vere, twentieth Earl of Oxford, entered early on a military life "in the service of the States General, and had the command of a regiment "of English foot in their service in, or before, the year 1648, for on "January the 10th of that year, the famous Algernon Sidney, in a letter "to Robert Earl of Leicester, informs him, that old Berington being dead, "his brother, Robert Sidney, was made Lieut.-Colonel to the Earl of "Oxford, then abroad. This regiment, on the breaking out of the war "with the Dutch, was sent for to England, and the said Robert Sidney "was made Colonel thereof by King Charles II. the 31st May, 1665, and "it is yet subsisting, called the HOLLAND REGIMENT."—*Collins's Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendish, Hollis, Vere, Harley, and Ogle.*

of 1664, when they were *disbanded* by the *States General* for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and that they were *not recalled* by Charles II. as alleged. The *Holland Regiment* was formed *as such* from the men of the *four* disbanded English regiments who had returned to England, in the spring of 1665, and was never in the service of the *States General* as a single regiment. The matter is fully dealt with in Chapter I. of this work.—  
H. R. K.

Although England had become a commonwealth, and the royal family was in exile, yet the HOLLAND REGIMENT (sic) preserved its loyalty, and it appears to have been composed of men firmly attached to the royal cause. The brave COLONEL JOHN CROMWELL, who was a near kinsman of the Lord Protector, and who had been in the service of the States upwards of thirty years, was particularly distinguished for his attachment to the royal family, and he held the regicides, and usurpers of the kingly authority, in such detestation, that he obtained permission of King Charles II. to change his name from CROMWELL to WILLIAMS.

In September, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died, and was succeeded by his son Richard, who resigned the Protectorship soon afterwards. The nation, being weary of anarchy and confusion, invited King Charles II. to return to England and assume the reins of government. While arrangements for the Restoration were in progress, the King was entertained for a short time at the Hague; the officers of the HOLLAND REGIMENT (sic), eager to manifest their loyalty, proceeded thither, and, on being introduced to the King, were well received by his Majesty;\*

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\* "The English officers that are in the service of the Lords the Estates and were  
 "come to this town (the Hague) did him (the King) reverence also, and  
 "amongst the rest Mr. Cromwell, Major of a regiment of foot of the same  
 "nation. He is cosen German, but issued from an elder brother, of him  
 "who is known to have sacrific'd the King, his Sovereign, to his irregular  
 "ambition, and detested that brutal and horrible action; but seeing some  
 "apparent establishment of the fortune of the Protectour, he passed into  
 "England, where he rendered considerable services to those of the good  
 "party, and even gave himself the liberty to remonstrate sometimes to his  
 "cousen what belonged to his duty, so that instead of making his fortune  
 "there, he could draw from the Protectour for himself and for his brother,  
 "who commends a regiment of Foot in the service of the Lords of the  
 "Estates but a gratification of two thousand pounds sterling whereof they  
 "have received but the half; though the Major made an expense at



1660. and these veterans shared with the rest of the nation in the great joy which the restoration of monarchy produced.
1661. A commercial rivalry existed at this period between the English and Dutch; and although the latter were indebted to English valour and intrepidity for their existence as a free people, they did not scruple to commit depredations on English commerce, and on the English settlements abroad. They were also charged with corresponding with disaffected persons in England, and with having encouraged a conspiracy of the old puritan party against the court. A hostile feeling against the Dutch was manifested by the English parliament in a vote setting forth the obstructions to foreign trade occasioned by the wrongs, dishonours, and indignities offered to the English by the subjects of the United Provinces. Retaliation was resorted to, and in the summer of 1664 a descent was made on the Dutch settlements on the coast of Guinea; the settlement in North America called "Nova Belgia" was also captured, and its title changed to "New York."
1665. These proceedings were followed by a declaration of war, and in the early part of 1665 King Charles II. demanded the return of the old English regiment in the service of the United Provinces. This demand was complied with, and on the arrival of the regiment in England, his Majesty conferred the colonelcy on Lieut.-Colonel Robert Sidney, by commission dated the 31st of May, 1665.

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N.B.—As has already been pointed out, and as will be seen in Chapter I. the statements in this last paragraph are inaccurate.—H. R. K.

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"London wherewith he shall be long time incomodated. The King who knows the intentions of this honest man, and who had many proofs of them, permitted his brother to take the surname of Williams instead of that which shall be eternally in execration to all Englishmen, received him perfectly well."—*Sir William Lower's account of what took place at the Hague in May, 1660.*

# HISTORICAL RECORDS

OF

## THE BUFFS.

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### CHAPTER I.

1664—1665.

The career of the English troops in the service of the Netherlands from 1572 to 1664, the nucleus of which was formed by volunteers from the Train Bands of the City of London, after the review in presence of Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich on the 1st of May, 1572, has been briefly traced in the Introduction to this work. The circumstances, however, under which they left the Dutch service and were formed into the regiment on the English establishment, known as the Holland Regiment, and which is now the Buffs, or East Kent Regiment, have hitherto been completely misunderstood and misrepresented.

1664.

The commonly accepted version, which, unfortunately, has received the seal of authority from having been adopted by Mr. Richard Cannon, Principal Clerk of the Adjutant-General's Office, in his hastily compiled "Historical Record of the Third Regiment of Foot, or The Buffs," compiled in the Adjutant-General's Department by order, and published in 1839,\* is that the English troops in the service of the Netherlands, were reduced in 1655 to *one*

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\* The King on the 1st January, 1836, commanded that an account should be compiled, under the superintendence of the Adjutant-General, of the services of every regiment of the British Army. The work was carried out by Mr. Cannon, and the Records of the various regiments were published within a few years time. They are of necessity very sketchy, and not always very accurate.—H.R.K.

1664. regiment, which in 1665 was recalled to England by King Charles II., by virtue of his prerogative, and that it was then placed on the English establishment as the "Holland Regiment."

Now this is not only not the case, but the statements are absolutely at variance with the facts. The Establishment Registers (Staet van Oorloge) and the nominal rolls of the officers in the service of the United States of the Netherlands, which are preserved in the Rijks Archief (National Records) at the Hague, show conclusively that there were not *one* but *four English* regiments in the service of the Netherlands until the end of 1664, when they were *disbanded*, and the State Papers preserved in the Records Office in Chancery Lane, show that King Charles II. did *not* use his prerogative to recall them and place them on the English establishment, although urged to do so, but that he suffered them to be disbanded by the States General, and turned adrift under circumstances of great hardship, and that it was not until the officers and men had reached England at their own expense, or through the generosity of Sir George Downing, the English Envoy at the Hague, that the King at last enrolled them on the English Establishment as the Holland Regiment.

Before, however, studying these circumstances, it will be advisable to consider briefly the reasons which decided the States General to disband the English and Scotch troops in their service.

For nearly seventy years a close union and confederacy had existed between the United Provinces and England, founded and maintained chiefly for mutual support and protection against the growing power of France. But of late a feeling of violent enmity, arising out of intense commercial rivalries, had sprung up between the two nations.

It was alleged that the Dutch had been guilty of encroachments and depredations on English commerce and on the English settlements across the seas, and in May, 1664, the House of Commons, before Parliament was prorogued, passed a resolution "that the wrongs, dishonours,

and indignities offered to the English by the subjects of the United Provinces, were the greatest obstructions to all foreign trade," and they promised to assist the King with their lives and fortunes in asserting the rights of his Crown against all opposition whatever. 1664.

The King's brother, the Duke of York, anxious to distinguish himself, and impelled both by religious and commercial motives (being an ardent papist and also head of the new African Company), was eager for war.

Thus Court and Parliament both favoured reprisals, and the vote of the Commons in May was considered sufficient sanction for the strong measures which were adopted.

Sir Robert Holmes was secretly despatched with a squadron to the coast of Africa, where he drove the Dutch from Cape Corse, and also seized the Dutch settlements of Cape Verd and the island of Goree. From thence, crossing the Atlantic, he possessed himself of the territory of Nova Belgica, now known as New York.

To the expostulations of the States General, Charles affected entire ignorance of Holmes' operations, and the Dutch, seeing the unlikelihood of obtaining redress, and also that England was evidently seeking a pretext for a quarrel, began to prepare for war.

At this time, combined squadrons, under Sir J. Lawson and de Ruyter, had been operating in the Mediterranean against the piratical states of the coast of Barbary, and the time had now arrived for the squadrons to separate and return home, but de Ruyter received secret instructions to revictual at Cadiz and to proceed to retaliate on the English for Holmes' raid. Sailing to the coast of Guinea, he retook the whole of the settlements from which the Dutch had been expelled, with the exception of Cape Corse. Thence, crossing to America, he attacked Barbadoes on the way. Here he was repulsed, but passing on, he perpetrated a series of hostilities against Long Island.

On Lawson's arriving home and communicating his suspicions as to de Ruyter's movements, orders were issued to seize all Dutch ships, and no less than 135 fell into the

1664. hands of the English. Thus the two nations were to all intents and purposes in a state of open warfare.

Meanwhile active preparations were being carried on in England. Parliament, indeed, had voted no supplies, but the King, from his own purse and from loans, was in a position to equip the fleet, and when Parliament met in November they voted £2,000,000 for warlike purposes.

Hamilton  
Hist. Gren.  
Gds., Vol. I.,  
Ch. 4.

Privy Council  
Register,  
Ca. II,  
Vol. IV.,  
. 264.

Early in August the Duke of York received authority to raise 2,500 marines and others, for sea service, and also 2,000 seamen.

On the 28th October an order in Council was issued directing that "twelve hundred land souldjers be forthwith raysted to be in readinesse to be distributed into his Mats. fleets prepared for sea service, wch said twelve hundred men are to be putt into One Regiment under one Colonell and One Serjeant Maior,\* and to be divided into six companies, Each company to consist of Two Hundred souldjers; and to have one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Enseigne, one Drume, foure Serjeants, and foure corporalls, and all the souldjers aforesaid to be armed with good firelocks; all with armes, Drummes & Colours are forthwith to be prepared and furnished out of his Mats. Stoares; the care of all which is recomended to the Duke of Albemarle his Grace, Lord Generall of his Mats. Forces."

Colonel Sir William Killegrew, a Cornishman, and nephew of the Duke of Albemarle, recalled from the service of Holland, was appointed Colonel of the regiment on November 5th, and some of the officers appointed at the same time had served with him in the Dutch service.

This regiment was known as the "Duke of York and Albany's Maritime Regiment of Foot (the Lord High Admirall's Regiment)," or more commonly "The Admirall's Regiment," the Duke of York being Lord High Admiral.

Edye Hist.  
Royal Marine  
Forces.

From this corps the present Royal Marines claim descent. As has been seen in the Introduction to this work, a considerable number of English and Scotch troops had been in the service of the United States of the Netherlands ever

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\* Major.

since 1572, and in 1664 there were in the pay of the Low Countries four English and three Scotch regiments. 1664.

The English regiments consisted each of eight companies, seven having an establishment of 50 men per company, and one (the colonel's) of 80. The Scotch regiments had an establishment of seven companies, six of 49 men and the colonel's of 75. Staet van Oorloge.

The various companies were on the "repartition" (*i.e.*, maintained at the expense) of different States of the Confederation as under:—

Holland	.....	25	English	17	Scotch
Vriesland	.....	2	"	2	"
Utrecht	.....	1	"	2	"
Zeeland	.....	4	"	—	

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Total ... 32 English & 21 Scotch Companies.

Thus the regiments themselves were composed of companies in the pay of different states. The *regimental* organisation of these corps must have been almost nominal, for from a list of the officers commanding the English and Scotch companies, and their garrisons (Muniment Register der Vroedschap, Common Council of Amsterdam, 10th December, 1664) we find the 53 companies distributed in no less than 31 towns, and in no case do more than two companies of the same regiment appear to have been stationed together. The six companies stationed at Maastricht belonged to four different regiments.

It is unfortunate that no complete lists of the officers of these regiments are forthcoming. In the "Resolutions of Holland" (Records of the Proceedings of the States General of Holland)\* 14th March, 1662, there are regimental lists of the Field Officers and Captains of the English and Scotch Regiments, and in the "Staet van Oorloge" (State of War), or Establishment Lists for 1664 and for 1665\*, there are regimental lists of the Field and Staff Officers, and nominal rolls in order of seniority of all

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\* Preserved in the Rijks Archief (National Records) at the Hague.

1664. the Field Officers and Captains of the English Regiments, but in none of the above are the names of any subalterns on the active list mentioned. The names, however, of a number of Lieutenants and Ensigns who left the Dutch service in 1665 are recorded in documents among the Domestic State Papers preserved in the Records Office,\* which will be hereafter quoted. The "Resolutions of Holland" also, of 20th and 27th March, and 14th, 27th, 28th, and 29th April, 1665, give the names of several more subalterns who were re-appointed in the Dutch service, and the names of their former captains are in almost all cases also given. From these documents, and from the "Commissie Boek van den Raad van State der Vereenigde Nederlanden, 1649-1663" (Commission Registers),† it has been possible to compile the following fairly complete Regimental and Company List of the officers serving with the English regiments at the commencement of 1665.

## LORD CRAVEN'S REGIMENT.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>	<i>Repartition.</i>
Lord Craven (had no company, his company being commanded by the Major).			Holland.
Sir Walter Vane, Lt.-Col.	Thos. Honeywood.	John Philips.	do
Ferdinand Carrey, Major.	?	?	do
Eduard Morgan(late)*	?	?	Zeeland.
James Culpeper.	?	James Palvesyn.	Holland.
William Swaen.	?	?	do
Thos. Dolman (junr.).	Edw. Lauwer.	?	do
Baptist Alcock.	?	?	do
Peter Watkins.	?	Walter Carpenter.	do
Quarter Master, Josias Stevens.			
Provost, Thomas Wood.			

\* This officer's name does not occur in the *Staet van Oorloge* for 1665.

\* Domestic State Papers, Charles II., 1665 ; preserved in the Records Office, Chancery Lane, London.

† The register for the years 1664-73 has unfortunately been lost.

## COLONEL DOLMAN'S REGIMENT.

1664.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>	<i>Repartition.</i>
Thomas Dolman, Col.	?	Wm. Phettiplace.	Holland.
Wm. Cromwell (alias Williams), Lt.-Col.	?	James (!Gervase) Rouse.	do
Joh. Roper, Major.	Edw. Sprey.	Wm. Norwood.	do
Wm. Read.	Geo. Williamson.	?	do
Maurits La Mair.	?	?	Vriesland.
Anthony Wylde.	Ambros Maneton.	Robt. Boulton.	Holland.
Edw. Astley.	Robt. Moore.	?	do
Robt. Mordaunt.	?	?	do
Quarter Master, Petrus Cool.			

## COLONEL KILLEGREW'S REGIMENT.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>	<i>Repartition.</i>
Sir Wm. Killegrew, Colonel.	Rich. Griffin.	Wm. Miles.	Holland.
Humphrey Peyton, Lt.-Col.	?	?	do
Henry Meoles, Major.	?	Robt. Barnes.	do
— Temple (late)*	?	?	do
Henry Pomeroy.	?	?	do
Robt. Sanderson.	Thos. Sanderson.	Thos. Preston.	do
— Monily (late)*	?	?	do
John Abrahah.	?	?	do
Quarter Master		?	
Provost		?	

\* These officers' names do not occur in the *Staet van Oorloge* for 1665.

NOTE.—According to Colonel Edye (*Hist. of the Royal Marine Forces*), Capt. Hy. Steward, Lieut. John Griffin (Griffith), and Lieut. Godfrey Dennis, who were serving in this regiment, were appointed to commissions in the Lord High Admiral's Regiment in Nov., 1664. None of their names, however, appear in the Dutch records.



1664.

## COLONEL SIDNEY'S REGIMENT.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>	<i>Repartition.</i>
Robert Sidney, Col.	Robt. Wildbore.	John Andrew.	Holland.
Sir Wm. Sayers, Lt.-Col.	Nicolas Gibson.	Rich. Sawl.	do
Sir Thos. Ogle, Major.	?	Roger Manley.	Zeeland.
Henry Herbert	?	Ph. Phettiplace.	Holland.
Thos. Sants (?Wm. Sands).	?	?	Zeeland.
Hy. Coventry (late)*	?	?	do
William Killegrew.	?	?	Utrecht.
J. Coper (?Josias Roper).	Jas. Sterling.	?	Vriesland.

Quarter Master, Hans Aelbert Waraer (?Warner).

Provost, Joseph Fuggers.

\* This officer's name does not occur in the *Staet van Oorloge* for 1665, but he was still in the Dutch service in December, 1664.

In the nominal roll of field officers and captains of the English regiments, in the *Staet van Oorloge* for 1665, there are the names of Captain Jan Butler and Captain Cornelis Ogle, and in the Resolutions of Holland, 27th March, that of Robert Herris, Ensign to Captain Butler, but there is nothing to show to which regiments they belonged. The two captains, however, had presumably succeeded to the command of two of the vacant companies.

In addition to the English officers serving with the English regiments, there were at least four English Captains commanding troops of Dutch horse, who will be referred to later on.

The three Scotch regiments were commanded respectively by:—

Colonel Kirkpatrick,  
Colonel Scott,  
Colonel Arskine (Erskine).

It is, however, unnecessary for the purposes of this work to go into particulars regarding them.

Considering the extreme state of friction existing at this time between the English and Dutch Governments, and the hatred aroused in the Low Countries for all things British,

the States General, not unnaturally, entertained misgivings as to how far the English and Scotch troops in their pay might be depended upon, in the event of war actually breaking out, and a clamour was raised by some for their immediate and unconditional disbandment; and by others for the imposition of an oath of allegiance to the States General, failing the taking of which, the troops should be disbanded. 1664.

The course of events may now best be followed by the perusal of the following letters from Sir George Downing, the English envoy at the Hague, to Sir Henry Bennet, Secretary of State, now preserved in the Records Office:—

DOWNING TO BENNET

Hague ye 29th of Nov 64

S. P. Holland

No. 173.

Right Honble

. . . their first revenge they say shall be upon ye English and Scotch Troopes in this country, &, whereas it was before only discourse att large, they now say positively that they will impose a new oath upon them all and I finde yt very many of ym begine to finde out reasons for themselves why they may take it, as being borne here, or having their whole estates & subsistance here & the like, and ye Estates of Zealand have made it one of their points for their Assembly wch is to be this weeke to dispose of Mr Coventry's and Captain Morgan's Compies. . . .

DOWNING TO BENNET

The Hague 6 Dec 1664

S. P. Holland

ibid.

. . . Those (the Estates) of Holland are still very buisy in consideration whether to casheire or give a new oath to all ye troopes of his Mats. Subjects. . . .

DOWNING TO BENNET

The Hague 9th Dec 1664

Ibid.

The Estates of Holland sent this weeke for ye English Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance intending it seems to take ym for patterns of ye new oath they are modelling. . . .

1664.

DOWNING TO BENNET,

Ibid.

The Hague. 13th Dec 1664

. . . as I wrote to you in mine of Friday last, it is resolved by those (the Estates) of Holland yt the English Troopes must sweare anew or be disbanded, as for ye Scotch they are like to live a little longer hoping as they say yt that kingdome is not so eager for a warre wth them.

. . . . .

Ibid.

DOWNING TO BENNET

The Hague. 23rd Dec 1664

. . . Wednesday last those of Holland proposed in ye Estates Genall their Resolution for ye casheiring all English and Scotch, and the Councell of State hath already conformed thereunto offering as their opinion yt 3 regiments for ye marine should be levied in stead thereof. . .

. . . . .

The feeling against the English was most acute in Holland itself, the delegates of some of the other States being adverse to the proposed imposition of an oath of allegiance, expressing themselves in terms which form a brilliant tribute to the high character borne by the English soldiers.

As regards the Scotch however, their loyalty towards Charles II. was known to be lukewarm, and little doubt was felt as to their willingness to take the oath, if called on to do so, an opinion fully justified by subsequent events.

S. P. Holland

No. 174.

DOWNING TO BENNET

Hague 31st Jan 1664/5

. . . . .

It is taken for granted by Dewit & ye rest of them that ye 3 Scotch Colonels in their service will all of them sweare rather than be casheer'd, and they do mightily solicit not to be turn'd off, & it is suppos'd that all their under officers will do as they shall do. As to ye 4 English Colonels they had hopes that Col: Sidney would have held on; but he hath undeceived them, letting they all know that he will sweare none, let them do what they please, but as to Doleman, they take it for granted that he will sweare. Some of

the Esta : Genll of ye other provinces do declare themselves very much unsatisfied with this proceeding of Holland, and that as to what troupes are upon their repartitions, that they will not put any such thing upon them, nor disband them. Moreover that for their parts they should look upon them as but knaves that should sweare, and in so farre as they were concern'd would rather trust their towns in the hands of them that should refuse than in them that should take ye oath.

1664.

## DOWNING TO BENNET

Ibid.

7th Feb. 1664/5

Coll. Sidney and Sir Walter Vane have cm wth De Witt to lett him know yt they cannot take any oath at this time, & therefore yt when it comes yt they must take their leaves & returne for their country. I doe not heare of any one Scotch officer but will take it. Coll Gil Patrick and several others of ym say yt they are not Scotch but Dutch, being borne in this country.

## DOWNING TO BENNET

1665.

14 Feb 1664/5.

Ibid.

The Estates of Holland are reported here this day, here are very many Dutch Solicitants already come hither in hopes to obtain ye comands of such of ye English as would quitt, but for ye Scotch they ail declare they have no dependance upon ye King nor doe I heare of any one man of ym but will sweare.

Meanwhile active preparations were continued in England for the coming war. In November the Duke of York put to sea in command of a squadron, but after a few days returned to port for the winter, the troops serving on board the ships being disembarked.

On the 2nd January 800 men were ordered to be raised to complete the Admiral's Regiment to 2,000, and the Duke of Albemarle was authorised to raise 3,000 more, to be apportioned between the guards and garrisons.

1665. Under the circumstances, it seems inconceivable that the King did not exercise his prerogative, and recall the British troops in the service of the Low Countries. He was urged to do so, and why he failed to avail himself of the services of so fine a force of veterans is incomprehensible.

Ibid.

DOWNING TO BENNET

14 Feb 1664/5

I told him\*. . . yt ye King my master had 7 regiments of his subjects in this country, yt are likely to be speedily casheired, yt if they, or any other friend of his had occasion for ym possibly he might be willing to demand ym from this country, which he can of right doe and gratifie ym with them, truly it is a pitty yt something or another could not be thought of for ye keeping them on foote.

The feeling in favour of disbanding the English and Scotch troops was increasing, particularly in Holland, and it was proposed to dismiss all the chief officers and captains, but to allow those among the subordinates, who were willing and suitable, to re-enlist, imposing upon them, in addition to the usual oath, an oath renouncing all allegiance to the King of Great Britain.

The eagerness with which the disbandment was urged would appear not to have been altogether disinterested, judging from the crowd of applicants for the appointments which would become vacant thereby.

Ibid.

DOWNING TO BENNET

Hague 17th Feb. 1664/5.

The business of casheiring ye English and Scotch Troopes is again in hand in ye Estates Genall, those of Holland press it vehemently, ye Councell of State hath yesterday advised according to ye resolution of Holland and yt they be all casheired without exception whereby ye very name of English and Scotch Troopes should be abolished and then

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\*Monsr. Blaspoll, one of the Ministers.

to take on such of ym as they like and will sweare, & though some provinces should be of another mind yet those of Holland say positively yt they will goe this way as to those yt are upon their repartition & paid by ym. 1665.

The 25th fbr 1665

S. P. Holland  
No. 174.

Advice of the Counsell of State to the States Genll about the disbanding of the English and Scotch companyes.  
H.M. Lords

It hath pleased yr H. M.'s by their resolution of the 11th instant to desire our opinion and advice whether and in what manner the foure English and 3 Scotch Regiments in the service of this land may be discharged & that being done how the men that shall be thereby dismissed may be best employed for the Service of the State. We have accordingly considered thereof and as to the first we are of opinion that in this juncture of time there are evident reasons enough that the militia of the English and Scotch nation ought to be disbanded, and as to the second, we doe judge that the second may be done by the Commissarys of the Mustering in loco, or other persons authorized thereunto, as likewise by the Governors and Commanders of the places and frontieres where the companyes doe lye, provided withall that the officers and soldiers have satisfaction or contentmt for their arrears of pay & for their armes. And forasmuch as in this juncture of time this State hath rather need to take on more men then (sic) disband any, that therefore by a resolucon & order of their H.M.'s (i.e., High Mightinesses) the sd Commissaryes of the mustering in loco, or other persons authorized as aforesaid may be immediately empowered to take on as many of the sd disbanded companyes as are of the Netherlands or Dutch Nation. And forasmuch as the sd English and Scotch Companyes of ffoote, doe consist of 7 Regiments vizt. 4 English & 3 Scotch, & that in case the same shall happen to be disbanded, that then 4 compleate Netherlands Regiments may be made thereof, that out of the sd disbanded Head Officers, Captaines, under officers & soldiers, such & so many may be elected and taken on againe as shall be judged to be most faithfull & fitt, provided that the sd officers over and above the usuall military oath, doe make oath also that they doe in the sincerity of their hearts understand themselves not to be obliged to respect and obey any

1665.

Comanders whatsoever then those of yor H.M.'s & especially of the Lrds States their Paymasters, & that they shall acknowledge none others to be their Souveraigne authority but them. That as to the disbanded English & Scotch soldiers wch shall not be taken on againe, that the sd commissaryes or other persons may be authorized to supply their places immediately with others of the Netherlands or Dutch nation. And forasmuch as these times cannot admitt that in these vacant places any persons be putt in by favoure but rather for the Honr and safety of the State the most expert & approved officers ought to be chosen We are of opinion & doe think it highly requisite, that if in case yor H.M.'s shall thinke fitt to proceed to the sd disbanding, then that all such as be appointed out of the Netherlands or Dutch Nation may be so qualified as that they be knowne to have served this State at least the space of 12 yeares as Lieutents, Cornetts or Ensignes. And as to the inferior officers that none shall be employed but such as have been in military service for the space of six yeares at least. We could instance some consideraçons also concerning the reformed officers wch are of the English and Scotch Nation under pençon of this State, but forasmuch as or advice was not required thereupon by yor H.M.'s we shall conclude & referre all what is aforesd to yor H.M.'s greate wisdom.

Given at the Haghe this 25th of ffebr 1665

G. VAN SLINGELANT

S. P. Holland  
No. 174.

DOWNING TO BENNET

Hague 28th Feb. 1664/5

. . . they say there are at least 1500 yt sollicite for ye charges of such English as will not sweare. So soon as ye buisness is over wch will be about ye end of ye next weeke I shall send a list who they are yt are casheired. There are 2 or 3 & twenty yt have cm with me to lett me know yt they shall not sweare but of ye Scotch I heare not of any one great nor small. . . . Since ye writing hereof a gentleman tells me he thinkes yt some of the Scotch will not sweare. Coll Gillpatrick hath a good Estate & therefore hath not ye argumt of want to press him, & he is an old man & therefore can expect to live but a little while. . .

Meanwhile matters had come to a crisis between England and the Republic, and on the 22nd February, O.S. (4th March, N.S.) Charles declared war. Again Sir George Downing wrote urging the King to provide transport for the disbanded troops and to take them into his service, pointing out the prestige he would gain thereby. But in vain. 1665.

## DOWNING TO BENNET

S. P. Hollan  
No. 175.

Hague 7th March 1664/5

. . . another Scotch Lieutenant hath come thence to lett me know yt he will not sweare yt officers in generall yt shall be casheired hope his Matie will be pleased to lett ym have a ship to transport ym, a pass being given by this country for her safe coming and going and for such of ym as have not wherewithall to give themselves bread if his Matie please to be so gracious to ym as to lett ym be mustered as Troopes it will give ym a present subsistence & whether a Troope doe consist of 98 or 100 in time of peace it is ye same thing and if there should be any action not one of ym but will immediately mount himself & doe duty & ye doing hereof would be a matter of great reputation to his Matie. Coll Sidney and Sr Walter Vane goeing to ye Presidts of the States Genall ye last weeke to desire liberty for a ship to carry ym over, two of ye Estates told ym yt for their party they did not looke upon ym as casheired yt which was done was the act of Holland only. . .

The strain to which the loyalty of the troops was about to be exposed may be appreciated when it is considered that cashiering\* meant ruin to most of the officers and destitution to nearly all the men.

Few of the officers were men of means, and most of them had spent the greater part of their lives in the service of the Netherlands. With apparently nothing to hope for from King Charles, and with nothing to lose but everything to gain by renouncing allegiance to the land of their birth,

\* At this period the terms "to cashier" and "to break" were synonymous with "to disband" or "to discharge," and did not bear the ignominious significance which they now do.



1665. the loyalty of the majority of the English was proof against the temptation to forswear their King and country.

Resolutions  
of Holland  
Rijks Archief.

On the 5th March the States General met to consider the recommendations of the Council of State of the 25th February, already quoted, and it was decided to forthwith "license" or discharge every English and Scotch officer without exception, field or otherwise, commanding any regiment or company on their repartition.

New appointments were to be made in their place, on the 20th inst., of 4 Colonels, 4 Lieutenant-Colonels, 4 Majors (all these having companies), and 30 captains of foot, also a like number of lieutenants and ensigns. These 42 companies were to be formed into four regiments. The States General further decided to select a certain number of the old officers to be retained in the service. The remaining vacancies were then to be filled as follows: One half from officers who had served as such, previous to 1642, and the other half from officers who had served the State for at least twelve years.

An additional oath, of which the following are the terms, was to be imposed on all re-appointed English and Scotch Officers:—

S. P. Holland  
No. 175.

Extract out of ye resolutions of ye puissant and mighty lords of the States Generalls of Holland & Westfriesland taken on ye 5th of March 1665: According to which all ye Chieff Officers & Captaines of ye English & Scottish natione being dismiss'd, their places are to be given away &ca.

It is thought fit after deliberation &ca Provided that it be deliberated and resolved, what number, as also whom of ye said dismiss'd as chieff and under officers, of Horse and foot shall be taken into service again &ca, with this proviso, that ye re-elected English and Scottish officers, besides ye usuallij military oath shall declare and swear by solenne oath thatt they doe acknowledge non other besides the United Netherlands Provinces ffor their Sovereign Superiors, and that they realy and in Conscience doe understand, nott to be bound or oblidged to Respect or Obey any other commands, whatsoever or off whom they might be Imposs'd then thos off ye Lords ye States Generall of the United Netherlands and namely thos off ye Lords ye States

of Holland and Westfriesland their Paymasters together with  
 ye Rest expressed in ye mentioned Generall Oath. Lykwais  
 that ye said de Nova to be elected English and Scottis  
 officers before they be admitted to ye said Oath, shall be  
 demanded upon oath whither they have heartofore, taken  
 any and whatt manner off Oath to ye King of greatt britagne  
 that having heard their declaratione such a reflectione may  
 be had ther'upon. . . . 1665.

It was further ordered that the re-appointed officers, together with their respective companies, were to be considered Netherlands troops, and the Captains were directed, as vacancies should occur, to replace the English and Scotch soldiers by Dutchmen. *Resolutions of Holland.*

The back pay of all the "licensed" company commanders was directed to be promptly paid to them, with the exception of Colonel Killegrew, and those who were not re-appointed were ordered to receive compensation for the arms, etc., which they had had to provide on appointment to their companies. *Ibid.*

To all licensed officers of merit who were not re-appointed, honourable discharges were ordered to be given, setting forth that the recipients had served well and faithfully, and that they left the service through no cause or bad behaviour of their own, but for general considerations of state. Whether those who refused to take the oath of allegiance were given these honourable discharges or not, is not clear. *Ibid.*

On the 14th March Sir George Downing wrote giving the names of a number of officers who had been deprived of their appointments.

. . . The companies of English cashiered or licensed S. P. Hollan officers (as they call ym) given away to others on Fri- No. 175. day last are ye compies of Coll Sidney and Coll Killegrew, Sr John Sayers and Lieutent Coll Cromwell & Sr Walter Vane & Major Miles, Captaine Pomelroy & Captaine Alcock, these of foote & for horse my Lord Wooton & Mr. Thomas Howard, and of ye Scotch Major Bruce, as for my Lord Craven, he had no comp. as for Captaine Henry Wood having married (as you know), a Burgomaster of Amster-

1665.

dam's daughter he shall pass without being put to sweare as being a Burger of ye towne. Those yt remaine of English and Scotch run up and downe to all those of Holland returning ym all manner of complmts & caresses making great protestations of their fidelity, interlarded with great reflexions upon his Mats & ye presaging of all manner of ill success to ym, withall laughing at their comrades yt have quitted. Sr William Davidson is now in Towne & both now & at his first passing for Amsterdam retourne for England (sic) he did what he could to have prevailed with some of his countrymen as Coll Gill patrick Lieutnt Coll Lothar etc but to no effect. . . . Mens lies (sic) are very much how those yt have quitted shall be looked upon by his Matie for ye Lieutenants and Ensigns their places are not yet disposed, there are a considerable number of ym yt intend to quitt and trully many of ym very poore. . . . When I see the proclamation I shall be able to say more to it, there are some other officers who are upon other Provinces who will not sweare also, as Sr Thomas Ogle & Captaine Sands whose Compies are upon Zeland.

Finding no assistance was forthcoming from England, Downing now began to do what he could himself to assist his distressed countrymen to return home. He issued warrants and passes to as many as could not defray the cost of their journey to England, giving the officers letters of recommendation to persons of high standing and aiding the men with money, so as to prevent them being driven by want to take service again with the Dutch. A number of these letters of recommendation, passes and warrants are preserved in the Records Office, and show that many of the lieutenants and ensigns were veterans of twenty and thirty years' service.

The following is a specimen of one of the letters\* :—

. P. Holland  
fo. 175.

For the Rt. Honble Mr Secretary Bennet at Whitehal  
Hague ye 14th March 1664/5 O.S.

The Bearer hereof Ensigne Rouse, having served in this

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\* Similar letters were issued on behalf of :—

Lieut. Williamson (30 years' service) 14th March, Ensign Sawle (30 years),  
22nd March, Ensign Fettiplace (26 years' service) 24th March, Ensign  
Preston (23 years' service) 11th May (addressed to Sir Wm. Morice).

country about 30 yeares and having now quitted his charge for his loyalty because he would not take ye new oath, and having scarce anything whereupon to subsist, & having ye Reputaçon of a very good officer, I could not but at his desire to give him this letter of address and recommendaçon to yourself that you would be pleased to be his friend, & to be a means that he may be help't to something at least for his subsistance. 1665.

I am Sr

yr most aff :

humb. servt

G. DOWNING.

As late as the 12th May we find Downing still issuing passes and money to the disbanded troops, to enable them to return home and to prevent them being driven to take service with the Dutch again.

DOWNING TO LORD ARLINGTON\*

S. P. Hollan  
No. 175.

Hague 12th May 1665 O.S.

Every weeke there come to me some English or Scotch seamen or soldiers for passes to go to England, to serve his Matie and for a purse of money to carry ym over, both which I doe accordingly lett them have, they are generally likely men, & if they should not be helped over, besides ye loss of so many brave men to his Matie necessity would inforce ym to take on in ye service of this state. . . .

On the 14th April the States General of Holland issued an order for the "transformed" English and Scotch companies on their repartition (forty-two companies), to be recruited up to a strength of 25 men per company, with the exception of one or two, which were to be reduced by 5 men each, so as to make them all of equal strength.† Res. of Holland.

Even allowing for the fact that the companies of the English and Scotch regiments may, from motives of economy, have been considerably under their established

\* Sir Henry Bennet created Lord Arlington.

† Original establishments : English regiments, Colonel's companies 80 men remainder 50. Scotch regiments, Colonel's companies 75 men, remainder

1665. strength at this period, it is clear from this order, that a very considerable proportion of the rank and file had refused to renew their engagements to the Netherlands under conditions which practically involved their renouncing their nationality.

The results of the re-organisation of the British regiments in the service of the United States of the Netherlands may be summed up as follows:—

Hist. Scots  
Brigade.

The three Scots regiments were converted into three nominally Dutch regiments. That one nominally Dutch regiment replaced the four English regiments. That a few of the English officers received posts in the Scottish regiments and that no distinction was allowed between them and the native Dutch troops.

Res. of  
Holland.

The States General, on the 14th April, ordered that the transformed English and Scotch companies being now Netherlands companies, the drums were to beat the *Holland* March on guard mounting and on all other occasions, and that the sashes and badges of the officers were to be orange coloured, similar to those worn by the Dutch officers.

As regards their standards, the colour and design thereof was left to the discretion of the respective Colonels, but with the proviso that in all cases the *Arms of Holland* were to be displayed thereon in the corners along the staff.

The following list gives, as far as can be ascertained, the names of the English officers in the service of the States of the United Netherlands at this period, and specifies those who took the oath of allegiance and those who refused to do so.

The list of subalterns is incomplete, as the names of none of those on the active list appear in the *Staet van Oorloge* (Establishment Lists), and only the names of those are forthcoming who were subsequently re-appointed by the States General, or who were taken into pay by Charles II.

List of Officers of the English Regiments in the service of the United States of the Netherlands, in the Autumn of 1664 and early in 1665, specifying those who took the oath of allegiance and were re-appointed, those who refused and were disbanded, and those among the latter who were formed by Charles II. into the Holland Regiment (now the Buffs). Compiled from the "Staet van Oorloge," 1662-64-65; the "Resolutions of Holland," 1662-65; from Sir George Downing's correspondence (State Papers, Holland, 1664-65); and from documents among the Domestic State Papers, Chas. II., 1665.

1665

RANK & NAME.	REGIMENT.	Whether took oath or not.	REMARKS.
Colonel Lord Craven - -	Craven's	No	Apptd. Col. Coldstream Regt. of Guards, 3 Jan 1670. (Dalton.)
Colonel Sir Wm. Killegrew	Killegrew's	No	Apptd. Col. Lord High Admll's Regt., 5 Nov 1664. (S. P. Dom.)
Colonel Robert Sidney - -	Sidney's	No	Apptd. Col. Holland Regt., 31 May 1665 (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20).
Colonel Thomas Dolman (Doleman)	Dolman's	Yes	Re-apptd. (Res. Holl. 20 Mar 1665.)
Lt.-Col. Sir Walter Vane -	Craven's	No	Apptd. Capt. of D. of Richmond's Select Militia, 6 July 1666. (Dalton.) Col. of Holland Regiment, 12 Aug 1668. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20.)
Lt.-Col. Humphrey Peyton	Killegrew's	Yes	Re-apptd. (Res. Holl. 20 Mar 1665.)
Lt.-Col. Sir John Sayer (Sayers)	Sidney's	No	Apptd. Capt. of a new raised Co. at Portsmth 8 Oct 1664. Col. of a new raised regt., 13 June 1667. (Dalton.)
Lt.-Col. Wm. Cromwell ( <i>alias Williams</i> )	Dolman's	No	Cousin of the Lord Protector. Changed his name in disgust to Williams. Applied unsuccessfully for the Lt.-Colcy. of the Lt. H. Admll's Regt. (S. P. D. Ca. II. V. 138 f. 56.)

1665

## List of Officers of the English Regiments, &amp;c.—(Continued.)

RANK & NAME.	REGIMENT.	Whether took oath or not.	REMARKS.
Major Ferdinando Carrey (Carey)	Craven's	Yes	Re-apptd. (Res. Holl. 20 Mar. 1665.)
Major Henry Meoles - -	Killegrew's	No	?
Major John Roper - - -	Dolman's	Yes	Re-apptd. (Res. Holl. 20 Mar 1665.)
Major Sir Thomas Ogle -	Sidney's	No	Apptd. Capt. Holland Regt., 21 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk 20.)
Capt. Robert Sanderson -	Killegrew's	Yes	Re-apptd. (Res. Holl. 20 Mar 1665.)
Capt. Tho. Dolman (junr.)	Craven's	Yes	do do
Capt. James Culpeper - -	Craven's	Yes	do do
Capt. Jas. Asteley (Ashley, or Astley)	Dolman's	Yes	do do
Capt. Baptist Alcock (Aelcocq)	Craven's	No	Apptd. Capt. Holland Regt., 13 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20.)
Capt. Cornelis Ogle - - -	{ probably } { Killegrew's }	Yes	Re-apptd. (Res. Holl. 20 Mar 1665.)
Capt. John Abrahah - - -	Killegrew's	Yes	do do
Capt. John Butler - - -	{ probably } { Killegrew's }	Yes	do do
Capt. Peter Watkin - - -	Craven's	Yes	do do
Capt. Wm. Read (Readt) -	Dolman's	Yes	do do
Capt. Henry Herbert - -	Sidney's	Yes	do do
Capt. Anthony Wyld (Wild)	Dolman's	Yes	do do
Capt. William Swaen (Swan)	Craven's	No	?
Capt. Henry Pomeroy - - (Pomeloy)	Killegrew's	No	Apptd. Capt. Holland Regt., 22 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20.)
Capt. Henry Mordaunt - -	Dolman's	Yes	Re-apptd. (Res. Holl. 20 Mar 1665.)
Capt. Edward Morgan - -	Craven's	No	?
Capt. Edward Coventry -	Sidney's	No	?
Capt. William Killegrew -	Sidney's	No	Ordered to be pd. 5/- per diem from 1 Jan 66. (S. P. D. 118 f. 103). Apptd. Capt. Holland Regt., 22 June 1666. (S. P. D. Ent. Bk. 20).

## List of Officers of the English Regiments, &amp;c.—(Continued.)

1665

RANK & NAME.	REGIMENT.	Whether took oath or not.	REMARKS.
			Appears to have returned to the Dutch service after the treaty of Breda, as on 8 Aug 67 the States Gen. passed a resolution ordering "Capt. Wm. Killegrew," his subordinate officers and other officers on the repartition of Utrecht to be sworn on the same form of oath as the officers of the English and Scotch nations retained and sworn on the repartition of Holland.
Capt. Josias Roper (Coper, or Cooper)	Sidney's	Yes	?
Capt. Thomas Sants (Sands)	Sidney's	No	? William Sonds. Ordered to be pd. 5/- per diem from 26/2/66. (S. P. D. 118, f. 103.)
Capt. Maurits la Mair - -	Dolman's	?	?
Lieut. Nicholas Gibson - -	Sidney's	Yes	Re-apptd. (Res. Holl. 27 Mar 1665.)
Lieut. Richard Griffin - -	Killegrew's	No	Apptd. Lieut. Holland Regt., 23 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20.)
Lieut. Thomas Honywood-	Craven's	No	Ordered to be pd. 3/- per diem fr. 20/4/65. (S. P. D. 118, f. 103.)
Lieut. Edward Lauwer (Lauer)	Craven's	?	?
Lieut. Ambrose Maneton -	Dolman's	Yes	Re-apptd. (Res. Holl. 27 Mar 1665.)
Lieut. Thomas Sanderson -	Killegrew's	Yes	do do
Lieut. Edward Sprey - -	Dolman's	Yes	do do
Lieut. James Sterling - -	Sidney's	No	Apptd. Lieut. Holland Regt., 23 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20.)



1665

List of Officers of the English Regiments, &c.—(*Continued.*)

RANK & NAME.	REGIMENT.	Whether took oath or not.	REMARKS.
Lieut. Robert Wildbore -	Sidney's	No	Apptd. Lieut. Holland Regt., 23 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20.)
Lieut. George Williamson -	Dolman's	No	do do
Lieut. Patrick Evans - -	?	No	? (S. P. Dom. Vol. 117, f. 98.)
Ens. John Andrew - - -	Sidney's	Yes	Re-apptd. (Res. Holl., 27 Mar 1665.)
Ens. Robert Barnes - - -	Killegrew's	No	In the minutes of commns. to the Hol- land Regt. this officer is entered both as Lieut. and as Ens. to Capt. Alcock, the name in the latter case being altered to Phettiplace. In the Commn. Bk. the name of the Lt. appointed to Capt. Alcock's company is: <i>George</i> <i>Barnes</i> , and in the margin <i>George Bar-</i> <i>nett</i> . These entries probably all refer to the same individual.
Ens. Robert Boulton - -	Dolman's	No	Apptd. Ensign Holland Regt., 23 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20.)
Ens. Walter Carpenter - -	Craven's	Yes	Re-apptd. (Res. Holl., 27 Mar 1665.)
Ens. Robert Herris - - -	( probably )	Yes	do do
	( Killegrew's )		
Ens. William Miles - - -	Killegrew's	No	Apptd. Ensign Holland Regt., 23 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20.)
Ens. Roger Manley - - -	Sidney's	No	do do
Ens. William Norwood - -	Dolman's	Yes	Re-apptd. (Res. Holl., 27 Mar 1665.)
Ens. James Palvesyn - -	Craven's	Yes	do do

## List of Officers of the English Regiments, &amp;c.—(Continued.)

1665

RANK & NAME.	REGIMENT.	Whether took oath or not.	REMARKS.
Ens. Philip Phettiplace - -	Sidney's	No	Apptd. Ensign Holland Regt., 23 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20.)
Ens. William Phettiplace -	Dolman's	No	do do
Ens. John Philips - - -	Craven's	Yes	Re-apptd. (Res. Holl., 27 Mar 1665).
Ens. Thos. Preston - - -	Killegrew's	No	Apptd. Ensign Holland Regt., 23 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20.)
Ens. Gervase Rouse (Rous)	Dolman's	No	Appointed Adjutant Holland Regt., 23 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 26.)
Ens. Richard Sawl (Saul) -	Sidney's	No	Ordered to be pd. 2/- per diem 20/4/65. (S. P. D. 118, f. 103). Name entered in minutes of commns. to Holland Regt. as Ens. to Major Bruce, but appt. does not appear to have been carried out.
<i>Pensioners.</i>			
Lieut. Paul Riseley - - -	—	No	Apptd. Lieut. Holland Regt., 23 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20).
Lieut. Richard Moore - -	—	No	Ordered to be pd. 3/- per diem. (S. P. D., 118, f. 103).
<i>Captains (Rithmeester) of Dutch Horse.</i>			
Robert Stone - - - -	—	Yes	Re-apptd. (Res. Holl., 20 Mar 1665).
Robert Honeywood - - -	—	Yes	do do
Lord Wooton - - - -	—	No	?
Thomas Howard - - - -	—	No	Apptd. Lieut.-Col. Hol- land Regt., 23 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20).

1665.

## List of Officers of the English Regiments, &amp;c.—(Continued.)

RANK & NAME.	REMARKS.
<i>Scotch Officers who refused to take the Oath.</i>	
Major Alexander Bruce of Colonel Scott's Regt. - - - - -	Apptd. Major Holland Regt., 23 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20.)
Capt. Alexander Hume of Colonel Kirkpatrick's Regt. - - - - -	?
Lieut. Patrick Vaux (Faux or Fausse) of Colonel Kirkpatrick's Regt. - -	Apptd. Quarter Master and Marshall Holland Regt., 23 June 1665. (S. P. Dom. Ent. Bk. 20.)
Lieut. Patrick Waemes (? Wemyss) ?	{ There is nothing to show to what regiments these officers belonged. Presumably from their names they were Scotch. Both were ordered to be pd. 3/- per diem from the 20/4/65. (S. P. D. 118, f. 103.)
Lieut. James Wats ?	

Res. Holl.

The States of Utrecht and Zeeland would appear to have been somewhat lenient in enforcing the oath, for in August, 1667, the States General passed a resolution directing the English and Scotch officers on the repartition of these states to be sworn on the same form of oath as those on the repartition of Holland and Westfriesland.

Meanwhile, early in 1665, the discharged officers and men began to arrive in England, and at last Charles appears to have re-considered the question of taking them into his service. As a preliminary measure, a list was compiled (dated 11th April, 1665) of the subaltern officers who had arrived or were expected from Holland.

S. P. Dom.,  
Ca. II.,  
Vol. 117, f. 98.

A list of the Lieutenants and Ensigns that have quitted the service of the States of Holland and are at present heere in London to say

Richard Griffin Lieutent to Collenel Killegrew  
Thomas Honywood Lieut to Lt Collenel Vane  
George Williamson Lieut to Capt Reade  
Roger Manley Enseigne to Capt Ogle  
Robert Boulton Enseigne to Capt Wilde

Jarvas Rouse Enseigne to Lieut Coll Williams  
 Richard Saull Enseigne to Lt Collonel Sayer  
 William Phetiplace Enseigne to Colonel Delman  
 Miles Ens to Sr Wm Killegrew

1665.

Not yet arrived, but in the River :—

Robert Wildbore Lieut to Collonel Sydney  
 Paul Rysley Lieut to late Major Whittipole  
 Philp Phettiplace Enseigne to Capt Herbert  
 Robert Barnes Enseigne to Majr Moloy  
 Lieut Fause Lt to Capt Lindsay  
 Lieut Sterling Lt to Capt Cooper

On this is stuck a slip, as follows :—

The names of the State Lieutenants that are comed from  
 Holland.

Patrick Evans Lieutenant  
 Lieutenant Sterling  
 Fettiplace Ensigne

A few days later a warrant was issued by the King's  
 order taking them into his pay at a reduced rate.

CHARLES R.

S. P. Dom.  
 Ca. II.

Our will and pleasure is that the Officers undernamed who  
 lately quitted the service of the States of Holland be allowed  
 the salaries of three shill. per diem to each Lieutenant &  
 two shill. & six pence per diem to each Enseigne to commence  
 and be accompted from the day of the date of these presents  
 and to continue during Our Pleasure. An Our Right  
 Trusty and Right Wellbeloved Cousin and Councillor  
 Thomas Earle of Southampton Our High Treasurer of  
 England is hereby authorized & required to grant assign-  
 ments to Stephen Fox Esqr. for receiving the same, and he  
 is to issue it forth to the said officers according to such War-  
 rants as he shall from time to time receive from Our Right  
 Trusty & Rt. entirely beloved Cousin & Councillor George  
 Duke of Albemarle Our Generall of the Forces. For which  
 this shall be to them respectively a sufficient Warrant.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 20th day of Aprill  
 1665.

By his Maties Comand

ARLINGTON.

1665.

A list of the Lieutnts & Ensigns that have refused the oath imposed by the States of Holland & thereupon were discharged that service & are att present in London.

	p. diem.	p. mensem.	p. an.
Richard Griffin Lt to Collnl Sr Wm Kille- grew ... ..	00 03 00	04 04 00	54 12 00
Thom Honeywood Lt to Lt Collnl Vane ...	00 03 00	04 04 00	54 12 00
George Williamson Lt to Capt Read ... ..	00 03 00	04 04 00	54 12 00
Robt Wildbore Lt to Coll Sidney ... ..	00 03 00	04 04 00	54 12 00
Paul Risley Lt to late Major Whitepooll ...	00 03 00	04 04 00	54 12 00
— Faux Lt to Capt Lindsey ... ..	00 03 00	04 04 00	54 12 00
— Sterling Lt. to Capt Coales ... ..	00 03 00	04 04 00	54 12 00
Patrick Wames Lt to ?	00 03 00	04 04 00	54 12 00
Roger Manley Ensigne Capt Ogle ... ..	00 02 06	03 10 00	45 10 00
Robert Boulton Ensigne to Capt Wild ... ..	00 02 06	03 10 00	45 10 00
Jarvase Rouse Ensigne to Lt Collnl Williams	00 02 06	03 10 00	45 10 00
Richard Saul Ensigne to Lt Coll Sayer ...	00 02 06	03 10 00	45 10 00
William Phettiplace Ens to Coll Delman ...	00 02 06	03 10 00	45 10 00
— Miles Ensigne to Sir Wm Killegrew...	00 02 06	03 10 00	45 10 00
Phillip Phettiplace Ens to Capt Herbert ...	00 02 06	03 10 00	45 10 00
Robert Barnes Ens to Major Moles ... ..	00 02 06	03 10 00	45 10 00
	2 04 00	61 12 00	800 10 00

To Our Right Trusty & Right Wellbeloved Cousin  
& Councillor Thomas Earle of Southampton, Our  
High Treasr of England and to Our Rt Trusty &  
Rt Entirely beloved Cousin & Councillor George

Duke of Albemarle Our Ld Generall of Our Forces  
& to Our Trusty & Wellbeloved Stephen Fox Esq  
Our Paymaster of Our new raised Forces.

1665.

CHARLES R.

Our Will and Pleasure is That the Persons whose names  
are underwritten be added to this establishment, and that  
the Captains be allowed each five shillings per diem.

Captain Henry Pomery of Collnll Killegrews Regiment  
Captaine Baptist Alcocke of Collnll Sidneys Regiment  
Lieut Robt Moore Lt to

Capt Esdray	...	00	03	00	04	04	00	54	12	00
Thomas Preston Ensign										
to Capt Sanderson	...	00	02	06	03	10	00	45	10	00

C.R.

Capt William Sonds to commence from 25 Feb

Jan 1st 1665/6	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
----------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	---	---	---

C.R.

Captain William Killigrew to commence from

1665/6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Lt James Wats to commence from 20 Apr 1665								0	3	0

The King finally decided to form the officers and men  
into a regiment, under the title of the "Holland Regiment,"  
and on the 31st May a commission was issued to Colonel  
Robert Sidney to be: "Colonell of Our Holland Regiment  
of foot, raised or to be raised, for Our service."

Commission of Robert Sidney.\*

CHARLES R.

To Our Trusty & Welbeloved Rob: Sidney Esqr Greet-  
ing. Wee reposing especial trust & confidence in your  
loyalty, integrity and good conduct have thought fit to con-

---

\* Robert Sidney, 3rd son of Robert 2nd E. of Leicester b. 1626 d. 1668  
unmarried Commonly called handsome Sidney. (Evelyn's Diary).  
Entered the Dutch service at the age of 17. Was one of the  
boon companions of Charles II. during his exile. There is but little  
doubt that the brilliant and ill-fated D. of Monmouth, the acknowledged

1665.

S. P. Dom.,  
Ca. II.  
Ent. Bk. 20,  
p. 63, and  
W. O. Com-  
missn. Bk.,  
1660-1684,  
1255.

stitute you and appoint you & accordingly doe by these presents constitute you & appoint you to be Collonell of Our Holland Regiment of foot raised or to be raised for Our service. You are therefore carefully to discharge the duty of a Colonell by exercising the sd Regimt in arms both officers and soldiers, and to keep ym in good order & discipln & Wee doe hereby command them to obey you as their Colonell. And you are to observe such orders etc as you shall from time to time receive from Us, Our Generall of Our forces or other your superior officers according to the discipline of Warre in persuance of ye trust Wee repose in you.

Given etc ye 31 of May 1665.

By His Mats command

ARLINGTON.

Life of King  
James II.,  
Vol. I., p. 491.

Memoirs of  
the Sidney  
Family.

Ibid.

natural son of Charles II., by Lucy Waters (Mrs. Barlow), was in reality the son of Robert Sidney, whose mistress Lucy Waters had been until she passed to Charles, a suspiciously short time before Monmouth's birth in 1649. The likeness between Sidney and Monmouth was ridiculous, even to a wart on the face. On his return to England in 1665 Sidney "plunged into all the gaieties of that notoriously gay Court of the Restoration. But his reception was not so cordial as that accorded to Monmouth. Charles considered him evidently somewhat *de trop* after the signal success which had attended his recognition of the Duke, and he was by no means anxious to have the old story of his liason with Mrs. Barlow raked up again. Monmouth also shared the uneasiness of Charles, and having got a King for his father, was by no means anxious to exchange such illustrious parentage for that of a Colonel in the Dutch (sic) army. That both he and the King had good reasons for wishing Robert Sidney to relieve the Court of his presence was not long in proving correct, for the likeness of the Duke to the Colonel soon became the scandal of the hour, setting all the busy tongues wagging. Relations between King and subject became considerably strained, and were not improved (1666) by the disgrace of his brother Henry, on account of his intimacy with the Duchess of York. But this unpleasant state of affairs, luckily for Monmouth, did not last very long for in 1668 the Colonel died suddenly at the age of 42, and was buried at Penshurst." (See also note in Chap. VII.). The Colonel's name appears in the documents of the time sometimes as Sidney and sometimes as Sydney. The proper spelling of this name is often a subject of controversy. Is it Sidney or Sydney? . . . several famous members of the family even used both forms . . . Before becoming shortened in Sidney, or Sydney, the name was spelt Sidenie, Sydenie, Sydnie, Sidnei, Sydnei, de Sidenie, de Sydenie, etc."

N.B.—In the documents bearing the Colonel's signature, in the Records Office, he spells his name Sidney.—H.R.K.

Three weeks later commissions were granted in the regiment to twenty-one of the officers who had left the Dutch service, the Colonel, as was customary at that time, receiving a second commission as captain of a company\*.

Among those appointed to the regiment on this occasion was Major Alexander Bruce, late of Colonel Scot's Regiment, the solitary Scotch field officer apparently who refused allegiance to the Netherlands.

The establishment of the regiment was fixed at six companies of 106 non-commissioned officers and men each, besides officers, commencing from the 23rd June.

#### CHARLES R.

An Establishment of the Holland Regiment under the command of Collonell Robert Sidney consisting of six Hundred Soldiers besides Officers in six Companies. Commencing from the xxiiij of June 1665.

S. P. Dom.,  
Ca. II.,  
Vol. 125, f. 39

		per diem.			per mensem.			per annum.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Collonell	as									
Collonell	...	00	12	00	16	16	00	218	08	00
Lieut Collonell	as									
Lieut Coll	...	00	07	00	9	16	00	218	08	00
Major as Major	...	00	05	00	7	00	00	91	00	00
Field Chaplaine	...	00	06	08	9	06	08	121	06	08
and Chirugion 4s and										
Staffe one mate ijs, vjd	...	00	06	06	9	02	00	118	06	00
Officers. Quartermaster and										
Marshall to be										
executed by one										
person	...	00	04	00	5	12	00	72	16	00
Adjutant	...	00	04	00	5	12	00	72	16	00
		02 05 00			63 04 08			822 00 08		

\* The field officers of a regiment at this period all commanded companies, in addition to their other duties. In the case of the Colonel's company, however, the command devolved on the lieutenant, who held the rank of captain-lieutenant. This rank does not, however, appear to have carried with it any increase of pay.



1665.

	per diem.			per mensem.			per annum.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Collonells Company	00	08	00	11	04	00	145	12	00
Collonell as Captaine	00	04	00	5	12	00	72	16	00
Lieutenant ... ..	00	03	00	4	04	00	54	12	00
Ensigne ... ..	00	03	00	4	04	00	54	12	00
Two Sargeants each									
18d ... ..	00	03	00	4	04	00	54	12	00
Three Corporalls									
each 12d ... ..	00	03	00	4	04	00	54	12	00
One Drummer ... ..	00	01	00	1	08	00	18	04	00
One hundred soldiers									
each at 8d ... ..	03	06	08	93	06	08	1213	06	08
	04	08	08	124	02	08	1613	14	08
Five Companies more to compleat the said Regiment at the same rates and numbers before expressed in the Collonells Company amounts to ... ..									
	22	03	04	620	13	04	8068	13	04
In all for the said Regiment ... ..									
	28	17	02	808	00	08	10504	08	08

ALBEMARLE  
SOUTHAMPTON                      ARLINGTON.

Commission  
Bk., 1660-  
1684. 1255.

There are several lists and minutes among the State Papers, of the commissions granted in the Holland Regiment on its first formation, all differing slightly from each other, but the following, compiled from the War Office Commission Book, is undoubtedly correct:—

1665.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>
Robert Sidney 25 June. Colonel 31 May.	Robt. Wildbore 23 June.	Wm. Miles 23 June.
Thomas Howard 23 June. Lt.-Col.	Ric. Griffith 23 June.	Robt. Boulton 23 June.
Alexander Bruce 23 June. Major.	Geo. Williamson 23 June.	Thos. Preston 23 June.
Sir Thos. Ogle 21 June.	Paul Risley 23 June.	Roger Manley 23 June.
Henry Pomeroy 22 June.	Geo. Barnes* 23 June.	Ph. Phettiplace 23 June.
Baptist Alcock 23 June.	Jas. Sterling 23 June.	Wm. Fettiplace† 23 June.
	Adjutant Gervas Rouse 23 June.	
	Quarter Master and Marshall Patrick Vaux‡ 23 June.	
	Chirurgeon James Peirce§ 23 June.	

On comparing the above list with the documents already quoted, it will be seen that with the exception of the surgeon, and possibly Lieutenant Barnes, *every one of the officers appointed to the regiment had previously been in the Dutch service, and had left the same when called on to renounce allegiance to the land of their birth.*

We see therefore conclusively, that the transfer, from the Dutch to the English service, of the troops who henceforward were to compose the Holland Regiment, was by no means the prosaic change of quarters and of paymasters alleged in Cannon's "Official Records."

On the contrary, it took place under circumstances which taxed to the utmost the loyalty and patriotism of both officers and men. Mercenaries and soldiers of fortune they may have been, but sooner than turn traitors to their King and country, they preferred to risk destitution. Well may their successors be proud of their memory.

As was anticipated by Sir George Downing, the formation of the Holland Regiment from the cashiered troops lately in their service, created no small impression in the Low Countries, and considerably enhanced King Charles' prestige.

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\* Spelt Barnes# in the margin of the commission. Is probably identical with Robert Barnes. (S. P. D., Vol. 11, f. 103).

† Phettiplace, Fettiplace. ‡ Faux, Fausse. § Pierce, Pearce, Pierse.

1665.

DOWNING TO LORD ARLINGTON.

13 June 1665 Hague.

S. P. Holland  
No. 175.

His Maties. having formed ye officers yt went from hence gives great reputation & makes much noise here. Pray did you think of Ensigne Manly yt he is taken on among ym, or if not how he shall receive his allowance. I might know it from you yt he may accordingly give order for ye receiving thereof.

The Holland Regiment, like the Admiral's Regiment,\* raised in the previous autumn, was primarily intended for service at sea,† and on the 11th July the cost of these two regiments was ordered to be charged to the Navy.

Privy Council  
Registers,  
Vol. 6.

At the Court of Whitehall

the 11th July 1665

It was this day ordered by his Matie in Councill that the two Navall Regiments be paid by the Treasurer of the Navy untill further order.

As will be seen, the Holland Regiment remained on the naval establishments until May, 1667.

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\* The Duke of York and Albany's Maritime Regiment of Foot (The Lord High Admirall's Regiment).

† The fighting portion of the crew of a man-of-war in these days consisted largely of land soldiers, the captains of the ships themselves being frequently men who had little or no knowledge of the sea, the navigation and handling of the vessels being performed by sailing masters, who were professional seamen.

Some of the most distinguished and successful Admirals of the time were soldiers by profession, viz., George Monk (Earl of Albemarle) and Prince Rupert.

1665.

## CHAPTER II.

1665—1666.

It will be advisable, before proceeding further, to take a brief survey of events since the declaration of war. Notwithstanding the efforts which had been made to prepare the fleet, it was not until the 21st April that it was in a condition to put to sea, and then a very large proportion of those on board were raw landsmen. With the exception of a few encounters between individual ships, nothing of importance occurred during the month of May, but the delay was invaluable in enabling the inexperienced crews to gain their sea legs.

On the 1st of June, the English, under the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and the Earl of Sandwich, sighted the Dutch fleet, under Opdam, off the mouth of the Texel, and after desultory fighting on the 2nd, a general action commenced in the early hours of the 3rd, off Lowestoft. The engagement lasted the greater part of the day, and resulted in a complete victory for the English, the Dutch admitting the loss of seventeen of their finest ships, four admirals (including Opdam), and 4,000 men. The English claimed however to have captured or sunk thirty-two ships, to have burnt many others, and to have killed, wounded, or taken prisoners over 8,000 of the enemy.

The English loss was one ship and about 800 men. After the action the English fleet returned to Southwold Bay to land the prisoners, who were marched to Chelsea. The Duke of York and Prince Rupert also landed, leaving the fleet under the command of the Earl of Sandwich, who proceeded to sea again on the 5th July.

An unsuccessful attack was made by Rear Admiral Tiddeman with fourteen ships on the Dutch East India fleet, which had taken refuge on the Norwegian coast, after which the Earl returned to the Dutch coast, where he

1665. captured some twelve men of war, a large number of merchantmen, and about 1,000 prisoners.

What share the men of the Holland Regiment took, if any, in this expedition, it is impossible to say, in the absence of any records throwing light on the subject.

Privy Council  
Registers,  
Ca. II., Vol. 5,  
f. 136-7.

A very large number of soldiers were serving afloat at this time, for already in May a Privy Council Order had provided for the raising of 2,500 men to replace that number sent to sea from the Admiral's Regiment.

Colonel Edye, in studying the question, says:—

Hist. Royal  
Marine Forces,  
Vol. I., p. 33.

When we come to the more serious question of there being no fewer than two thousand five hundred men embarked, it is obvious either, that a very considerable expansion of the regiment (the Admiral's Regiment) had taken place in a very short space of time, or that some new development of the force had come into operation. In what form this expansion took place is not quite clear. There can be little doubt that this year saw the temporary existence of two maritime regiments, charged to and paid for by the Treasurer of the Navy—the second being that commanded by Colonel (Robert) Sydney. . . . The detail of this regiment to perform the duties of marines would fully account for the large number of two thousand five hundred men embarked as stated in Privy Council Order of the 15th May.

We have seen, however, that Colonel Sidney's Regiment, the Holland Regiment, was not raised until June, so that the assumption that a portion of the two thousand five hundred men embarked belonged to it, is hardly accurate.

Ibid.

A study of early official documents . . . shows that, for every man ordered to sea, the captains of the regiment (the Admiral's Regiment) were authorised to recruit to fill all vacancies on the established strength. By this system the regiment might be raised to an almost unknown quantity without in any way affecting its constitution or equilibrium.

What is tolerably certain, therefore, is that, in order to prevent the undue expansion of the Admiral's Regiment, it was deemed advisable that a portion of the two thousand five hundred men ordered to be raised by the Privy Council

on the 15th May to replace those of the Admiral's Regiment sent to sea should be constituted into a separate regiment. 1665.

This would account for no separate warrant for the raising of the Holland Regiment being forthcoming.

The following application from the Surgeon-General of the Navy, dated 27th June, clearly confirms this supposition :—

Mr. James Pearce, who formerly had some ground to hope S. P. Dom., to bee Chirgeon to his R.H. Regiment, hearing that the Ca. II., regiment was now to be divided, desired me to move his R.H. No. 125, f. 51 for his consent that hee might be chirurgeon to one of them ; to which his R.H. very willingly consented, having observed his care and diligence in the fleet to deserve encouragement, it remains that I desire you to move my Ld Generall in it wch you will oblige.\*

In addition to the men of the Admiral's Regiment, 300 men of Colonel Russell's Regiment of Foot Guards† had been embarked for service afloat in March, but it is hardly probable that the Holland Regiment was sufficiently organised for any of its number to have taken part in the naval operations of that summer.

No documents appear to exist showing where the regiment was quartered on its formation, but a portion of it was at all events stationed in the south of England in the autumn, for warrants were issued, dated 18th September, to Sir Thos. Ogle, "Captain of a foot company S. P. Dom., in the Holland Regt., to send forty of his company Ca. II., to relieve the same number of Captain Alcock's company Entry Book 1 in the Isle of Portland," and to "the commanding officer of the part of Captain Alcock's company at Portland, on arrival of part of the Holland Regiment to take his men to the Isle of Wight," and in Entry Book No. 20, p. 86, we find the note of a commission for Sir Thomas Ogle "to be

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\* Reference to the commissions to the Holland Regiment shows that James Pierce († Pearce) was appointed chirurgeon to the regiment, his commission bearing date 27th June.

† Now the Grenadier Guards.

1665. Major in the Holland Regiment, in place of Major Bruce, deceased, 7ber ye 16th at Weymouth."\*

At this time it was customary for about a third of the men of each company of foot to be armed with pikes, but this course was not followed in the case of the Admiral's and the Holland Regiments, the men being required for service on board ship, where pikes from fifteen to eighteen feet long would have been worse than useless. The whole of the rank and file, therefore, were armed with firearms.

During the autumn active preparations were made for a vigorous renewal of the war in the spring, but the outbreak of the plague threw everything into confusion. In London alone, nearly 90,000 persons perished from the awful pestilence.

1666. Meanwhile, France, without being openly hostile, had been making naval preparations with a view of aiding the Dutch, and Denmark had also engaged to co-operate against England. On the 19th January, 1666, Louis XIV. declared war, the fleet which was being fitted out being placed under the immediate command of the Duc de Beaufort.

England, as far as numbers went, was evidently over-matched, but her geographical situation gave her the advantage of being in a position to keep the allied fleets separated from one another.

Strenuous efforts were made to obtain seamen to man the fleet by the 20th February, but nothing appears to have been done towards increasing the military and marine forces.

Edye, p. 55.

Official and other papers of this date throw little or no light upon the movements either of the men of the land forces or of the Admiral's Regiment "destined for the fleet." These men are spoken of by the general term of "soldier" in a variety of documents, but only in a few instances are the regiments referred to, and in only two or three are the names of the officers mentioned.

Edye.

It was not until the end of May that the English

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\* Ensign Roger Manley was appointed Captain of the vacant company.

1666. fleet left the Downs, Prince Rupert setting sail on the 29th with 20 sail and five fire-ships, to oppose the French fleet, consisting of over forty sail, under the Duc de Beaufort, which was coming from Toulon and was now supposed to be entering the Channel. The Duke of Albemarle, with 54 sail and five fire-ships, left two days later in search of the Dutch fleet, which was at sea under the command of de Ruyter, Tromp, and Evertsen, and which they discovered the following morning (1st June) at anchor, some seven leagues from Ostend. Their fleet consisted of 84 sail, who immediately cut their cables and cleared for action, and at noon there commenced a battle which was furiously contested for four long days. The first day, despite the gale which was blowing, the fight lasted until darkness separated the combatants. Vice-Admiral Sir William Berkeley's ship was overpowered and taken, the admiral being among the slain. On the side of the Dutch Admiral Evertsen was killed. The next day, the weather having moderated, the action became closer and more desperate. The fatal error of detaching Prince Rupert cost the English dear. Already out-numbered and over-matched, the accession of 16 fresh ships to the enemy's forces bade fair to overwhelm them. With only twenty-eight vessels in a condition to carry on the struggle, there was nothing for it but to retreat. The Dutch followed in pursuit, and the engagement was on the point of being renewed, when just before nightfall, a calm separated the combatants. The next morning, the retreat was continued. The most shattered ships were sent on ahead, sixteen of the least damaged ones following them in good order, and keeping the enemy at a distance. Albemarle himself closed the rear. About two in the afternoon, as the Dutch were coming up with the English, Prince Rupert's squadron hove in sight, crowding all sail to join in the fight. Before the junction could be effected, unfortunately, the largest of Albemarle's ships, a vessel of one hundred guns, commanded by Sir George Ayscue, struck on the Galloper Sands. Beyond the assistance of his friends, and attacked by fire-ships, Ayscue had no alternative but to surrender.



1666. Being reinforced, Albemarle determined to renew the fight, and next morning the struggle began again, on more equal terms and with equal fury. A fog coming on, however, separated the two fleets, and the English retired into port. The Dutch then likewise returned to the Texel to refit.

The desperate bravery with which the English had fought this action was fittingly acknowledged by de Witt, who at a subsequent period remarked that "the English got more glory to their nation, and the invincible courage of their seamen by those engagements, than by the two victories of this war, and that he was sure that their people would never have been brought on, on the following days, after the disadvantages of the first; and he believed no other nation was capable of it but the English."

The English losses were ten or eleven ships, nearly 600 men killed, 1,100 wounded, and 2,000 prisoners; Sir Wm. Berkeley and Sir Christopher Myngs being among the killed, and Sir George Ayscue taken prisoner. The Dutch lost among the killed three admirals and about six ships.

S. P. Dom.,  
Ca. II.,  
Vol. 159, f. 21.

Ibid, Vol. 160,  
f. 18.

Ibid, Vol. 164  
f. 36.

The work of re-fitting and re-manning the fleet was energetically pushed forward, and troops were hurried to the ports to replace casualties. Orders were issued "by ye duke of Yorke, June 17 for 720 foot souldiers to be taken out of severall garrisons & sent on board ye fleet." A letter from Plymouth reports that of 70 soldiers drawn out of the fort and island for sea service, "the greater part of them vollontaryly offered themselves and they all expressed abundance of cheerfulness."

Between the 30th June and 22nd July no less than 2,861 soldiers and pressed men were shipped off to the fleet from the Tower alone.

More troops also were ordered to be raised, namely: Six additional companies for the Admiral's Regiment and four for the Holland Regiment, and Lord Douglas was directed to raise a regiment of twelve companies, 100 strong.\*

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\* Now the Scots Guards.

A privy seale for 5000L for raising and paying severall now new raised forces. Also 35000L for ye payment of 22 Companies in two Regiments commanded by Sr Chichester Wray\* and Coll Robert Sidney and 1200 for ye payment of ye Scotch Regiment under ye command of ye Lord Dowglas, amounting to ye sume of 97000L. Which monies are to be issued and paid according to an Establishment and by warrants and direcons given from time to time by my Lord Generall for this present Warr. 1666. S. P. Dom., Ca. II., Vol. 187, f. 12

(Undated.)

A letter to Sr George Carteret Treasurer of his Maties Navy. Privy Council Registers, Vol. 5.

After &ca Whereas there are six Companys of floote to encrease his Royall Highness Regiment, and ffour Companys to be added to Colonell Sidneys Regiment, these are to pray and require you to pay or cause to be paid out of his Maties Treasure as is remayning in your hands, one months pay by way of Imprest to each Captaine for his owne Enter-tenment & his said companies, that so they may be enabled to discharge their Quarters from time to time for which the respective Captaines shall be accountable in their future musters, And for so doing this shall be your Warrt., And so &ca. Dated 11th July 1666.

Signed

Lord Chancellor Earle of Craven Lord Holles Sr Wm Coventry Lord Treasurer Lord Arlington Mr. Secry Morice Lord Chamberlain Lord Berkeley Mr. Chancellor of ye Dutchy.

CHARLES R.

An Additionall Establishment of Foure Companies of S. P. Dom., Foot to be added to the Holland Regiment commanded by Collonell Robert Sidney commencing from the 22nd of July 1666. Ca. II., Vol. 164, f. 56

One Company consisting of

			Per diem.		Per mensem.		Per annum.
Captaine	...	...	00 08 00		11 04 00		145 12 00
Lieutenant	...	...	00 04 00		5 12 00		72 16 00
Ensigne	...	...	00 03 00		4 04 00		54 12 00

\* The Admiral's Regiment.

1666. were merely being transported from one port to another, and were not returning from any expedition.

As already mentioned, the Holland Regiment, like the Admiral's, was originally entirely armed with firearms, but whether with a view to their being possibly required for land service is not clear, a warrant was issued on the 22nd June, 1666, directing 36 men per company to be armed with pikes.

#### JAMES DUKE OF YORK.

R.U.S. Inst.,  
Brit. Army  
MSS.

Whereas the regiment of Foot under the command of Colonel Sydney has hitherto been armed with firearms & have had no pikes, and it being thought fitting for the said regt. shall have a proportion of 36 pikes to each company consisting of 100 men, these are therefore to will and require you that when any of the Captains of the said regiment shall send into His Majtys Stores under your charge, any number of musquet and Bandaleer you deliver them out the like number of pikes in lieu of them, not exceeding the aforesaid proportion of 36 pikes to each company of 100 men, for which this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand at S. James  
22 June 1666

JAMES

To the Commt. of His Majesty's Ordnance.

The armament of the four augmentation companies, however, was slightly different to the above. Cannon states that the following arms were issued from the Tower of London, for each company :—

30 Pikes 14 feet long.  
60 Matchlock muskets with collars of bandaliers.  
13 Firelocks.  
2 Halberds.  
1 Partisan.  
2 Drums.

Since the desperate four days' fight, both English and Dutch had strained every nerve to repair the damage they

had sustained, and to renew the combat. Both fleets were ready about the same time, and on the 22nd July the English fleet, numbering 89 men-of-war and some 20 fire-ships, anchored in the Downs, under Albemarle and Prince Rupert. 1666.

The enemy's fleet, of similar strength, was cruising off the Thames, and about noon on the 25th the two forces fell in with each other, a furious conflict ensuing. By night time the Dutch were beaten and forced to retreat. Owing to the light wind, their retirement was slow, and continued all that night, the English pressing hotly on the rear. But thanks chiefly to the exertions of de Ruyter, the Dutch succeeded in gaining their harbours, with a loss, however, of 20 ships sunk or burnt, 5 admirals killed, and upwards of 7,000 men killed and wounded. Edye.

The English only admitted the loss of one ship and about 300 soldiers and seamen.

The victorious fleet then swept along the coast of Holland, spreading destruction and panic everywhere. A squadron, under Holmes, destroyed 140 merchantmen in the Roads of Vlie, together with the town of Brandaris, consisting of six or seven hundred houses.

Both fleets were rapidly re-fitted, and on putting to sea again, Prince Rupert, with the English fleet, now stronger than ever, sighted the Dutch cruising near the Straits of Dover. De Ruyter, however, thought prudent to decline the engagement, and took shelter in the St. John's Roads, near Boulogne, and a violent storm coming on, Rupert was driven into St. Helen's for shelter. Meanwhile the long-expected French fleet, under the Duc de Beaufort, passed up Channel without sighting either the English or Dutch. The latter were compelled by a violent outbreak of sickness among the crews to return again to port, and Louis, fearful for the safety of his squadron, despatched orders to Beaufort to make the best of his way to Brest, which he succeeded in doing without molestation.

This appears to have terminated operations for the year. The fleet returned into harbour and the troops embarked for service afloat were discharged to the shore.

1666. In September Lieutenant-Colonel Howard's company marched to Colchester to guard the Dutch prisoners taken in the action off Harwich.  
R.U.S. Inst.,  
MSS.

Considerable friction was constantly arising at this period with regard to the precedence of the various regiments. To meet emergencies, regiments had been raised from time to time and disbanded again when no longer required, and the officers who had commanded these, and who were subsequently appointed to command new regiments, claimed for their new corps the seniority of their old ones, constant disputes arising in consequence. To put a stop to these differences and to settle once for all the points at issue, the following warrant was issued :—

S. P. Dom.,  
Vol. 171,  
f. 72.

For the preventing of all questions and disputes that might arise for or concerning the Rankes of the severall Regiments, Troopes and Companies which now are or at any time hereafter shall be employed in Our service, and of the severall Officers and Commanders of the same, as well upon service and in the feild as in all Councils of Warr and other military occasions where they shall be called on to appeare in their respective quallities, Wee have thought good to issue out the following directions :—

1. First as to the Foote, That the Regiment of Guards\* take the place of all other Regiments, and the Colonell to be always Reckoned and take place as the first Foote Colonel, the Generalls Regmt† to take place next, the Admiralls immediately after, and all other Regiments and Colonells to take place according to their commissions.

With reference to this warrant, Colonel Edye, in his History of the Royal Marine Forces, remarks :—

Having regard to its antecedent history, it is difficult to realise why the Holland Regiment was not accorded equal distinction with that of the Admiral, unless its identity was in a sense merged with the Admiral's for the period during which it formed a part of the Naval service. This supposition receives support from the fact that soon after Colonel

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\* Now the Grenadier Guards. † Now the Coldstream Guards.

Sydney's regiment had passed from the Naval Establishment, the Table of Regimental Precedence was amended, seniority being then given to the Holland Regiment to rank after the Admiral's and *before all other regiments*.

1666.

Nothing of importance from a naval or military point of view occurred during the rest of the year, but on the 3rd September the great fire broke out which laid in ashes the greater part of the City of London.

The King now "began to be sensible, that all the ends for which the war had been undertaken were likely to prove entirely abortive. The Dutch, even when single-handed, had defended themselves with vigour, and were every day improving in their military skill and preparations. Though their trade had suffered extremely, their extensive credit had enabled them to levy great sums; and while the seamen of England loudly complained of want of pay, the Dutch navy was regularly supplied with money and every-thing requisite for its subsistence. As two powerful kings now supported them, every place from the extremity of Norway to the coast of Bayonne was become hostile to the English, and Charles, neither fond of action nor stimulated by any violent ambition, earnestly sought for means of restoring tranquility to his people, disgusted with a war, which, being joined with the plague and fire, had proved so fruitless and destructive."

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1667.

## CHAPTER III.

1667-1668-1669.

Notwithstanding the general dissatisfaction, Parliament on 8th February voted the sum of £1,800,000 for the purpose of carrying on the war. A considerable part of this had already been anticipated, and Charles, anxious to divert the remainder to his own purposes, foolishly confident in the peaceful result of the negotiations which had been opened with the Dutch, steadfastly persisted in laying up all his larger men-of-war, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the Duke of York, and only allowed two small squadrons to be fitted out. The Dutch minister, de Witt, seeing the King happy in his fancied security, purposely protracted the negotiations, at the same time quietly pushing on preparations for a renewal of the struggle.

In February a Royal Commission was issued by the King for the raising of a regiment of foot, under the command of Sir Tobias Bridges, for service in the West Indies. This regiment was known as the Barbadoes Regiment, and in May Captain Cotter's company of the Holland Regiment was detached and transferred to it, with its officers. To replace the company, Captain Sir Herbert Lunsford was commissioned by the King, on 13th May, to raise a new one 100 strong, besides officers, for the Holland Regiment.

In connection with this it may be interesting to note that the Duke of York exercised the power of appointing officers to the Holland Regiment, as is clear from the following memo. in the handwriting of, and signed by, Colonel Sidney:—

Ens. to Lunsford

By his R. Highnesses appointmt Mr Ralph Woomley is to be Enseigne to Sr Herbert Lounsford.

R. SIDNEY.

The career of Captain Cotter's company with its new regiment was unfortunate. During the ensuing summer it took part in the unsuccessful attack on the island of St. Kitts, in which the Barbadoes Regiment suffered severely, Captain Cotter among others, being taken prisoner. Undated memo's. of three petitions from him are extant among the State Papers, evidently written at the end of 1669 or beginning of 1670, in which he prays "for speedy relief, that, after faithful service, he may not want a livelihood. He has served both at home and abroad, had a foot company in the Holland Regiment, but was incorporated in a new raised regiment, sent to the West Indies, where he was taken by the enemy and endured eight months' captivity and misery."

1667.

S. P. D.,  
Ca. II.,  
Vol. 281,  
f. 44.

In another petition he prays the king "for the payment of his arrears, for 2½ years; has received nothing since his appointment to a foot company in the Holland Regiment, although he was sent to the West Indies, taken and imprisoned 8 months, is worse off than if he had stayed at home and lost his employment."

S. P. D.,  
Ca. II.,  
Vol. 450,  
f. 160.

Cotter appears to have been re-appointed to the Barbadoes Regiment, for in Miscellany Book, I., f. 182, there is an entry of an order to hand to him 218 muskets and 114 pikes for four companies of the Barbadoes Regiment, lately landed in England. His name occurs in the list of officers of that regiment for 1671, and in that of the Barbadoes Regiment of Dragoons for 1672.

Dalton.

His Ensign, Abednego Mathews, who was also transferred from the Holland Regiment, rose to the rank of colonel, and died in 1681 as Governor of St. Kitts.

Ibid.

What became of the Lieutenant, J<sup>no</sup>. Ewer, is not clear.

Peace negotiations had been dragging on at Breda during the spring, without any result, and meanwhile, as far as England was concerned, warlike preparations were confined to a few urgently-needed repairs and additions to the fortifications at Sheerness, Gravesend, Tilbury, and Landguard, and to the fitting out of a few small ships. At last the Dutch, having completed their preparations, threw off the mask, broke off negotiations, and on the 7th June, to the



1667. consternation of the English, their fleet, under de Ruyter, anchored off the mouth of the Thames. On the 10th, Sheerness, garrisoned by one company of Lord Douglas' Regiment, was taken, and on the 12th, de Ruyter, who had concentrated his fleet at Sheerness, detached Admiral Van Ghent with a squadron to attack Chatham.

This expedition was only too successful. The Dutch advanced up the Medway, burning and sinking all before them, but a further attack upon Upnor Castle on the 13th being gallantly repulsed, the Dutch dropped down the river again.

The King and the Country were now fully roused to the danger of the situation, and frantic endeavours were made to make up for lost time.

S. P. D.,  
Ca. II.,  
Vol. 205,  
p. 14, 18.

Six hundred men were ordered to be added to each of the two regiments of Guards, two companies each to the Admiral's and Holland Regiments, and 39 troops of Horse and 12 new regiments of foot, 500 strong, besides officers, were directed to be raised.

S. P. D.,  
Ca. II.,  
Entry Bk. 20,  
p. 158.

In addition, militia were hurried into the coast towns and companies of dockyard labourers were hastily organised. The King, anxious to concentrate the Guards about his person, directed the nine companies of the King's Regiment,\* which had for some years been doing duty in the various garrisons, to be withdrawn, replacing them by raising a similar number of new companies, viz. : two each to the Admiral's and the Holland Regiments already referred to, and 5 new garrison companies. To carry out this scheme the Holland Regiment, under Colonel Sidney, was ordered, on 11th June, to be drawn into Portsmouth (relieving 3 companies of the Guards). In addition, three companies of foot were directed to be raised in the island of Portsmouth, and three more formed "out of ye workmen of ye yard at Portsmouth." On the 15th June Lord Gerard received instructions "to command all the trained bands of the militia or army in Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, and the adjacent country, but he is specially to take care of the

Ibid.

Ibid.

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\* Now the Grenadier Guards.

defence of the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth in case of 1667.  
 attack. . . . Whilst Colonel Sidney's is within the S. P. D.,  
 walls of Portsmouth it must be under the deputy governor, Ca. II.,  
 but otherwise must only receive orders from his lordship." Vol. 205, f. 79

"If Lord Gerard sees fit to place Col. Sidney in the Ibid, f. 80.  
 yard, he is to command the troops there."

To queries from Lord Gerard, marginal replies by Lord  
 Arlington direct that in the event of Lord Gerard's  
 absence: "Col. Sidney must command his foot troops, Sir Ibid, f. 82.  
 Phil. Honeywood, deputy Governor, the garrison, and Sir  
 Robert Holmes the fleet, provided they will agree."

The whole of the Holland Regiment does not appear to  
 have been quartered in Portsmouth itself, for one Hugh  
 Salesbury, writing to Mr. Williamson, Lord Arlington's  
 secretary, under date 18th June, with reference to a false  
 alarm, says:—"Three companies of Colonel Sidney's regi- Ibid, Vol. 206  
 ment have come in to supply Portsmouth garrison, & Sir f. 51.  
 Phil. Honeywood summoned the inhabitants, 600 of whom  
 enlisted and swore to defend the place with their lives and  
 fortunes."

The strength of the two new companies added to the S. P. D.,  
 Holland Regiment was fixed at:—1 captain, 1 lieutenant, Ca. II.,  
 1 ensign, 2 sergeants, 3 corporals, 2 drummers, and 100 Vol. 205, f. 14  
 privates each.

Captain Henry Sidney, youngest brother of the colonel,\*

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\* Henry Sidney, youngest son of Robert, 2nd E. of Leicester, b. 1641. Memoirs of  
 Afterwards E. of Romney. "The King Maker, le beau Sidney. . . . One the Sidney  
 of the most worldly and pleasure seeking, as he was one of the most hand- Family.  
 some gallants who graced or disgraced the gay and shameless Court of  
 Charles II. . . . the terror of husbands, the hero of a hundred  
 scandals . . . there were but few fair women, married or single, who did  
 not fall victims to his charms."

Captain in the Holland regiment, 13th June, 1667. Colonel of a regiment  
 of foot, 25th Feb., 1678. Ambassador to the Hague 1679, where  
 "acting as the secret representative of those politicians who wished to see  
 neither James, Duke of York, nor James, Duke of Monmouth, succeed to  
 the throne on the death of Charles, but rather William, Prince of Orange,  
 and his wife, the Princess Mary. To attain this he exerted himself  
 manfully, and was completely successful . . . it is safe to say that not  
 only did Sidney lay the initial steps to the foundation of the success of  
 William and Mary, but also that he did so as far back as some eight  
 years prior to the flight of James." Was recalled from the Hague in

Ibid.

1667. was appointed to command one of the two. There is no record of a commission having been issued to anyone as captain of the other, but it is clear from S.P. Dom., Ca. II., Vol. 251, f. 179, and from Entry Book No. 20, p. 177, that Lord Blaney was the other captain appointed. Neither is there any record of lieutenants' commissions being issued, but only those of the ensigns.

After the failure of the attack on Upnor Castle, the Dutch put to sea, leaving a squadron to blockade the mouth of the Thames. The rest sailed in triumph down Channel to attack Portsmouth, but, finding the place too strong, they passed on towards Plymouth. After an unsuccessful attempt at a landing at Torbay they returned to the mouth of the Thames. On the 1st July they anchored off Aldborough, and on the following day proceeded to attack Landguard Fort, near Harwich, landing 3,000 men for the purpose. The attack was gallantly repulsed by the garrison, and the assailants were driven back to their ships with heavy loss. The Dutch were commanded on this occasion by an English colonel of the name of Doleman, probably the Colonel Doleman mentioned by Sir G. Downing in his letter of 31st January, 1665.

Foiled here, the Dutch returned to the Thames, advancing as far as the Hope. After two days' sharp fighting, they were forced to retire, and again sailed down Channel.

During this time English privateers and a squadron of frigates, under Sir Jeremy Smith, had been working havoc amongst the Dutch merchant vessels. Fortunately for the English, the French made no attempt to renew hostilities, although Louis was reported to have had 40,000 men ready

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1681. Went back to Holland to command the English troops in the service of the Low Countries. Returned to England and actually assisted at the coronation of James II. Was prime mover in drawing up the invitation to the Prince of Orange to come over. Created Privy Councillor by William and raised to the peerage as Lord Milton and Viscount Sidney of Sheppy. Secretary of State in 1690, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1692, Master of the Ordnance 1693, E. of Romney 1694. Held several appointments at Court, and was Lord Lieut. of Kent. Died of small pox in 1704 (unmarried), b. in St. James', Piccadilly.

to invade England. It was not, however, to his interest to destroy the balance of power between the two maritime nations, but rather to equalise it. 1667.

Meanwhile the treaty of Breda, signed in July, put a stop to hostilities.

As soon as peace was concluded, the numerous additional troops which had been raised for the war, were ordered to be disbanded, including the extra companies added to the Admiral's and Holland Regiments.

Up to the 10th May of this year, the Holland Regiment had been maintained for naval service, and had been paid by the Treasurer of the Navy. That this was the case, is clearly shown, without going into details, by the following extracts from official documents, which cover the period in question :—

At the Court of Whitehall

the 11th July 1665

Privy Council  
Registers,  
Vol. 6.

It was this day ordered by His Matie in Council that the Two Navall Regiments be paid by the Treasurer of the Navy untill further order.

An estimate of ye expense of his Mats Navy since ye beginning of ye Dutch Warr. Vzt ye 1st September 1664 and ye Debt which will be due thereupon ye xxix of September 1666. Brit. Mus.,  
Addl. MSS.  
9302.

Navy debtor by its expenses between September 1st 1664 & September ye xxixth 1666.

Admirals Regiment 45479.

Navy Creditor by ye Treasurers Paiements as he declares them within ye same time :

Admiralls Regiment and Coll	
Sydenhams (sic) Regiment of	40979
foot.	

1667.

A warrant to Sir George Carteret late Treasurer of the Navy.

S. P. D.,  
Ca. II.,  
Vol. 223,  
f. 199.  
Ibid, f. 48,  
and Entry  
Book 23,  
p. 583.

As he from time to time has paid the Admll Regiment of foote as likewise the Holland Regt. according to the Muster roll, the King's will and pleasure is that he sends the commanders receipts with such monies as have been paid by order of the General for raising the said regts, or for men raised in room of those sent to sea & receipts thereon which shall be a sufficient warrant for the Officers and Commrs of the Navy to give allowance thereof in his ledger and the Auditors of Impress are hereby required to pass the same.

This latter warrant bears date 22nd November, 1667. The Audit Office Declared Accounts for the Navy (B. 106, R. 1,711) show that the regiment was charged to the Naval accounts from the 24th June, 1665, to the 10th May, 1667, inclusive; but there are also from time to time records of payments on account of the Naval regiments in the Army accounts. These, however, were no doubt made when the men in question were actually performing garrison duties, or on account of equipment or stores issued by the army authorities, and charged through army accounts. On the 10th May, 1667, however, both the Admiral's and Holland Regiments passed into the payment of the Paymaster of the army.

S. P. D.,  
Ca. II.,  
Vol. 251,  
f. 179.

Stephen Fox Paymr of his Mats Guards & Garrisons.\*

To the Rt. Honble John Lord Visct. Mordaunt for ye pay of ye companies under the command of Maior ffinnerch & Sr Thomas Woodcocke that were disbanded in the Garrison of Windsor. . . . from 3rd August 67 to 28th Sept following.

Alsoe Allowed the said Accomptant for the money by him issued and paid to the Lord Admirall and Holland Regimts raised for the supply of the Navy from the 11th May 1667 to the 28th Sept following exclusive to which tyme the said Regimts were paid by Sir George Carteret late Threr

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\* For the sake of brevity, the items and amounts have been omitted in this extract.

of the Navy according to his Mats Establishmt made in that behalfe by Warrant of ye said Lord Adll. 1667.

Sir Thos Ogle. . . . for the pay of 9 Cos. belonging to the Holland Regimt raised for supply of the Navy under the Command of Coll Robert Sydney from 11th May to 28th Sept.

Capt Wm Townley\* for the pay of his company belonging to the said Regt., from 22nd June 1667 to 3rd Aug following. . . . (abating the pay of the ensigne and 38 soldiers). . . .

To Sir Thos Ogle, Maior for the pay of Capt Henry Sidneys companie from 22nd July 1667 to the 28th September following and for the pay of Lord Blaney company from the 19th Aug to the same day. . . . (abating the pay of 42 soldiers in Capt Sidneys company).

To John Barcroft Esq for the pay of Capt Roger Manleys company late belonging to the said Holland Regimt from ye 3rd Aug 1667 to the 28th Sept following. . . .

On the 29th September a warrant was issued fixing the strength of the standing army to be maintained, and constituting the Admiral's and Holland Regiments part of the land forces.

An Establishment of all our Guards and Garrisons and S. P. D., land forces within our Kingdome of England to commence Ca. II., the 29th of Sept 1667 inclusive. Vol. 218, f. 33.

The Lord High Admiralls Regiment of Foot to consist besides officers in twelve companies (vizt) in each company sixty. Hath only the Feild and Staffe Officers placed to accompt here. The twelve companies thereof being quartered in severall garrisons are computed in the charge of those garrisons.

His Mats Holland Regiment of foot to consist of six hundred soldiers besides officers, in tenn companies in each

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\* Crownley.

1667-

company sixty, hath only the Field and Staffe officers placed to accompt here, the tenn companies thereof being Quartered in severall garrisons are computed in the charge of these garrisons.

By this "establishment" the strength of the standing army was fixed as follows:—

- Three troops of Guards.
- The King's Regiment of Horse (3 troops).
- The King's Regiment of Guards (24 companies).
- The Lord General's Regiment of Foot (12 companies).
- The Lord High Admiral's Regiment (12 companies).
- The Holland Regiment (12 companies).
- 48 Unregimented companies, each 60 strong.

It also gives the distribution of the various companies in the garrisons (including the King's Regiment of Horse and Holland Regiment), as under, but the garrisons are merely shown as consisting of a certain number of companies, without specification as to whether the companies in question were unregimented or not. It is, therefore, not possible to ascertain from it the distribution of the companies of the Holland Regiment.

The following table shows the strength of the various Garrisons:—

P. D.	Portsmouth	...	...	...	8 Co's.	Berwick	...	...	...	6 Co's.
H.	Hull and the Blockhouse	6	..			Jersey	...	...	...	4 ..
1667-1668	Windsor	...	...	...	4 ..	Guernsey	...	...	...	3 ..
	Pendennis Castle	...	...	...	3 ..	Plymouth	...	...	...	3 ..
	Tynemouth	...	...	...	3 ..	The Tower	...	...	...	3 ..
	York and Clifford's Castle	...	...	...	3 ..	Carlisle	...	...	...	2 ..
	Harwich	...	...	...	2 ..	Sheerness	...	...	...	2 ..
	Silly	...	...	...	2 ..	Chester	...	...	...	1 ..
	Tilbury and Gravesend	...	...	...	1 ..	Landguard	...	...	...	1 ..
	Scarborough	...	...	...	1 ..	Sandown	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$ ..
	Upnor	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$ ..	Dover Castle	...	...	...	1 ..

As soon as the disbandment of the remaining troops commenced, Louis XIV., who was in need of men, sent over

1667. company sixty, hath only the Feild and Staffe officers placed to accompt here, the tenn companies thereof being Quar-  
tered in severall garrisons are computed in the charge of  
these garrisons.

By this "establishment" the strength of the standing  
army was fixed as follows:—

Three troops of Guards.  
The King's Regiment of Horse (8 troops).  
The King's Regiment of Foot Guards (24 companies).  
The Lord General's Regiment of Foot (12 companies).  
The Lord High Admiral's Regiment (12 companies).  
The Holland Regiment (10 companies).  
48 Unregimented or Garrison companies, each 60 strong.

It also gives the distribution of the various companies in  
garrison (including 22 of the Admiral's and Holland Regi-  
ments), as under, but unfortunately the garrisons are merely  
shown as consisting of so many companies, without  
specification as to whether the companies in question were  
unregimented or not. It is, therefore, not possible to  
ascertain from it the distribution of the companies of the  
Holland Regiment.

The following table shows the strength of the various  
Garrisons:—

S. P. D.,	Portsmouth ... .. 8 Co's.	Berwick ... .. 6 Co's.
Ca. II.,	Hull and the Blockhouse 6 ,,	Jersey... .. 4 ,,
Vol. 218, f. 33.	Windsor ... .. 4 ,,	Guernsey ... .. 3 ,,
	Pendennis Castle ... .. 3 ,,	Plymouth ... .. 3 ,,
	Tynemouth ... .. 3 ,,	The Tower ... .. 3 ,,
	York and Cliffords Castle 3 ,,	Carlisle ... .. 2 ,,
	Harwich ... .. 2 ,,	Sheerness ... .. 2 ,,
	Scilly ... .. 2 ,,	Chester ... .. 1 ,,
	Tilbury and Gravesend .. 1 ,,	Landguard ... .. 1 ,,
	Scarborough ... .. 1 ,,	Sandown ... .. $\frac{1}{2}$ ,,
	Upnor ... .. $\frac{1}{2}$ ,,	Dover Castle ... .. 1 ,,

As soon as the disbandment of the remaining troops  
commenced, Louis XIV., who was in need of men, sent over



agents to enlist as many as possible, and in addition Charles 1667.  
 allowed Lord Douglas' Scotch regiment to take service, as  
 a body, under the French king.

His Mats Scotch Regiment, commanded by the Lord Geo S. P. D.,  
 Douglas being appointed to goe into France is not charged Ca. II.,  
 to accompt in this establishment. Vol. 218, f. 33.

On 4th October, Sir Thomas Woodcock (Woodecocke),  
 who had commanded a garrison company at Windsor since  
 1661, until it was disbanded on 28th September, was  
 appointed captain in the Holland Regiment in place of  
 Captain Morgan, and on the 30th he was re-appointed\* "to  
 be Captain of that Company whereof Henry Sidney was Entry Bk. 20.  
 Captain," Sidney being given "the company, late Captain  
 Morgan's." It would appear from this that Sidney had  
 been transferred to one of the old companies either before  
 his original one was disbanded, or at that time. Both  
 Captain Killegrew's and Captain Ewbank's companies  
 became vacant, apparently during the first half of the year,  
 for on the 15th June, Colonel Sidney wrote desiring that S. P. D.,  
 "Captain" Farrar might be appointed Lieutenant to Ca. II.,  
 Captain Cronley (Crownley), and Mr. Samuel Fletcher Vol. 205, f. 91.  
 Enseigne to the same company of the Holland Regt.  
 There is no record of these appointments having been  
 made, or of Captain Crownley's appointment to the regi-  
 ment, but he appears to have succeeded either Killegrew or  
 Ewbank some time previous to June, 1667, Captain Henry  
 Sidney replacing the other.

That the gentlemen appointed to commissions were not  
 always of a desirable character is evident, for in writing on S. P. D.,  
 16th November to Mr. Secretary Williamson, Colonel Ca. II.,  
 Sidney remarks:—"I thank you for not giving commis- Vol. 222,  
 sions to every one that desires them." f. 198.

After the disbandment, little or nothing of interest from 1668.

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\* At this period, Officers were commissioned to command particular companies  
 of a regiment, and a change of company entailed the issue of a fresh  
 commission. Similarly, the lieutenants and ensigns were appointed as  
 such, to particular captains, usually mentioned by name.

1668. a military point of view occurred during the next twelve months. Rumours, which however appear to have been unfounded, were circulated as to further contemplated reductions, and the following letter in connection therewith, from Captain Roger Manley, commanding the company of the Holland Regiment, stationed in Jersey, is interesting, as showing the status held by the officers who had left the Dutch service in 1665, or at all events, that which they were considered to hold.

S. P. D.,  
Ca. II.,  
Vol. 242,  
f. 137a.

July 4. 1668 Jersey

Manley to Rob. Francis

I must dispense with the happiness of seeing you this season, as my voyage is off ; I must yeild to our Governor who purposes for England sooner than I could have returned. We hear of reduction of forces in England, but it cannot reach me, as I and all my officers quitted our employment in Holland to come and serve the King ; we are in continual service, and I am one of the oldest Captains in the regiment ; but a little precaution may not be amiss, and a friend at court can do wonders.

The command of the regiment fell vacant during the summer of 1668, owing to the death of Colonel Sidney, and on the 12th August the colonelcy was bestowed on Sir Walter Vane, one of the officers who left the Dutch service in 1665, since which he had commanded a troop of horse and one of the new raised regiments. On the disbandment of the latter he had been given a company in the King's Regiment of Foot Guards.

S. P. D.,  
Ca. II.,  
Vol. 253. f. 41.

Early in the year detachments from "His Mats. Guards and Garrisons" were directed to be sent to various ports for "ye manning of his Mats. ships," the total number of men requisitioned being 337, the proportion per ship varying from 5 to 30. There is no record showing from what corps these were furnished, but there is no doubt that the Holland Regiment furnished its quota of the 100 sent from Portsmouth.

1669. Very little of interest appears to have occurred during the years 1668 and 1669. Up to this date there is nothing

in the existing records throwing any light on the uniform or dress of the regiment, and it is somewhat curious that we should be indebted to an Italian source for the first authentic information on the subject. 1669.

In 1669 the Grand Duke Cosmo of Tuscany made a lengthened tour in England, and a minute diary was kept of his journey and of all he saw. This diary, a large, illustrated manuscript, is preserved in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, at Florence. The compiler appears to have been a keen observer, and most detailed descriptions are given of the uniforms of the troops who took part in the numerous reviews at which the Grand Duke was present. The only occasion, however, on which he appears to have seen any of the Holland Regiment was when he inspected the Citadel at Plymouth in April.

With reference to this, the diary says:—

Governatore ne e Mylord Giovanni Grenvil Conte di Bath, e suo Luogotenente il Cav. Skelton. Vi stanno cinque Compagnie di Presidio numerose di 70 uomini tra Soldati e Uffiziali una delle quali e del Reggimento del Duca. La Gente e bellissima e benissimo in ordine, essendo le quatro Compagnie con giustacori *rossi* soppannati di *giallo*, e que gil del Duca *giallo* con soppanno *rosso*.\*

At this time, the garrison of Plymouth consisted of one company of the Duke of York's Regiment and four of the Holland Regiment. Sibbald Scott.

The facings of the latter, which the Grand Duke describes as *yellow*, were probably of a very pale shade or *flesh* colour, as described by Nathan Brooks in 1684 (see Chapter VIII.), or *ash-wood*, as stated in the Antiquarian Repertory (see Chap. IX.), in 1685.

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\* Translation. "The Governor of it (the citadel) is Mylord John Grenvil, Earl of Bath, and his Lieutenant is Sir Skelton. There are five companies in the garrison 70 strong, men and officers, one of which belongs to the Duke's Regiment. The men are very handsome, and in excellent order, the four companies have *red* coats with *yellow* lining, and that of the Duke's *yellow* with *red* lining."

1670.

## CHAPTER IV.

1670-1671-1672.

In January, 1670, an order was issued (S.P. D., Vol. 272, f. 87), directing the existing establishments to be maintained.

Mis. O. Bk.  
No. 1. p. 20.

A Return of the Quarters of the Forces in March shows the distribution of troops in the various garrisons to have been practically the same as that ordered to take effect from 29th September, 1667, with the exception of the Guards. It fortunately gives the names of the regiments to which the respective companies belonged and the names of their captains. The distribution of the Holland Regiment is shown as under:—

Ten Companies being the Holland Regiment, Comanded by Sr Walter Vane.	{	Colonell Sr Walter Vane's	}	companies at Windsor.
		Captaine Sr Thomas Woodcock's		
	{	Lieut.-Coll. Sr Thomas Howard's		companies at Plymouth.
		Major Sr Thomas Ogle's and		
	{	Captaine Henry Pomeroy's		companies at Berwick.
		Captaine Sr Herbert Lundsford's		
	{	Captaine Baptist Alcock's		company at Carlisle.
		Captaine Henry Sidney's		
		Captaine William Crownley's		
		Berwick.		
	{	Captaine Manley's	}	company at Jersey.

Captain Crownley's company, however, was almost immediately afterwards ordered to Berwick from Carlisle, being relieved by a company of the Guards.

In May of this year (1670) King Charles was induced by Louis XIV. to engage in a secret treaty, by which France and England were to combine to crush the growing power of Holland.

No immediate steps were contemplated, and nothing was done in England by way of increasing either the naval or military forces. A certain number of ships were, however, commissioned, to form a Channel squadron, and detachments of troops from the various garrisons were drafted as required to assist in manning them. 1670.

On 5th April a party "not exceeding 30 men to be drawn proportionately from the 6 companies now at Plymouth, to procede to sea in the ship Advise, such men not to take their arms, but nevertheless to continue on the strength of their companies, which are not to be recruited up in consequence." Mis. O. Bk. No. 1. p. 30.

On the 23rd August 6 men of the companies forming the garrison of Berwick were ordered to sea, and on 4th November, 6 more men per company (subsequently altered to 3), from the companies at Plymouth, were directed to embark on board the Falcon. In the two latter instances, however, the captains were ordered to "recruit and fill up their companies again." Ibid, p. 89. Ibid, p. 109, 111.

The following warrant to a sergeant of Captain Manley's company to raise recruits is interesting, as it contains the first recorded authorisation to members of the Holland Regiment to "beat the drums" within the precincts of the City of London.\*

#### CHARLES R.

Wee doe hereby authorise you John Mowat one of the Sergeants of Captaine Manleys company now in guarrison in our Isle of Jersey by beat of drum to raise thirty two volunteers to bee entertained & listed as soldiers for the recruiting of the said company, Provided that in case you beat ye Drums within Our City of London or ye liberties thereof, you are (before you beat the drums there) to show this Our Warrant to Our right trusty and welbeloved the Lord Mayor of ye City of London, and wee doe hereby further authorise you to command and conduct the said volunteers to Southampton, Portsmouth or any other convenient Port, and to ship and transport them to Jersey aforesaid, wch our officers whom it concerns are to permit and Ibid, p. 100.

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\* See page 152.

1670.

suffer accordingly. And all Our officers and constables whom it concerns are hereby required to bee assisting unto you for the Quartering of the said Recruits in Inns, Victualling houses Ale houses where you are to take care that they carry themselves civilly and duly pay for what they shall receive from their Landlords. And it is Our Intention that when the said recruits shall be listed into the said company, the like number of soldiers now in the said company (who are natives of the said Island) shall bee discharged Soe the said Captain Manley and all others whom it may concern are to take notice thereof that wee doe not heereby intend any addition to the Establishd number or charge of ye said Company.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall the xxiiith day of Sept.

By his Maties Comand

ARLINGTON.

To Sergeant John Mowat.

On the death, in January of this year, of the Duke of Albemarle, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, the appointment had not been filled up, and in July a commission, composed of the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Colonel John Russell, Sir Philip Howard, the Marquis de Blanquefort (afterwards Lord Feversham), Sir Walter Vane, and Sir Charles Littleton, was appointed to inquire into the state of the army.

1671.

Early in 1671 war between Holland and England again became imminent, and serious steps were taken to prepare for eventualities. Special precautions were taken to prevent a recurrence of the disgraceful events of 1667, and to reinforce and supplement the defences of the Thames and Medway. Orders were issued on the 12th April for the formation, by the 6th May, at Rochester, of an emergency regiment. This regiment was made up as follows:—

Major Rolleston's Company,	King's Regt. of Guards,	from Portsmouth.
Capt. J. Walter's	do	do
Capt. J. Osborne's	do	do
Sr B. Skelton's	do	do
Capt. G. Cartwright's	do	do
	Admiral's Regiment	from Gravesend.

Capt. T. Bromley's Company	Admiral's Regiment	from Plymouth.	1671.
Capt. C. Middleton's do	do	from Hull.	
Capt. H. Pomeroy's do	Holland Regiment	from Plymouth.	
Capt. B. Alcock's do	do	from Berwick.	
Sr T. Woodcock's do	do	from Windsor.	
Capt. H. Fitzjames' do	Garrison	from Portsmouth.	
Sr B. Wrey's do	Admiral's Regiment	from Harwich.	

The two companies at Plymouth were ordered to be in readiness "to embark in a frigot which has been appointed to sail for P'mouth to take aboard her the said twoe companies," and those from Berwick were to be shipped from Holy Island. However, subsequent orders were issued for the latter to proceed by march route. To replace these companies, those remaining in garrison at Plymouth and Windsor were directed to raise 30 recruits each, and those at Berwick 24 each, making a total of 540 men in all. Firearms, pikes, and collars of bandoliers were ordered to be issued from store for the same.

The companies of the Holland Regiment affected by this order were Sir Walter Vane's, Sir Thomas Howard's, and Sir Thomas Ogle's, which were strengthened by 30 men each, and Sir Herbert Lunsford's and Captain Crownley's by 24.

The command of the emergency regiment was bestowed on Major Rolleston, of the King's Regiment of Foot Guards, and it was quartered in Rochester (headquarters), Chatham, Strood and the neighbourhood, Major Rolleston being instructed to arrange for the defences of the Medway (Rochester and Gillingham), in conjunction with the naval authorities, and in case of alarm, to call in and take command of the trained forces of the County of Kent.

It would seem that in addition to providing for the land defences, Major Rolleston's regiment was expected to provide detachments for service afloat, for on the 9th July 40 men were directed to be drawn from the companies at Rochester to serve on board the Argiers and Holmes, then in the Thames.

Numerous orders were issued during this year, for the exchange of defective and worn-out arms and equipment,

1671. from which it appears that considerable economy had been hitherto exercised in these matters. The garrison of Jersey, in particular, of which Captain Manley's Company of the Holland Regiment formed part, seems to have been neglected, judging from the following warrant:—

C.R.

Mis. O. Bk.,  
Vol. 1, p. 148.

Right trusty and wellbeloved Counsellor Wee greet you well. It being humbly represented unto us by Captain Roger Mánley from Sr Thos. Morgan Bart, Our Governor of ye Isle of Jersey that the bedding and sheetes of the said garrison especially the sheets áre quite in peece & decayed & that the armes of the said Captain Manleys Companie are also decayed by their being long used in the garrison &ca. Wee are graciously pleased and doe hereby signify unto you Our will and pleasure that you cause one hundred and fifty beds and three hundred sheetes to be exchanged for the ould beds and sheetes of the three hundred soldiers at Jersey, and that you cause 100 arms for foot soldiers in the usual proportions of Pikes and Musketts with collars of bandoleers to the musketts to be exchanged for the defective armes of the said company which said Bedding Sheetes and ffoote armes you are to cause to be delivered out of our stoares to the said Captaine Manley upon such engagement from him as you shall think fitt, for his returning the said old Bedding Sheetes and ffoote armes into some one of our stoares of our Once of the Ordnance that you shall make choyse of as most convenient and for soe doing this with the said Captaine Manley's indenture, shall be your discharge.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall  
the 12th day of May 1676

By his Mats Command

ARLINGTON.

To Our right trusty and welbeloved Counsellor  
Sir Thomas Chicheley Knt  
Our Master Generall of Our Ordnance.

- [*ibid*, p. 163. On the 30th July the Master of the Ordnance "understanding that the arms of Sr Thomas Woodcocks Company in Our Holland Regiment Commanded by Sr Thomas Vane, and Captaine Pomeroy's companye in the same



Regiment being for the most part old and unfixed & having taken inspection thereof humbly proposed that twenty six snaphaunce musketts seaven match-lock musketts thirty collars of bandoleers & fifteen pikes of Sr Thos. Woodcocks company, and 20 snaphaunce musketts and twenty Pikes of Capt. Pomeroy's Co. be exchanged," instructions were given to receive the said "old and unfixed arms into store and in lieu to issue the like numbers of fixed and serviceable armes that is to say: Thirty snaphaunce musketts, three match-lock musketts, thirty collars of bandoleers & 15 Pikes to Sr Thos. Woodcock & 20 snaphaunce musketts & 20 collars of bandoleers to Capt. Pomeroy."

Captain Roger Manley had acted for some time as Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey, and on 3rd May "His Maty gave an order. . . under his Royall Signature and signe manuell for two soldiers to bee disbanded out of each of the three companyes at Jersey by ye 6th May 1671 & for mustering them thenceforth in their places, twoe names for each of the said three companyes to be given to Major Roger Manley Captaine of one of the said companyes to the muster master there, to the end that these six soldrs payes may be allowed to the said Major Manley in consideration of his services & particularly for discharging the duty of Governor of the Isle of Guernsey."

The only record of any men of the Holland Regiment serving afloat during 1671, except possibly a few from the companies at Rochester, is an order, 1st March, directing 8 men from each of the companies at Windsor Castle to be sent to sea, without arms, the companies being instructed to replace them by recruits.

In the autumn, a dispute between one of the subalterns of the regiment and his wife had to be referred to a court of inquiry, and we find recorded that:—

Upon his Maties Command to Sr Walter Vane to call his Lieutenant Colonell and Major to his assistance to examine a dispute betwixt Lieutenant Salway\* & his wife.

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\* There appears to be no record of the appointment of this officer to the regiment.

1671. They have accordingly mett and perused the papers on both sides, and have had Mrs. Salway before them whereupon they doe humbly certifie to your Matie that they find Mrs. Salway in a sad condition and in great want and must fall to be kept by the Parish if your Matie be not pleased out of your goodnesse to allow her ten pounds a year out of her husbands pay with which they humbly conceive may maintayne her.

W. VANE  
T. HOWARD  
THOMAS OGLE

bid, p. 204.

In consequence of the above report the King was "graciously pleased to direct the Paymaster Generall that tenn pounds a yeare shall be allowed (out of the pay of Lieutent Thomas Salway Lieutenant of Captain William Crownleys Company in the said Regiment) to Mrs. Salway wife of the said Lieutenant Salway for her necessary maintenance untill further order from Us.

14th Day of Decbr 1671."

1672. Although relations were much strained between the English and Dutch during 1671 no open act of hostility had occurred, but preparations for war were steadily continued throughout the year. By a treaty signed between England and France,  $\frac{26 \text{ Jan.}}{5 \text{ Feb.}}$  1672, it was agreed that their respective fleets should be ready by the 25th April (N.S.). In addition Charles II. was to send over to France, and maintain during the war, a force of 6,000 men, under the immediate command of an English general officer, who was to take his orders from the French King, or the Commander-in-Chief, but otherwise to take precedence of all French officers.

For the present, however, Louis XIV. limited his demands to 2,400 men, and on the 12th February the Duke of Monmouth was directed to raise a regiment of 24 companies 100 strong for this service. The regiment was to be known as the Royal English Regiment. Ten men per company were ordered to be drafted into it from the King's Regiment of Guards, the Coldstreame Regiment (late the

Lord General's), and from the temporary regiment at Rochester. The rest of the regiment was to be recruited in various parts of England and Ireland. 1672.

In March, although war had not been declared, Sir Robert Holmes, with a small squadron of frigates, was despatched to make an attack upon the immensely rich homeward bound Dutch Smyrna fleet, from the plunder of which Charles hoped to derive funds to carry on the war. The attempt deservedly failed, the Dutch succeeding in reaching their ports with comparatively small loss. This outrageous affair precipitated matters, and Charles, finding that he had gone too far to retreat, declared war against the Dutch on 17th March, the French following suit.

On the 6th March, Captain Sidney was ordered with 60 of his company, with officers, to march from Carlisle to Newcastle-on-Tyne, to embark with their arms upon such vessels as the Duke of York should appoint, 40 men of the same company having already been ordered to do so without arms. *Mis. O. Bk. Vol. 1, p. 2*

On the 11th Sir Walter Vane, the colonel of the regiment, was directed to draw 20 soldiers, with their arms, out of his own company and to send them to Chatham, "to goe aboard the Shipp Ould James," under a corporal. *Ibid, p. 237*

On the 25th March 40 of Sir Thomas Woodcock's company (forming part of Rolleston's emergency regiment) were ordered to "shipp with their armes aboard the St. George," and on the 27th, Colonel Sir Walter Vane's own company was directed to "embarque for service at sea, marching from Wyndsor to Gravesend." *Ibid, p. 248* *Ibid, p. 250*

So far, only detachments of the regiment at Rochester had been ordered to embark, but on 1st April five companies (including Sir Thos. Woodcock's) received directions to hold themselves in readiness "to march to the waterside, according to orders that will be received from the Duke of York, to embarque in such shippes as he shall order, for service at sea." *Ibid, p. 252*

By May there were embarked on board the fleet, besides detachments, no less than thirty-one complete companies, furnished as under :—

1672.	5 companies from the Kings Regt. of Foot Guards.
	3 " " Coldstreame Regt.
Hamilton.	3 " " Lord Admiralls Regt.
Hist. Gren.	3 " " Holland Regt.
Gds., Vol. 1,	2 " " Garrison Companies.
p. 162.	15 " " Irish Regts.

Total 31 companies, or 3,000 men, in addition to which, drafts from most of the companies of the Guards and other companies remaining on shore, were distributed throughout the fleet.

Privy Council Registers, Vol. 10, f. 217, and Mis. O. Bk., Vol. 1, p. 291. The companies for embarkation were ordered to be made up to, and kept at a strength of 100 men, and "if they are not 100 strong besides officers they are to be made up to that strength from their respective regiments, and kept so, the regts. to recruit up to the strength."

Colonel Rolleston, who had been in command of the emergency regiment at Rochester, having fallen ill, was succeeded in May by Sir John Atkins, also an officer of the King's Own Regiment of Foot Guards.

About the 10th May, the Dutch fleet appeared off the English coast, and the English fleet also put to sea. Nothing of consequence, however, occurred until the 28th, when the Dutch, who had withdrawn to their own coasts, suddenly re-appeared, practically surprising the English, under the Duke of York and the Earl of Sandwich, who, in company with the French fleet, under d'Estrées, were at anchor in Solebay (Southwold Bay), on the coast of Suffolk.

The English fleet was composed of 123 ships, besides small vessels, and the Dutch of 148, under de Ruyter. The latter were sighted about 3 a.m., and the English rapidly got under weigh to meet them, the action commencing soon after seven. It was waged with the utmost fury until night-fall, when the Dutch drew off.

The Duke of York, with 20 ships, for a long time sustained the brunt of the attack, which was led by de Ruyter, and the Duke was twice compelled to shift his flag owing to his flag ships, the Prince and the St. Michael, being disabled. Van Ghent, with his squadron, attacked the Earl of Sandwich, and after a desperate struggle succeeded

in destroying the earl's ship, the *Royal James*, Sandwich perishing with her. Van Ghent also lost his life, and his squadron, being beaten off, the English van was able to turn to the Duke of York's assistance. The French stood off throughout the action, and took no part in it. 1672.

The following morning the English endeavoured to renew the battle, but de Ruyter withdrew towards the Dutch coast, fog alone saving 15 of his ships, which were disabled.

Bad weather coming on, on the 30th the Dutch retired into port, and a portion of the English fleet returned to Chatham.

The English loss was one ship, the *Royal James*, some 700 or 800 men killed, and the same number wounded. The Dutch did not publish their casualties, but de Ruyter in his report to the States General states: "It was the hardest fought battle that ever he saw."

No separate returns were published of the losses among the troops embarked, but on some of the ships they must have been very severe. The Admiral's Regiment had no less than four captains and three subalterns slain, but the Holland Regiment does not appear to have suffered any loss, at all events in killed, among its officers. Edye.

No further naval engagements took place during the year. As a considerable number of troops, however, remained on board the ships, the Duke of York determined to make a descent on the Dutch coast. De Ruyter, short of ammunition, refused to be drawn from the shallows of the Zeeland coast, so, sailing to the Texel, the Duke determined to effect a landing with all his troops on the 3rd July. Unfortunately, when all was ready, a sudden storm drove him to sea. Failing to effect anything more, he returned to port in October, when the greater portion of the troops on board were disembarked.

As far as can be ascertained from the *Miscellany Order Book*, the following table shows the companies and detachments of the Holland Regiment which served afloat during the war:—

1672.

Date of Embarcation Order.	Number of Men.	Officer Commanding Detachment.	Name of Ship.
7. 2. 71/2	40	—	—
6. 3. 72	100	Capt. Sydney - -	—
21. 3. 72	20	—	Old James.
25. 3. 72	40	Sir T. Woodcock's Company.	St. George.
25. 3. 72	100	Capt. James Barrett	—
22. 11. 72	20	—	—

The company shown in the return as being under the command of Captain James Barrett, was the Colonel's company, and the order refers to it as belonging to Colonel Sir W. Vane's Regiment, whereas the other orders refer to the regiment as the Holland Regiment. Captain Barrett would appear to have been attached to the company, for there was no officer of that name in the regiment. He was probably Captain James Barrett of the Barbadoes Regiment, who appears to have been the only officer of the name serving at the time. (*Vide* Dalton).

In the spring of the year, numerous warrants were issued to officers commanding regiments and companies, authorising them to raise recruits by beat of drum, within the precincts of the City of London, the wording of the warrants being in most of the cases similar to the one already quoted, which was issued to Sergeant Mowat in September, 1670. These warrants all bear the proviso that before the drums shall be beaten within the City limits, the warrant shall be shown to the Lord Mayor (termed in some: "the Mayor," and in some "the Major").

The warrants, in all cases but one, specify the number of men to be raised, but in the following one, which is quoted in full, it will be noticed that Colonel Sir Walter Vane is empowered to give orders to *any Captain in his regiment from time to time, to raise recruits as they may be required,*

subject to the condition that the warrant be first shown to the Major of Our Citty of London." 1672.

C.R.

These are to authorise you to give orders to Captaine Mis. O. Bk., Henry Pomeroy & Captaine Baptist Alcock respectively of Vol. 1, f. 297. the Holland Regiment under the command of Our trusty and well beloved Colonell Sr Walter Vane, by beat of Drumm to raise twenty voluntiers apeece for the recruiting of their companies and also to give orders from time to time as there shall be occasion to any Captne of the said Regiment by beate of Drume to raise voluntiers (in lieu of soldiers that they send to sea) for the recruiting of their companies. Provided that when and as often as any of them shall goe about raising the said voluntiers within Our Citty of London or the liberties thereof they (first) show this Our Warrant for the same to our Major of Our Citty of London, and that the Captaines raise noe men more then what will be sufficient to compleat their companies from time to time to their established number at Land Wee not hereby intending any increase of Our Established Charge of the said companies at land. And as the said voluntiers shall be raised their officers are to Quarter them in the places adjacent and upon their march to their constable (sic) in Inns, Victualing houses and ale houses wherein all Our Officers and Constables whom it may concern are hereby required to be assisting unto you and you are to be careful to give order to the officers to see that their soldiers behave themselves civilly and duly paid their Quarters.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall  
the 29th day of Aprill 1672

By his Mats Comand

ARLINGTON.

To Our trusty and well beloved  
Lieutenant Colonell Thomas  
Howard.

This appears to be the only warrant of the kind which gives permission to raise more than a specified number of men within the City limits, or which was granted for any but a particular occasion.

1672. Now it is noteworthy that, *with four exceptions*, all the regiments and corps to which these warrants were issued were disbanded after the war. The four exceptions are : The King's Regiment of Foot Guards (now the Grenadier Guards), the Lord General's Regiment (now the Coldstream Guards), the Duke of York's Regiment (the Lord High Admiral's Regiment) (now the Royal Marines), and the Holland Regiment (now the Buffs).

As is well known, the Buffs and Royal Marines to this day claim and exercise the privilege of marching through the City of London with their Colours flying, bayonets fixed, drums beating, and bands playing, a right which is also claimed by the *third* Battalion of the Grenadier Guards. Of the origin of this distinguished honour there is no record. Exhaustive researches have been made by Colonel Edye, the historian of the Royal Marines, not only in the Public Records Office, but in almost every other department of the State and amongst the archives of many other sources of information. The subject was also carefully studied by the late Colonel Clifford Walton, C.B.,\* and the late Captain E. O'Callaghan, both extremely close students of regimental history, but no documentary evidence has been found throwing any light on the matter.

As regards the Buffs, the privilege has always been popularly ascribed to their origin from the Trained Bands in 1572, and as to the Royal Marines, Colonel Edye is of opinion that it originated from the fact that the Lord High Admiral's Regiment, when first raised in 1664, was largely recruited in London, and in all probability to a considerable extent from the Trained Bands.

Whether this is the case, or whether the privilege originated in the warrants issued in 1672, is a moot point. As regards the colours it must be remembered that in the days of Charles II. every company had its colour, which would be taken with him by a captain beating up for

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\* Author of the "History of the British Standing Army."



recruits and anxious to make as brave a show as possible. .1672.

Failing a general authorisation to recruit *at any time*, such as the one issued to the Holland Regiment, it is not impossible that companies having once exercised the privilege of beating for recruits within the City limits, may have been allowed to do so again on the strength of the original warrant, and again, a corps having the privilege of marching individual companies into the City with their drums beating, might in course of time claim to do so as a body.

That the privilege should be claimed by the *third* Battalion *only* of the Grenadier Guards, which was non-existent in those days, would tend rather to upset this theory, unless possibly the companies which received the warrants may subsequently have formed the nucleus of the third Battalion when it was formed, but it may have originated from some entirely different cause.

As regards the Coldstream Guards, the warrants, which were merely *permissive*, may not have been acted upon, in which case any privileges which they might have conferred would lapse.

That the Royal Marines exercised the right, and that it was fully recognised by the City authorities during the eighteenth century, is clearly shown by the incident related in Major Donkin's "Military Collections" (1777), to the effect that in the year 1746, "as a detachment of Marines were beating along Cheapside, one of the magistrates came up to the officer, requiring him to cease the drum, as no soldiers were allowed to interrupt the civil repose. The captain commanding immediately said: "Sir, we are Marines." "Oh! sir," replied the alderman, "I beg pardon; I did not know it! Pray continue your route as you please."

With regard to the Buffs, they exercised their privilege on two or three occasions during the last century, as is recorded in the "Remembrancia of the City of London," and which will be referred to in due course.

1672. During the summer, the King being anxious to concentrate the Guards round his person, orders were issued on 15th June, for the companies of the Holland Regiment, commanded by Captains Alcock and Pomeroy, to march to Berwick to relieve two companies of the Guards at that station. An order had been issued on the 20th May for Alcock's and Pomeroy's companies to be increased by one sergeant and thirty-eight men, so as to bring them up to a strength of ninety-eight rank and file (Mis. O. Bk., No. I., f. 330). However, on being ordered to Berwick, this increase was countermanded, and the companies were directed to be reduced, by discharging supernumeraries if necessary, to 84 soldiers, the extra sergeant being also disallowed. (Mis. O. Bk., No. I., f. 350-353). This was in order to bring them down to the strength of the companies they were relieving.

According to the list of quarters of the forces (S.P. Dom., Vol. 187, f. 110) the distribution of the regiment in July was as under:—

#### QUARTERS OF YOR MATS FORCES.

Seven Companies of the Holland Regiment in Severall Guarrisons.	{	Lieutenant Colonell Tho. Howard's	{	companies at Plymouth.
		Major Sr Thomas Ogle's		
		Captaine Sr Herbert Lunsford's	{	companies at Berwick.
		Captaine William Crowneley's		
		Captaine Henry Pomeroy's and		
		Captaine Baptist Alcock's		
		Captaine Roger Manley's company at Jersey.		
.				
The Companies sent and ordered to be sent to sea.	{	Colonell Sr Walter Vane's from	{	Ot the Holland Regiment.
		Windsor		
		Captaine Sr Thomas Woodcock's		
		from Rochester		
		Captaine Henry Sidney's from		
		Carlisle		
.				

While afloat the troops apparently had received no pay, and it was not until the end of October that steps appear to have been taken to give the men their dues, when the following order was addressed to Colonel Sir W. Vane:— 1672.

C.R.

Trusty and welbeloved Wee greet you well. Wee have Mis. O. Bk., now given orders for the mustering of the two Companies of No. 1, p. 422. the Holland Regiment under your command that were lately aboard Our ffeete To the end that they shall be paid according to Tiquetts from abroad for their soldiers soe that from the time of their discharges respectively from that service they may be paid according to those musters as well for their supernumeraries as for their established numbers, Our Will and Pleasure therefore is, That you give an order to the Officers of the two said two companies to produce their companies and supernumeraries and to Captaine Henry Sidney, to produce the Commanded Party of Soldiers of his Company sent and return'd from sea (over and above his established numbers) To be mustered as aforesaid, and to satisfie the Commissioners of the Musters (by the best means they can) when their respective companies and soldrs aforesaid were discharged from serving our ffeete and when their sick or hurt men respectively that were before put ashore ceased to be listed in Our ffeete. And soe Wee bid you heartily farewell.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall the xxxth day of October 1672.

By his Mats Coñiand

ARLINGTON.

To Our trusty and welbeloved Colonell  
Sr Walter Vane.

Nothing of consequence appears to have occurred during the summer and autumn, until October, when Charles decided to form another regiment for service under the King of France. Before entering into particulars regarding this regiment, however, it will be as well to glance at the course affairs had taken during the year on the continent.

Monmouth's regiment, the formation of which in the early part of the year has been referred to, arrived at

1672. Dieppe at the end of March. From thence it marched, viâ Paris, to Metz, which it reached on the 20th May, and moved on to Treves about the 1st June. In the meantime, the French army, which had assembled at Maestricht by the 17th May, had advanced rapidly down the Rhine, and in the space of one month had over-run three provinces, captured fifty towns and had compelled the Dutch to cut the dykes and flood the country to protect Amsterdam. Charles, who by no means wished to see the United Provinces utterly crushed, now protested against carrying matters too far, and on the 10th July, Louis XIV. met the Dutch deputies at Bois le Duc, in an interview in which the Duke of Monmouth and ambassadors from King Charles took part. The conditions offered by the French King were, however, so onerous, that the Dutch had no alternative but to refuse them. Louis, therefore, leaving a portion of his army under the command of the Duc de Luxembourg, to watch the Dutch, despatched the remainder, under Turenne, towards the German frontiers. Monmouth's Royal English Regiment, which had joined the French army on the 17th June, was then withdrawn, by Charles' orders, and marched to Ypres and Courtrai, where it remained until September, when Charles consented to its proceeding to Metz to take part in the operations against the Imperialists who were advancing into Alsace and Lorraine. The regiment was engaged in these operations during the next three months, and wintered at Arras.

As may well be supposed, there had been constant friction and disputes between the English officers and the French regarding their relative precedence, and this and other reasons decided Charles to re-organise the English troops in the French service, and in addition he decided on creating a new regiment for that service.

This regiment, which was formed early in November, was made up by detaching complete companies from the regiments then serving in England, and was composed as follows :—

<i>Officer commanding Company.</i>	<i>Regiment from which drawn.</i>		1672.
Captain Bevil Skelton (to command as Lieut.-Col.).	King's Regt. of Foot Guards.		
Captain Sir Thos. Daniel (to command as Major).	do	do	
Captain Edw. Sackville.	do	do	
Captain John Huitson.	Coldstream Regiment.		
Captain John Churchill.*	Admiral's Regiment.		
Captain John Howard.	Holland Regiment.		
Captain John Trelawny.	Fitzgerald's Regiment.		
Captain John Piggott.	Duke of Buckingham's Regt.		
Captain — Ashburnham.	Lord Le Poer's Regiment.		

These companies were directed to be made up from the other companies of their respective regiments to a strength of 100 men, and on the 5th November (W.O. Mis. Order Bk., No. I., f. 433-438) Sir Walter Vane signified that: "Captain Sr Herbert Lunsfords late Co.,† now under the Command of Capt John Howard of his regt be forthwith compleated out of the rest of the Cos at Berwick to 100 soldiers besides officers by drawing out 16 soldiers from the said Cos with their armes & compleatly cloathed with cloathes, Hatts, shoes and stockins, the other companies not to recruit again.

Captain John Howard forthwith to march his Co to Canterbury there to await orders."

A general reduction of the forces was ordered at this time (Mis. Order Bk., No. I., f. 451), the strength of a company being generally fixed at 60 men; among others "nyne Companies of the Hollands. . . soe that no one of them shall be above three score soldiers in a company."‡

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\* Afterwards Duke of Marlborough.

† Sir Roger Manley was appointed to command a company of the King's Regiment of Foot Guards, 2nd Nov., 1672 (Hamilton's Hist. Gren. Gds.) Sir H. Lunsford being transferred to the command of the company at Jersey.

‡ The regiments mentioned in the above state were as follows :-

The Regiment of Guards in 24 companies (20 of 80 men 2 of 100).  
The Coldstreame Regiment in 12 companies (11 of 80 men 1 of 100).  
Lord Admiralls Regiment in 12 companies (11 of 60 men 1 of 100).  
The Holland Regiment in 10 companies (8 of 60 men 2 of 100).

1672. At this time also a redistribution of quarters took place. The following extract from the Miscellany Entry Book gives the strength and distribution of the respective companies of the Holland Regiment :—

---

Col. Fitzgerald's Regiment in 10 companies (9 of 60 men 1 of 100).

Col. Sir Wm. Lockhart's Regiment in 12 companies (all of 60 men).

The Duke of Buckingham's in 15 companies (14 of 60 men 1 of 100).

Lord Le Powers' Regiment in 12 companies (11 of 60 1 of 100).

5 Garrison Companies (1 of 100 men, 3 of 80, and 1 of 72).

The companies 100 strong, were with the exception of the one belonging to the Holland Regiment at Jersey and the Garrison Company, intended to form part of the new regiment for service with the French.

STATE OF THE QUARTERS OF HIS MATS SEVERALL REGIMENTS OF FOOT AS THEY LATELY STOOD  
AND AS THEY ARE NOW ORDERED TO BE.

Regiments	Companies thereof	Number of soldiers in each company	Quarters.	Companys aforesaid	Number of soldiers in each company	Quarters
. . .	. . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Holland Regt	Col Sr Walter Vanes late at sea	90				
10 Companies	Major Sr Thomas Ogles	90	Plymouth	these 4 Comps to be	60	& quarter at Hull
	Captain Henry Sydneys	60	Northsheilds			
	Sr Thomas Woodcocks late at sea	60				
	Lt Col Thomas Howards	90	Plymouth	these 4 Comps to be	60	& quarter at Berwick
	Capt Henry Pomeroyes	84	Berwick			
	Capt William Cowneleys					
	Capt — Sterlings		at Jersey	to continue soc		
	Sr Herbert Lunsfords	100	Berwick &	to be made upp to	100 & quart at	Canterbury and ffrance.
	Capt John Howards	84			to go to	. . .
. . .	. . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

1672.

1672. The new Royal English Regiment embarked from Dover, under Lieutenant-Colonel Skelton, on the 27th and 28th December, and joined the French army, commanded by the Marechal d'Humières, early in January. It was stationed with Monmouth's regiment partly at Douai and partly at Arras. On its arrival the disputes and quarrels as to precedence became more acute than ever.





1673.

## CHAPTER V.

1673-1674.

Great preparations were made during the winter for the renewal of the struggle, and in January eight new regiments of 10 companies, 60 strong, were ordered to be raised.\*

Intense jealousy and suspicion had been aroused in the country, however, regarding the designs of the king and of the Roman Catholic party, whose influence at Court had become very strong.

Early in the year Charles was forced by Parliament to withdraw the Declaration of Indulgence† of the previous year, and on the 26th March the Test Act was passed, forbidding any person professing the Roman Catholic faith to hold office under the Crown.‡

The effect of this was to deprive the King's brother, the Duke of York, who was a professed papist, of all his appointments, with the exception of the command of his regiment, which, for some reason, he was allowed to retain. The regiment's distinctive title had been that of H.R.H. The Duke of York and Albany's Maritime Regiment of Foot, but as we have seen, it was almost always designated the Lord High Admiral's or the Admiral's Regiment. It was, however, now ordered to be styled "ye Duke's, or his Edye.

\* Lord Belasize's Regt., Earl of Ogle's Regt., Earl of Carlisle's Regt., Earl of Peterborough's Regt., Marquis of Worcester's Regt., Earl of Mulgrave's Regt., Duke of Albemarle's Regt., Lord Vaughan's Regt. These were all disbanded in 1674.

† By this declaration the king had suspended all penal laws against non-conformists and recusants, and had authorised papists to practise their religion privately.

‡ The Test Act exacted from everyone, civil and military, in the employment of the State, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, a declaration against transubstantiation, and a reception of the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England.

Rll Highsse Regimt." In the command of the fleet the Duke of York was succeeded by Prince Rupert.

Charles made great exertions with a view to sending an army to take the field in the Low Countries, and proposed conferring the command of the same on his brother, the Duke of York, with Prince Rupert as General, and the Duke of Buckingham as Lieutenant-General. The effect of the Test Act, however, was to throw great difficulties in the way of raising the necessary troops, and to render impossible the appointment of the Duke to the command of the expedition. After many disputes and quarrels, the command of the army was given to the Duke of Schomberg, Prince Rupert, as we have seen, receiving that of the fleet.

Like so many important state documents of the period, the Miscellany Entry Book for the year is, unfortunately, missing,\* and up to the month of December there is no detailed record of the troops embarked for service afloat nor of their movements ashore, but there is abundant evidence that a very large number were serving with the fleet throughout the naval operations of the year. Warrant Book 1667-73 has an entry showing that in May no less than twelve companies of the King's Own Regiment of Foot Guards and five of the Coldstream Regiment were on board the fleet. Twelve companies of Sir William Lockhart's Regiment were also afloat, and from numerous warrants for the payment of Lord Le Power's and Lord Tyrone's Regiments it is clear that a number of men belonging to the first-mentioned regiment were shipped in April, and that 10 companies of the same were serving with the fleet from 3rd May till the 20th September, and that 8 companies of Lord Tyrone's Regiment were afloat from 8th March to the 15th November. A large number were at sea until a much later date, but neither the number of the men nor the period for which they were to be paid, is specified. There are similar warrants also for the payment of 14

\* There is a period of eleven months between the last entries in W.O. Miscellany Entry Book now numbered No. 1 (formerly numbered dxii) and the first entry in No. 2 (formerly dxii (a)).

companies of the Duke of Buckingham's Regiment for service at sea. As regards the Holland Regiment, we shall see that a portion of the regiment, at all events, took part in the action of the 11th August. 1673.

In addition to the raising of additional regiments further augmentations to the army were ordered in the spring, and there were "Raised in May & established to commence in Pay ye 14th June 1673 these following soldiers. (vizt). Add. MSS. 23,082, f. 45

240 men to 12 Compas of ye Kings Regmt at Sea  
 100 men to 5 compas of Lord Craven's at sea.  
 240 men to 15 compas of Sr Wm Lockharts at sea  
     wch made up these comps wch were before but 80  
     soldiers.  
 400 men to 10 compas of ye Admiralls Regimt  
 320 men to 8 compas of ye Holland Regimt  
 360 men to 9 compas of Coll ffitz Garrards Regimt  
 3200 men to 80 compas of ye 8 new Regimts  
 560 men to 14 compas of ye Duke of Buckingham's  
 440 men to 11 comps of Ld Poers

---

5860 men which made up these comps wch were before but  
 60 soldiers to bee, 100 in each company."

In addition to the above, it would appear from an account of disbursements for clothes and other necessities by captain of companies, and an order for their repayment, dated 11th February, 1674, that seven companies of the Holland Regiment were further increased by 160 men over and above their former establishment by order of 30th May. Mis. O. Bk. No. 2, p. 127-8.

The companies in question were: Lieutenant-Colonel Howard's (30 men), Sir Thos. Ogle's (30), Pomeroy's (21), Cownley's (22), Sidney's (12), Woodcock's (25), and Sterling's (21).

In connection with the above, it may be interesting to note the prices allowed for the various articles of clothing and equipment, which were as follows: "Coate and Britches £1 14s., Sword and belt 10s., Pair of stockings 2s. 6d., Hatt 6s., Pair of shoes 3s., Shirt 3s. 6d.

1673. dd. MSS. 3,082, f. 57.	The establishments of all the Land forces, vizt. Guards guarrisons, Islands & contingencies before the warr, at Michealmas 1671 amounted to the sume of 223000 00 00 To which there was added by degrees from the said time to July 1673 as many forces as mounted to the sume of ... ..	248731 03 01
	Total 471731 03 01	

About the 20th May a junction was effected between the English fleet, under Prince Rupert and Sir Edward Spragge, and the French, under Count d'Estrées. The object of the allies was, if the Dutch could not be brought to action, to blockade the enemy, to make a descent on the coast and to land troops, and with this object in view 6,000 men, in addition to those on board, were held in readiness at Yarmouth under Schomberg.

On the 28th the combined fleets, numbering some 84 men-of-war and frigates, besides fire-ships, in all amounting to about 110 sail, attacked the Dutch, commanded by de Ruyter, Tromp, and Bankert. The Dutch, who were of approximately the same strength as the confederates, were lying within the sands at Schoenveldt. The fight was well contested, and lasted until night, when the allies drew off from amongst the shallows, the Dutch returning to harbour to refit, neither side having gained any decided advantage. The French, though engaged, took but a half-hearted part in the battle.

On the 4th June, the Dutch, who had rapidly refitted, suddenly re-appeared, and a furious contest commenced about five p.m., which lasted until midnight, when the Dutch fell back, both sides, however, claiming the victory. The French showed as little eagerness to fight as before. The English ships, thanks to the jealousies aroused by the appointment of Prince Rupert to the command, had been so badly fitted out and so undermanned that, had it not been for the troops on board, they could not have risked a battle at all. Both fleets now returned to port to make good

damages, the English arriving at the Nore on the 8th June, the French proceeding to Brest and Rochefort. In the meantime, the French army, in conjunction with the Duke of Monmouth, had taken Maestricht. 1673.

Orders had been issued in April for the newly-raised regiments to rendezvous as soon as possible at Blackheath, "where a formal and formidable camp was to be raised to invade Holland, or as others suspected, for another design." Evelyn's Diary. They assembled early in June, and on the 28th the King reviewed eight regiments. The force remained encamped at Blackheath until the end of July, when the fleet, having refitted, they embarked under the Duke of Schomberg's command, and sailed to attempt a landing on the Dutch coast. The hostile fleets met off the mouth of the Texel. The English numbered some 60 ships, the French 30, and the Dutch about 70. The action commenced soon after seven in the morning of the 11th August, de Ruyter being opposed to Prince Rupert, Tromp to Spragge, and Brankert to d'Estrées. The latter, however, kept at a distance, leaving Brankert free to throw himself upon Prince Rupert, who was already hotly engaged with de Ruyter. Notwithstanding the odds, the Prince succeeded in disengaging himself, and proceeded to the assistance of Spragge, who was hard pressed by Tromp. The ships of both these gallant adversaries had been disabled, and they had both been compelled to shift their flags. For a second time Spragge was forced to seek another flagship, when a shot, unfortunately, struck the boat conveying him, sinking it, and Spragge was drowned. The fight was continued with desperate bravery on both sides the greater part of the day, Prince Rupert eventually succeeding in throwing the Dutch into disorder, increasing it by sending among them two fire-ships. Had the French then responded to Rupert's signals to bear down and join in the fight, the contest must have ended in a complete victory for the allies. But the French preferred the rôle of passive spectators, and at nightfall the combatants separated.\* Both sides claimed the victory, but

\* It may easily be understood how fatal the effect of a large, idle, and suspicious fleet must have been, when lying by to watch the issue of the

1673. however this may be, the English fleet was in no condition to keep at sea, and returned under easy sail to England.

All prospects of a successful invasion of Holland were at an end for the season, and Schomberg and his troops were disembarked at Yarmouth and returned to Blackheath.

On the 12th September the camp was broken up and the troops ordered into winter quarters, and on the 20th orders were issued for all companies to be reduced to a strength of 60 men. "There was reduced about the 20th September last as many forces as brought the whole establishment downe to the sune of 403052-09-00." Add. MSS. 28082, f. 57.

The regiment under Sir Bevil Skelton, of which Captain John Howard's company of the Holland Regiment formed part, had remained idle in garrison until the end of July, when it was ordered to take the field and join the main French army, which, after crossing the Meuse and Rhine, was advancing on Utrecht and threatening the Hague. Skelton's regiment joined the French and marched as far as Haederwyck, on the south coast of the Zuyder Zee, where it formed the extreme right of the French line. The movements of the fleet were awaited with anxiety, as upon the success of the projected descent depended the rest of the summer's campaign. Skelton's regiment was to have formed the nucleus of the English troops with Luxembourg's army, as Monmouth's was in Turenne's. On the failure of the naval operations, the regiment went into winter quarters in Holland.

As regards the part taken in the naval operations of the year by the Holland Regiment, it is clear that a portion, at all events, were present at the action off the Texel, as is shown by the following entries in the Miscellany Order Book.

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fight. What, too, must have been the feelings of the combatants when the following anecdote got abroad :—"What can the French have been about?" said one Dutchman to another. "Why, you fool," replied the other, "they have hired the English to fight for them, and all their business here is to see that they earn their wages."—*Campbell, vol. II., Note to Warburton's Memoirs of Prince Rupert.*

Decembr 13th 73

1673.

This may certify that John Maggett belonging to ye late <sup>Mis. O. Bk.</sup> Capt Cownleys company served on board his Mats shipp <sup>No. 2, p. 25.</sup> Hampshere in this last sumers service and that in the late engagemt of August ye 11th he received a great wound in the calfe of his Legg by a greate shott and his hamstring hurt by a splinter.

Given under my hand.

RICHARD GRIFFITH.

CHARLES R.

It appearing to us by certificate of our trusty and well- <sup>Ibid, p. 26.</sup> beloved Capn Rich Griffith Comander of Our Shipp Hampshere that John Wagget (late a soldier in Capn Cowneleys late Company of Our Holland Regiment) served on board Our said shipp, and in the late engagmt on the 11th of August last he was maimed therein. In consideration whereof Wee are graciously pleased to Order the sd John Waggett to be sent to Our garrison of Carlisle and enter-tyned a soldier in Or Govenors Company there. Our will and Pleasure therefore is That out of such monies as are or shall come to your hands for contingent uses for Our fforces and guarisons in England you pay unto the said John Waggett the sume of three pounds for defraying his charges to Our said guarison of Carlisle and for his Reliefe and for soe doing this Our warrant together with the acquittance of the said John Wagget confessing the receipt thereof shall be your discharge.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 16th day of December 1673.

To Our trusty and wellbeloved servant  
Sr Stephen ffox Knt Paymaster Genll to  
Our fforces & Guarrisons.

Roger ffoster a soldier in Sr John Berries Co of the Hol- <sup>Ibid, p. 60.</sup> land Regt wounded on the Hantshere in the action of the 11th Aug having had his right arm shott off, ordered to be enter-tyned and continued a soldier in the said Co imposing upon him noe other duty than he can well discharge.

1673. On the 18th August Sir John Berry, a distinguished naval officer, was appointed to the command of a company in the Holland Regiment,\* vice the late Captain Crownley.

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\* The appointment of Captains in the Navy to command companies of foot, was at this time not uncommon. Berry was Captain of the *Resolution* at the Battle of Solebay, 1672, and so greatly distinguished himself, that he was knighted by Charles II. immediately afterwards. Berry was a very poor man, and the King said "As our thoughts have been now upon honour, we will hereafter think of profit, for I would not have so brave a man a poor knight." (Charnock.) He was given a company in the Marine regiment, and on its disbandment at the end of the war he was transferred to a company in the Holland Regiment, which he held until his death in 1691, but his connection with the regiment must have been purely nominal, for he was in almost continuous employment afloat. The following is a brief sketch of the career of this distinguished officer, compiled from Charnock's "*Biographia Navalis*." B. in 1624, member of a distinguished Devonshire family, and son of a clergyman who was ruined through his loyalty to the Royalist cause. He and his brother were driven to seafaring life. John went to sea as an apprentice in a merchant ship. Was twice taken prisoner by the Spaniards. Boatswain of the *Swallow*, ketch, in 1663. The vessel being sent after pirates in the West Indies, Berry was specially appointed lieutenant by the Governor of Jamaica. The captain hesitating to attack, Berry ordered him below, and was chosen captain in his place by the crew. He then attacked and took the pirate. Appointed captain of the *Swallow* in 1665, and was very successful in taking prizes. Captain of the *Guinea*, 4th rate, in 1666, under P. Rupert and Albemarle. Sent to the West Indies in command of a squadron of 10 ships. Met the enemy on 19th May, 1667, with a force of 20 ships and 10 transports, which he drove into Basseterre, St. Kitts, with heavy loss. One of his ships was blown up, on which he cried to his crew:—"Now you have seen an English ship blow up, let us try if we cannot blow up Frenchmen. They are there, and if we do not beat them, they will beat us." Returned to England in the autumn. Sent to the Straits with a powerful fleet under Sir Thos. Allen; distinguished himself. Promoted to the *Nonsuch* in 1670. Returned to England in 1671. Appointed to the *Resolution* 1672. In March, 1673, captured a large 30 gun privateer. At Solebay particularly distinguished himself. Knighted, and given a company in the Marine Regiment. Transferred to the Holland Regiment, Aug., 1673. Sailed for the Straits in April, 1675, in command of the *Bristol*, and returning in 1676-7, proceeded with a few frigates to the West Indian and North American Station, where, as naval commander-in-chief, he played an important part in the Virginia expedition. From January 1678 to 1682 he was constantly in the Mediterranean. Was commodore of the squadron accompanying the Duke of York to Leith in May 1682, when his ship was wrecked. The Duke was saved, but the Earl of Roxburgh, Lord O'Brien, the Laird of Hopton, Sir Joseph Douglas, Mr. Hyde, and 130 seamen were drowned. Was second in command to the fleet under Lord Dartmouth, which was sent in the



The French armies, after the failure of Rupert's attempt to invade Holland from the sea, had been out-manceuvred by the Dutch, and forced to fall back across the Rhine. Louis XIV. now demanded reinforcements from Charles, but his request came too late for it to be readily complied with. The orders issued in September, reducing the establishments, were cancelled, but they had already been acted upon, and great difficulties were experienced in recalling the men. However, by the 18th November, three regiments, vizt., the Scotch (Lockhart's) Regiment, the Earl of Peterborough's, and Lord Vaughan's, together with twelve companies from the six other newly-raised regiments, had been, or were about to be, sent to France. 1673.

Add. MSS.  
28.082, f. 57

About this time the Dutch were negotiating with a view to inducing Charles, not only to recall the English troops from the service of France, but to allow them to enroll English soldiers in their army, and to employ a British division in their service. While declining to withdraw his troops from France, Charles, although England was still at war with Holland, so far entertained the Dutch propositions, that Sir Walter Vane, the colonel of the Holland Regiment, was actually allowed to accept a commission as major-general in the Dutch army, with a view to his commanding the English troops to be raised for that service. His commission bears date 12th December, 1673, and on the same day the Earl of Mulgrave was appointed to the vacant

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autumn to demolish the fortifications of Tangiers, and to withdraw the garrison. During these operations he was in temporary command of the fleet, and had charge of the embarkation of the inhabitants and garrison. In April 1684 he was appointed a Commissioner of the Navy. Appointed Rear-Admiral of the Fleet 24th September, 1685, and on the 13th October, Vice-Admiral under Dartmouth. After the landing of William of Orange and the retirement of Dartmouth, the chief command of the fleet devolved on him. This he continued to hold until the severity of the weather and necessity of refitting compelled the ships to return to port in March, 1689. His known integrity procured him the immediate favour of William, by whom he was appointed comptroller of the victualing accounts. This appointment, together with the governorship of Deal Castle and his company in the *Holland Regiment*, he retained until his death at the age of 66, on the 14th Feb., 1691. Buried in Stepney Church.

1673. colonelcy of the Holland Regiment\* (a duplicate of this commission is dated 13th December).

Mulgrave was thus in the position of commanding two regiments, for he was already colonel of one of the new ones raised in the early part of the year, which regiment was now stationed at Yarmouth.

Mis. O Bk.,  
No. 2, p. 39-  
43.

On the 23rd December orders were issued for six men per company to be drawn from the eight companies of the regiment quartered at Landguard Point Fort, Ipswich, Maintree, Harwich, and places adjacent, with their "armes, coates, britches, hatts, crevats, shoes and stockins," and to

\*John Sheffield, 3rd E. of Mulgrave, b. 1649. Was a volunteer in the Navy for six weeks in 1666. Capt. of a troop of horse 1667, rejoined the Navy 1672. Was at the battle of Solebay; apptd. Captain of an 84 gun ship. Colonel of a newly raised regt. of foot (merged into the Holland Regiment) 1673. K.G. and Lord of the Bedchamber 1674. Govr. of Hull and Lord Lieut. of E. Riding of Yorkshire 1679. Apptd. to command the troops for Tangier 1680. Gave deep offence to the royal family by aspiring to the hand of the Princess Anne, disgraced and deprived of the Colonelcy of the Holland Regiment and of all his other appointments, 1682. Restored to favour and re-appointed Colonel of the Regiment 1684. Vacated the command on being appointed Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Admiral of York. Created Marquis of Normanby, 1694. Duke of Buckingham 1702, d. 1721, b. in Westminster Abbey.

Hist. England,  
Vol. 1.

Macaulay says of him: "John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, at seventeen years of age, volunteered to serve at sea against the Dutch. He passed six weeks on board, diverting himself as well as he could, in the society of some young libertines of rank, and then returned home to take the command of a troop of horse. After this he was never on the water till the year 1672, when he again joined the fleet, and was almost immediately appointed captain of a ship of eighty-four guns, reputed the finest in the Navy. He was then twenty-three years old, and had not in the whole course of his life been three months afloat. As soon as he came back from sea he was made colonel of a regiment of foot. . . ."

Ibid, Vol. 2.

"Mulgrave wrote verses which scarcely ever rose above mediocrity; but as he was a man of high note in the political and fashionable world these verses found admirers. . . . our generation knows Mulgrave chiefly as a poetaster, and despises him as such. In truth, however, he was by the acknowledgment of those who neither loved nor esteemed him. a man distinguished by fine parts, and in parliamentary eloquence inferior to scarcely any orator of his time. His moral character was entitled to no respect. He was a libertine without that openness of heart and hand which sometimes makes libertinism amiable, and a haughty aristocrat without that elevation of sentiment which sometimes makes aristocratical haughtiness respectable. The satirists of the age nicknamed him Lord Allpride."

be, if possible by the 2nd January, at the port of Harwich, under the command of a lieutenant and two sergeants, "wch officers with ye said party of soldiers, are to imbarque and transport themselves in shipping that stays for them at Harwich and to march beyond the seas according to such orders as they shall receive." Similar orders were issued to Lord Mulgrave's regiment and to five others. The men (264 in all) were intended to proceed to France to recruit Henry, Earl of Peterborough's regiment, which was serving there. The officers sent in charge were directed to return to their respective regiments when they had handed over their men. The vacancies caused were to be filled up by recruiting. 1673.

Meanwhile Charles had decided to amalgamate Mulgrave's two regiments into one, and on the 1st of January the following order was issued :—

#### CHARLES R.

Rt Trusty & well beloved Cousin Wee greet you well. Wee have thought fitt for the retrenchment of Our charge to reduce and doe hereby reduce the field and Staffe Officers (as such) of the regiment of Our new raised forces that was raised and still continues under your command. And that the said ffield Officer (as they are Capns) with the rest of the officers and soldiers of eight companies remaining in this Or Kingdome of ye said Regt shall (from ye 11th of this instant January when the sd retrenchment is to begin) shall be added and they are (from thenceforth) heereby added to Or Holland Regiment under your comand soe as that the youngest Capt of Our Holland Regimt is in his command to precede the eldest Captain of the said new raised Regt which is the company under the comand of the Lt Col thereof at the present. Our will and pleasure therefore is, that you give orders for reducing the said ffield Officers of your new raised Regt and the Staffe Officers thereof (as they are ffield and Staffe Officers) by the said eleaventh of this instant January, and for adding the said eight comps thereof to the said Holland Regt as younger companies thereof. And Wee doe heereby authorise you and the rest of the ffield Officers of Our said Holland Regiment to take charge of the said eight companies (who are hereby required to observe your orders W.O. Mis. Ent. Bk., No. 2, p. 57 1674.

1674. & their command) as part of the said Holland Regiment.  
For wch this shall be sufficient warrant.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall the third day of January  
1673.\*

By his Mats Comānd

ARLINGTON.

To Our right trusty and right  
welbeloved Cousin John Earle  
of Mulgrave.

Mis. O. Bk.,      The two regiments† were at this time distributed in  
No. 2, Add.      quarters as follows :—  
MSS. 28,082.

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\* 1673-4.

† Dalton's English Army Lists gives the officers of the Earl of Mulgrave's  
Regiment as follows :—

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>
John. E. of Mulgrave, Col.	Hollis Walsh, Capt.-Lt.	Fr. Napper
H. Lillingston, Lt.-Col.	Geo. Plumptre	J. Richardson
Edw. Halsey, Major	Laurence Clerke	Corbert Herne
Chas., Lord Clermont ‡	Arthur Calcott	Francis Twisden
Hy. Bulkeley	J. Baskervill	Alex. Peirce
Edw. Manfield	Wm. Wyvell	—, Fielding
Tho. Thornton	J. Gifford	Fran. Busler
Rich. Sheldon	Phill. Draycott	Fran. Williamson
John Butler	Wm. Lesley	Thos. Fitz-patrick
Simon Fanshaw	Rich. Wisdome	Luke Lillington ( <i>sic</i> ).

The commissions of the above all bore date 25th January, 1673.

Chirurgeon Wm. Tilly, 8th Jan.      Qmr. Robt. Boone, 17th Feb.  
Adj. Thos. Fitzmaurice, 21st Feb.

In addition the following commissions were issued during the year :—W. Long, Capt., vice Sheldon, 5th June ; W. Mason, Ens., 18th Sept. ; Boro-daile Bright, Ens. to Fanshaw, 18th Sept. ; Chas. Maccarty, Lt. to Thornton, 18th Sept. ; Lt. Wm. Wyvell, prom. Capt. vice late Mansfield, 19th Sept. ; Fra. Rowe, Lt. to Wyvell, 19th Sept. ; Jno. Collop, Adj., 7th Oct.§

Several more commissions are recorded, but they were merely on transfer from one company to another.

‡ Elder son of Jno., Earl of Middleton, who died 25th Jan., '73. Apptd. Lt.-Col. Holland Regt., 23.9.74. See Appendix.

§ Lieut. Holland Regt., 9.1.74.

## THE HOLLAND REGIMENT.

1674.

The Colonel's Company	}	at Harwich.
Sir Thos. Ogle's		
Lt.-Col. Sir Thos. Howard's		„ Landguard Point Fort.
Sir Thos. Woodcock's		„ Landguard Point Fort.
Sir John Berry's		„ Maintree.
Capt. Pomeroy's		„ Maintree.
Capt. Meoles'		„ Ipswich.
Sir H. Lunsford's		„ Jersey.
Capt. John Howard's		„ Flanders.

## THE EARL OF MULGRAVE'S REGIMENT.

2	Companies	at Yarmouth.
4	„	„ North Yarmouth.
1	„	„ Galston.
1	„	„ Laystoffs (? Lowestoft).
2	„	„ Flanders.

In an abstract of quarters, dated 9th February, the companies previously shown as being in Flanders, are stated to be in France.

Add. MSS.  
23,082.  
Mis. O. Bk.,  
No. 2. p. 50.

On the 1st January, 1673-4, the following changes of quarters were ordered:—The two companies at Maintree to Harwich, the two companies at Ipswich to North Yarmouth (this move does not appear to have been carried out), and two companies from Yarmouth to Berwick.

On the 5th February, however, Sterling's and Berry's companies were ordered back to Maintree "in regard to the straightnesse of quarters."

Ibid, p. 121.

Meanwhile the Dutch had been negotiating for peace. In England the war was intensely unpopular, the idea of assisting a Roman Catholic power in crushing a Protestant country being repugnant to the nation. Parliament insisted on the Dutch overtures being entertained, voted the standing army a grievance, and declared they would grant no more supply, unless it appeared that the Dutch were so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions of peace. The King, seeing plainly that he could expect no more supplies from Parliament for carrying on a war so odious to

1674. them, resolved to make a separate peace with the Dutch. The treaty was signed on the 9th February, and on the 11th the King notified in person to the House of Commons that he was about to give orders to disband all the existing forces in the kingdom, except the Horse and Foot Guards, the Duke of York's and Holland Regiments, and the 39 garrison companies which had existed before the war.

Even this did not satisfy the Commons, and only the prompt prorogation of Parliament prevented the passing of a resolution in favour of disbanding the Duke of York's regiment also.

In "An Abstract of the Present Establisht commencing ye 15th of Nov. 1673, taken this 9th ffeb 1673" (1673/4), the strength of the Holland Regiment was fixed at: 104 officers (*i.e.*, officers and non-commissioned officers), and 648 men, in 10 companies, the pay per annum amounting to £12,652 os. 8d. (Add. MSS. 28028.) This establishment was increased to 12 companies, commencing from the 7th March, 1674, but the authorised augmentation was not carried into effect. True, a company was formed under Captain Rowland Morgan in 1675 (see Chapter 6), but this was to replace the one in the French service, and the eleventh company was not raised until November, 1677.

Peace was proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people, on the 28th February, the terms being honourable to both sides. The English troops in the service of France at this moment numbered some 10,000 men. These Charles declared he was bound by treaty not to recall, but by a secret article he undertook not to allow them to be recruited.\*

Mis. O. Bk., No. 2, p. 132. On the 19th February orders were issued for the eight companies of the Earl of Mulgrave's Regiment, recently

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\* Of these no less than 475 officers and N.C.Os. and 2,820 men were actually on the English Establishment, viz. :—The Scotch Regiment (now the Royal Scots), in 12 companies, 124 officers and N.C.Os. and 720 men ; Lord Peterborough's Regt. in 10 companies, 104 officers and N.C.Os. and 600 men ; Lord Vaughan's Regt., the same strength, and 14 companies belonging to other regiments. (Abstract of the Present Establishment (9th Feb., 1673/4). Add. MSS., 28,028).

incorporated in the Holland Regiment, to be disbanded by the 6th March, their arms, etc., being returned into store. 1674.

On the 20th, the seven old companies of the regiment at Harwich, Maintree, Landguard Fort, and Ipswich, were directed to be reduced to 50 men each, by the 6th March. *Ibid*, p. 140.

The Colonel's company (referred to in the order, as Captain Wildbore's, he being the Captain-Lieutenant), was to be made up out of the supernumeraries, from 60 to 100 men, and to march to Portsmouth, where 50 of them were to be distributed among the seven companies forming the garrison of that place, where they were to continue, until the company of the regiment "in foreign parts" should arrive, when the seven companies were to be reduced to 50 men each. (From this it would appear that the return of Captain Howard's company was contemplated).

The company of the regiment, stationed in Jersey, was also ordered to be reduced to 50 strong. *Ibid*, p. 141.

The supernumeraries were to be paid up to and for the 9th March, from which date the new establishment was to take effect.

The disbandment of so great a part of the army involved a redistribution of the remainder, and on the 21st and 23rd February, the undermentioned companies of the regiment were directed to take up new quarters as follows:— *Ibid*, p. 147-8

**The Colonel's Company at Portsmouth.**

Lt.-Col. Howard's	„ Berwick.
Capt. Sterling's	„ Berwick.
Major Sir T. Ogle's	„ Hull.
Capt. Pomeroy's	„ Hull.
Capt. Meoles'	„ Hull.
Capt. Sir T. Woodcock's	„ Gravesend.
Capt. Sir J. Berry's	„ Plymouth.

In connection with the above moves the following document, giving the routes and cost of transport, may be found interesting:—

1674.

Mis. O. Bk.,  
No. 2, p. 307.

An accompt of monies disbursed for carriages upon the marches of severall companies of the Holland Regt. from their last Quarters to the Quarters wherein they are now settled, vizt :—

The Colls Compa from Harwich to Portsmouth.

	Miles.	£	s.	d.
for carriages from Harwich to Brentwood	46	01	03	00
From Brentwood to Kingston upon Thames	26	00	13	00
From Kingstowne to Portsmouth ... ..	50	01	05	00

In all 03 01 00

The Lt Cols Company

From Landguard Fort to Stamford ... ..	93	02	06	06
From Stamford to Burrow Bridge ... ..	86	02	03	06
From Burrow Bridge to Berwicke ... ..	98	02	09	00

In all 06 18 06

Capne James Sterlings Company

From Maintree to Harwich ... ..	10	00	05	00
From Harwich to Grantham ... ..	105	02	12	06
From Grantham to Burrough Briggs ... ..	70	01	15	00
From Burrough Briggs to Berwick ... ..	98	02	09	00

In all 07 01 06

Sr John Berries Company from Harwich to Maintree and thence to Harwich again and thence to Plymouth

From Harwich to Maintree ... ..	10	00	05	00
From Maintree to Harwich ... ..	10	00	05	00
From Harwich to Basingstoke ... ..	88	02	04	00
From Basingstoke to Exeter ... ..	108	02	11	06
From Exeter to Plymouth ... ..	45	01	02	06

In all 06 08 00

Major Sr Thomas Ogles Company

From Harwich to Hull

For Boathire from Harwich to Ipswich ...	—	00	11	06
For carriages from Ipswich to Stamford...	93	02	06	06
From Stamford to Barton ... ..	68	01	14	00
For Boathire from Barton to Hull ... ..	—	00	09	06

In all 05 01 06



Sr Henry Pomeroy's Company from  
Wooton and Frimley to Hull

1674.

For carriages from Wooton and Frimley to Ipswich ... ..	13	00	06	06
From Ipswich to Stamford ... ..	93	02	06	06
From Stamford to Barton ... ..	68	01	14	00
For Boathire from Barton to Hull ... ..	—	00	09	06
In all		04	16	06

Captain Meeales Company  
From Ipswich to Hull

From Ipswich to Stamford ... ..	93	02	06	06
From Stamford to Barton ... ..	68	01	14	00
For Boathire from Barton to Hull ... ..	—	00	09	06
In all		04	10	00

## Abstract.

The Cols Company ... ..	03	01	00
The Lt Cols Company ... ..	06	18	06
The Majrs Company ... ..	05	01	06
Sr Henry Pomeroy's ... ..	04	16	06
Capt'n Starlings ... ..	07	01	06
Sr John Berries ... ..	06	08	00
Cap'n Meeales ... ..	04	10	00
Total ...	37	17	00

Ordered to be paid 13 June 1674

(Sd.) HOWARD.

The following circular letter to commanding officers  
throws an interesting light on the medical arrangements of  
the time :—

Whereas for the preventing of the great and uncertaine charge of Appothecary bills of Physick and internall Medicine for sick soldiers, Wee have thought fitt to allow twenty shillings a yeare for each Regimentall company of threescore soldiers besides Officers, to ye respective Chirugions of Regiments, from ye twentieth of September last, for providing and furnishing of Phisick and internall medecines, as well as there has been and is forty shillings yearly for each such company allowed to ye said Chirurgeons for externall medecines for the Respective Regiments in which they serve.

Mis. O. Bk.,  
No. 2, p. 76.

1674-

Our will and pleasure therefore is, that you take notice thereof and that you give in orders that when the noncomissioned officers or privates of your Regiment shall be sick or wounded, the Chirugion of your Regt doe provide Phisick or internall medecines, as well as externall medecines for them.

Given at Our Court of Whitehall the  
24th day of January 1673/4

By his Mats Command

ARLINGTON.

The disbanding of the new raised troops and of the supernumeraries was carried out as soon as possible, with the exception of a certain number, who were sent to Ireland, where they ceased to be a charge to the English establishment.

A considerable number of the disbanded troops, particularly those from the Holland Regiment, at once took service with the Dutch, who, as we have seen, were anxious to again have an English force in their service.\*

Cannon,  
Hist. Rec.,  
6th Regt.

These became the nucleus of the force of British troops it was proposed should be placed under the command of Major-General Sir Walter Vane, the late colonel of the Holland Regiment. The latter was appointed, in addition, colonel of one of the regiments to be raised, which regiment subsequently became the 6th Regiment, having come over with William III. in 1688.

As France and Holland were still in a state of war, we have the curious spectacle of British soldiers serving on both sides. Proclamations were issued forbidding British subjects to take service abroad, and in Miscellany Entry Book No. 2 there are several orders directing the Customs

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\* The interests of the United Provinces and those of the Reformed religion, being intimately connected, their cause was popular in England, and when the King disbanded a great part of his army on the settlement of peace in 1674, many officers and men voluntarily entered the Dutch service, particularly from the old Holland Regiment, which was reduced on that occasion from 18 to 10 companies.— *Cannon, Hist. Rec. of the Sixth Regt.*

authorities to cause all vessels about to leave port, to be searched,\* and any persons seeking to evade the regulation to be arrested. How far this was really intended to be acted upon is, however, doubtful. 1674

In March, Sir Bevil Skelton's Royal English Regiment, <sup>Mis. O. B</sup> which had wintered in Flanders, appears to have been <sup>No. 2.</sup> broken up, the companies belonging to the King's Regiment and the Coldstreams being ordered to march to Ostend and return to England, leaving a certain number of their men for the purpose of recruiting a new regiment, of which the King had appointed Captain John Churchill, of the Duke of York's Regiment (afterwards Duke of Marlborough), to be colonel. Into this regiment, the remaining companies of Skelton's Regiment appear to have been incorporated. They however remained for some time longer on the establishment of their old regiments.

Nothing of moment, from a military point of view, occurred during the rest of the year in England, but on the continent the war between France and the Low Countries continued. The Prince of Orange took the field with the army, and Sir Walter Vane, proceeding from the camp at Briel, to complete some arrangements with the Prince, <sup>Cannon,</sup> served as a volunteer at the battle of Seneffe, on the 1st <sup>Hist. Rec</sup> 6th Regt. August, 1674, O.S., and was killed. No English troops appear to have been engaged in this battle on the Dutch side.

During the ensuing winter, the British troops in the Dutch service were formed into four regiments, as under :—

	Two English vizt Colonel Lillingston's (now the 6th) & Colonel Disney's.
One Scotch	Colonel Graham's.
One Irish	Visct Clare's (now the 5th Northumberland Fusiliers, and which in 1675 lost its designation of Irish and was accounted English).

\* "An accompt for several disbursements for the stopping of officers and soldiers going to Foreigne services in Pursuance of an order to me John Hobdon Collector of his Mats. Customs in Colchester from his Matie. dated the 6th day of May 1674," amounts to £15 4s. 2d., and was ordered to be paid 29th day of January, 1674-5. *Mis. Order Book No. 3, p. 7.*

1674. On the 23rd September, Charles, Earl of Middleton, who as Lord Clermont, had served as captain of one of the companies of the Earl of Mulgrave's Regiment, incorporated into the Holland Regiment, and subsequently disbanded, was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the regiment in place of Sir Thomas Howard.\*



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\* Charles, 2nd Earl of Middleton. Commanded the garrison of Bruges in the spring of 1678. One of the principal Secretaries of State for Scotland, 1682. Adhered to the cause of James II., and joined that King in France. Outlawed and attainted. (Dalton). See appendix.

1675.

## CHAPTER VI.

1675-1678.

During the year 1675 military affairs in England were quiet. In the spring the company of the Holland Regiment serving in France was finally transferred to the French service, and a new company, 50 strong, besides officers, was formed to replace it, at Plymouth, the men being drawn from the 100 supernumeraries attached to the companies in that garrison. The command of the new company was given to Captain Rowland Morgan, his subalterns being Lieutenant Francis Williamson and Ensign Jno. Richardson. These officers' commissions bear date 25th and 26th April, and pay for the company was directed to be drawn from the 1st May. The order for the above is, however, dated 13th May, and is, therefore, presumably a covering order for the formation of the company, which had already been raised in anticipation.

The new company was ordered to be stationed at Plymouth, and the remaining supernumeraries to be equalised between the companies composing the garrison.

On the 24th June three companies from Portsmouth, one of which was the Colonel's company of the Holland Regiment (commanded by Captain-Lieutenant Wildbore), were ordered to march to York, to relieve three non-regimented companies at that station.

A fresh order regulating the precedence of regiments was issued on the 1st December, which laid down:—

First as to Foot.—The Regt of Guards to take place of all other regiments, and the colonel to be alwayes reckoned, and take place as the first foot Col: the Coldstreame Regt of Guards to take place next, Our most deare and most entirely beloved Brother James Duke of Yorkes Regiment immediately after, and all other Colonells to take place according to their commission.

1675. 'That the severall regiments that are not of Our Guards take place according to their respective senioritys from the time they were raised soe as noe regiment is to loose its precedence by death of their Colonell
1676. The companies of the regiment were distributed in January, 1676, as under:—

The Colonel's Company	at York.
Lt.-Col. Lord Middleton's	„ Berwick.
Capt. Sterling's	„ Berwick.
Major Sir Thos. Ogle's	„ Hull.
Capt. Sir H. Pomeroy's	„ Hull.
Capt. Meoles'	„ Hull.
Capt. Sir Thos. Woodcock's	„ Gravesend.
Capt. Sir J. Berry's	„ Plymouth.
Capt. R. Morgan's	„ Plymouth.
Capt. Sir H. Lunsford's	„ Jersey.

Judging from a circular letter addressed in May of this year to Commanding Officers, habits of strict sobriety do not appear to have characterised either officers or men at this period. Non-commissioned officers and men were ordered to be dealt with by regimental court martial, but, *Mis. O. Bk., No. 3, p. 153.* “if it shall happen that any Commissioned Officer shall be found drunk upon the Guard or any other publick place, it is Our Will and Pleasure that such commissioned officer shall be cashiered for that offence by sentence of a General Court Martiall, etc., etc.”

In the early autumn of this year, serious disturbances broke out in the colony of Virginia, and an expedition was sent out to restore order.

For this purpose a battalion 1,000 strong, in five companies of 200 each, was ordered to be formed, the officers and 500 men being drafted from the existing forces, and the remainder raised by recruiting.

*Mis. O. Bk., No. 3, p. 222.* The contingent ordered to be furnished by the Holland Regiment was “fforty nine soldyers out of your Regiment to be sent (by seaven out of each company) from your companies at Hull, Plymouth, and Gravesend, for Virginia, and

out of the supernumeraries for another company at Plymouth." 1676

The officers were Captain Meoles, "the eldest Lieutenant and the eldest Ensign (provided two commissioned officers are not taken from one company)." Ibid.

When completely formed the regiment consisted as follows :—

	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Men.
Out of the 24 Cos. of the King's Regt. - - - -	2	2	2	4	—	168
Out of the 12 Cos. of the Cold-streams - - - -	1	1	1	2	—	84
Out of the Admiral's Regiment	1	1	1	2	—	
„ Holland Regt. -	1	1	1	2	—	59
„ Garrison companies at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Hull, Gravesend, Tower of London and Windsor Castle	—	—	—	—	—	49
Drummers impressed by Drum Major Genl. John Mawgridge - - - -	—	—	—	—	15	—
Recruits raised by beat of drum under Warrant signed by the King - - -	—	—	—	—	—	500
	5	5	5	10	15	1000

The command of this regiment was bestowed on Captain Herbert Jeffreys, of the King's Regiment of Foot Guards, with rank of lieutenant-colonel, the officers serving with it being as follows :—

1676.

Lieut.-Colonel, Herbert Jeffreys.

	<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>2nd Lieuts.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>
Dalton, Com. Lists, Vol. 1.	Herbert Jeffreys, Capt. 1st Ft. Gds.	Hy. Taylor	Ed. Rouse	Wm. Mathews
	Jno. Mutlowe, Capt. Coldst. Gds.	Jno. Tongue	Tho. Troutbeck	Tho. Seymour
	Ed. Picts, Capt. 1st Ft. Gds.	Jno. Webb	Jno. Hetley	Ed. Savile
	Charles Middleton, Capt. D. of York's Rt.	Fras. Hoblyn	Jno. Thorne	Jno. Jeffreys
	Wm. Meoles, Capt. Holland Regt.	Walter Morgan	Tho. Sanders	Geo. Ange*
		Adjutant, Wm. Morris. Quartermaster and Marshal, Jno. Tongue. Chirurgeon, Jonathan Grove. Chaplain, Paul Williams.		

State Papers,  
Colonial and  
W. Indies  
1676, No. 1136

Captain Jeffreys was in addition appointed Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Virginia, and was directed to make the best of his way to Virginia and take measures to suppress the rebellion. In landing his troops he was to take advice of Sir John Berry, at that time commanding the naval forces on the North American and West Indian station, in the Bristol, and who was to command the ships conveying the expedition, on their arrival.

Ibid, 1091-2.

The men to form the regiment were marched to London and sent on board ships in the Thames as fast as they arrived, and on the 24th November the expedition sailed, in eight men-of-war and eleven hired transports, Captain Meoles, Lieutenant Sanders, and 148 men being on board the man-of-war Golden Lyon.

H.O. Dom.  
Entry Bk.,  
No. 29, p. 185.

It was still the custom at this time for every company of foot to carry two colours, and on the sixth November the Master of the Great Wardrobe was directed to provide "two colours each for the 5 Cos of Foot which are being sent on an expedition to Virginia." Instead, however, of the colours being as usual, similar throughout the regiment, with company badges, each company's colours were in this

\* Lieuts, Morgan and Sanders belonged to the Holland Regt. Ens. Ange to the Earl of Peterborough's.



case similar to those of the regiment from which they were drafted. Thus Captain Sir Herbert Jeffreys' company had 1676.  
 "two colours with a crowned Lyon Passant upon ye crowne," Captain Picks' company "two colours with the Royall Oak Crowned," Captain Mutlowe's (Coldstreams) "two colours the ground Blew with a Red Crosse in a White field," Captain Middleton's (Duke of York's Regiment) "two colours the field white waved with lemon mixt with ye Red Crosse quite thorough with J. D. Y. in cypher in gold." "For Capt William Meoles Company in Our Holland Regiment under ye command of John Earle of Mulgrave Two colours the ground green with a red crosse in a white field."

By the time the expedition arrived in Virginia the insurrection had been practically suppressed, and a commission, consisting of Sir John Berry, Colonel Jeffreys, and Colonel Francis Moryson, was appointed to settle grievances and other affairs in the colony. 1677.

On the 13th May, the King wrote to Colonel Jeffreys to the effect that, having been given to understand that the rebellion was at an end, the Colonel, provided the Commissioners deemed it consistent with the safety of the Colony, was to return home the greater part of the soldiers, except only 100, with the usual number of officers. If, however, any of the soldiers wished, of their own free will, to remain as planters or as servants, they were to be discharged. Colonial Entry Bk. p. 200.

Military affairs in England during the greater part of 1677 appear to have been singularly devoid of interest. As regards the Holland Regiment, on 1st January Captain Henry Cornewall (or Cornwall) succeeded to the command of Sir Henry Pomeroy's company. In November an eleventh company was added to the regiment at Plymouth, formed in all probability from the supernumeraries referred to in Mis. O. Bk. 3, p. 222.

The command of the company was given to Captain Henry Boade, with Lieutenant Jno. Richardson and Ensign Edw. Fox as subalterns. Captain Boade would appear to have served as major in the Earl of Peterborough's Regiment, and he is referred to more than once in official

1677. documents subsequent to his appointment as captain in the Holland Regiment, as *Major* Boade, the fact being that the frequent raising and disbandment of regiments caused a great demand for commissions, and officers were often glad to take appointments in a rank inferior to that which they might previously have held.

1678. Meanwhile the war between France and the Low Countries still dragged on, and at last Charles, much against his will, was compelled by the national feeling to intervene on behalf of the Dutch. Before going any further, it will be advisable to take a brief glance at the course of events during the past three years which led up to the intervention on the part of England.

1674. During the summer of 1674 the Prince of Orange, with a superior force, was opposed to the Prince de Condé, and on the 1st August was fought the fierce but indecisive battle of Seneffe, in which Sir Walter Vane lost his life. After this the Dutch invested Oudenarde, but were obliged to raise the siege on the approach of the enemy. They subsequently, however, took Grave, after which both armies broke up for the winter.

During this time Turenne, with whom were a large number of English troops, not only held his own in Alsace and Lorraine, but drove the Imperialists across the Rhine. In England these events caused great anxiety, but the King and Court party affected indifference.

1675. The following year proved more fortunate for the Confederates (the Dutch and Imperialists). The French took the field in Flanders with a numerous army, but, beyond taking Huy and Limburg, they gained but little. The Prince of Orange, with a large force, opposed all their moves, and neither side found itself in a position sufficiently advantageous to hazard a general action which must have resulted either in the loss of Flanders or the invasion of France. In the Low Countries, therefore, the whole summer passed without any event of importance.

On the Upper Rhine, however, Turenne, passing to the German side of the river, with consummate skill, baffled the attempts of the Imperialists, under Montecuculi, to

penetrate into Alsace, Lorraine, or Burgundy. Unfortunately, when out reconnoitring, on the 27th July, he was killed by a random shot. With him vanished the French hopes of a successful campaign, but by the able handling of de Lorgé, Turenne's nephew, who succeeded to the command, the French army was enabled to repass the Rhine without severe loss. The English troops, who were placed in the rear, and who had been seized with the same admiration and love for their commander as the native troops of France, fought with ardour to avenge his death, and their valour greatly contributed to the successful result of the retreat. The Prince of Condé, leaving the army in Flanders under the command of Marshal Luxembourg, proceeded to replace Turenne, and drove the Germans, who had advanced into Alsace, back across the Rhine. Trèves, however, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. With this the campaign of 1675 was brought to a close. 1675.

In England the war was viewed with intense and increasing disapprobation, and Parliament brought pressure to bear on the King to recall the British troops who were in the French service, but the utmost he could be induced to do was not to allow them to be recruited. 1675-6.

Charles was now persuaded to suggest mediation, and a Congress was arranged to meet at Nimueguen. With the exception of the Dutch, however, none of the parties were particularly in earnest. The Imperialists well knew that the power of the French was not broken, and Louis XIV. was conscious that he could not be forced into a disadvantageous peace. The congress resulted, therefore, in empty talk.

In the early spring of 1676 the French took the field again. Condé, Bouchain, and Aire were taken, and the Prince of Orange, who had attacked Maestricht, was compelled to raise the siege. Both armies, however, stood in considerable awe of each other, and were unwilling to risk a general action. Thus the autumn dragged on; the Dutch, who were suffering severely from the strain of carrying on the war, were anxious for peace, but *gratuit* to their allies still engaged them to try whether *another* 1676.

1676. campaign might not procure a peace which would give general satisfaction.

Charles, meanwhile, was playing a treacherous and double-faced part. Situated as England was, he was undisputedly the arbiter of Europe, and no terms of peace prescribed by him could have been refused by either party.

On the one hand, from self-interest, he was anxious to obtain the support of Louis, and he had actually secretly sold his neutrality to France for a subsidy. On the other, Parliament and people clamoured for his interference on behalf of the Confederates. A peace advantageous to the latter must cost him the friendship of France; the contrary would enrage his Parliament and his subjects. On the horns of this dilemma he temporised. Parliament met in February, and to them the King pointed out the decayed state of the navy and his want of money. To this they replied by voting funds for providing thirty men-of-war.

1677. In February the French took the field, and in a short time Valenciennes, Cambrai, and St. Omer were in their hands, and the Prince of Orange was forced to retreat to Ypres.

These successes and the growing power of France caused fresh alarm in England, and the King was urged to take steps to counteract them, even at the risk of war. He replied that the only way to prevent the danger was to put him in a position to make preparations against it. Parliament thereupon voted a sum of £200,000 for the purpose of fitting out a squadron, which sum they considered sufficient, but this was far short of the King's requirements, and he informed them that unless he was granted at least an additional £600,000 he could do nothing without exposing the country to danger. At the same time he in person pledged them his royal word that he would not break credit with them, or employ the money for other purposes than that for which it was voted. At this very time, unknown to his ministers, Charles had signed a secret compact with the French king, by which, in return for a pension, he had pledged himself to neutrality.

Instead of voting the supplies demanded by the King,

Parliament besought him to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with the States General of the United Provinces and such other allies as should appear fit and useful for the purpose of curbing the increasing power of France. In the event of his so doing, they promised speedy and effective supplies. This proposition the King met with affected indignation, and prorogued Parliament. 1677.

Meanwhile negotiations had been carried on between France and Holland, and an eventual treaty was agreed upon, subject to the allies on both sides agreeing to the same. This was greatly facilitated by the ill-success of the Dutch arms and the growing impatience for peace on the part of the Hollanders. But a fresh act of duplicity on the part of Charles now altered the aspect of affairs. To pacify the nation, whose distrust of the King, the Duke of York, and the Roman Catholic party was growing daily, he entertained proposals for the marriage of the Duke's daughter, Princess Mary, a Protestant, with the Prince of Orange, who was revered in England and respected throughout Europe, hoping by so tempting an offer to engage the Prince entirely in his interests. A peace he proposed at the same time to bring about such as would satisfy France.

At the end of the autumn campaign the Prince came to England, and a fortnight later, on the 23rd October, the marriage was solemnised, to the great surprise of Louis XIV., who found so important a step taken not only without his consent but without his knowledge. Both at home and abroad vigorous action was now expected to be taken against the French, but this was no part of Charles' plan, and by way of atonement to Louis he prorogued Parliament until the following April, by which time it would be too late to vote supplies and prepare for war for that year. For this act of complacency he received from Louis the sum of 2,000,000 livres.

Charles now consulted as to the conditions of peace it would be proper to impose upon France, but owing to his alternate vigour and indecision, the French could not be brought to terms, and, finding nothing was likely to be decided, Charles summoned Parliament at the end of

1678. January, and announced to them that a satisfactory peace could no longer be expected to result from negotiation, and that he was resolved to resort to force of arms. The Commons, however, were very suspicious of the King's motives, and raised great difficulties in regard to the army, suspecting it to be intended more against the liberties of England than against the progress of the French, but they eventually voted a fleet of ninety sail, thirty thousand men, and a million of money.

Immediately after Parliament had voted the supply the King began to enlist forces, and such was the ardour of the English for a war with France, that, to the astonishment of Europe, an army of 20,000 men was raised within a few weeks.

His. Gren.  
Gds.

One of the first steps taken by Charles was to order the recall of the British troops in the service of Louis,\* and (according to Sir W. Hamilton) also the regiment in Virginia. This, however, is doubtful, the return of the greater portion of the regiment being in all probability due to the instructions in the King's letter of the 13th May already quoted; for on the 30th December a letter was written by one Ed. Rous (probably 2nd Lieut. Edw. Rouse, of the King's Own Regt., serving with Col. Jeffreys' Company), addressed to Sr. Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, reporting that 400 soldiers would sail about ten days later, under his command, for London, on board the ship Unity. He further acquaints him that "a vacancy has fallen in my Lord Mograves (sic) Regiment of a Captaine, by the death of the worthy Capt. John Meoles heare," and begs that Williamson will secure the commission for him. His request does not appear to have been acceded to, as Meoles' company in the Holland Regiment remained without a captain until 1st June, when Captain Wm. Lashley (or Lesley)† was appointed to succeed him, his

S. P. Col.,  
Am. & W.I.,  
41., f. 139.

\* It was one thing to recall these troops, but another to get them back. Monmouth's Regiment did not land in England until July and September, and Dumbarton's (now the 1st Royal Scots) until August and September. Mis. Ent. Bk. No. 5.

† In all probability the Lieutenant William Lesley who served in Lord Mulgrave's old regiment, raised in 1673, incorporated into the Holland Regiment, and disbanded in 1674.

commission being subsequently antedated at the request of 1678.  
Lord Mulgrave to 1st March.

On the 10th January warrants were issued raising the S. P. Dom.,  
establishment of the Guards, Coldstreams, Duke's and Ca. II.,  
Holland Regiments, and also of 14 non-regimented com- Bundle 400.  
panies to 100 men per company.

On the 14th January, arms were ordered to be issued for S. P. Dom.,  
"500 soldiers to complete 10 Cos of the Holland Regt Ent. Bk. 44,  
under the E. of Mulgrave Colonell, the other company of P 54, 55.  
that regiment being to be recruited and armed, with Jersey  
Island."

Musketts	Pikes	Bandoliers	Halberts	Drums
334	166	334	10	10

A warrant was issued on the same day for "additional S. P. Dom.,  
companies to the Coldstreame Regt, the Duke of Yorke's Ca. II.,  
and Earle of Moulgraves Regt". . . "soe that each of Bundle 400.  
those regiments may consist of two thousand private  
soldiers, besides officers, that is to say, of 20 companies,  
each company consisting of one Captaine, one lieutenant,  
one Ensign, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, 2 drummers, and 100  
private soldiers. And for that in Our Generall Establish-  
ment of Our Guards, Garrisons and Land Forces comencing  
the 7th of March 1673/4, Our said Holland Regiment  
stands established at twelve companies, consisting of Fifety  
in each, besides Officers; Eleaven of which companies  
(being the present number of companies in that Regiment)  
Wee have lately (by Our additional establishment dated the  
tenth instant) made to consist of one hundred soldiers in  
each besides officers; soe that there remains to be added to  
the twelveth Company (established by Our Generall Estab-  
lishment aforesaid) 1 Sergt, 1 Dr & fifety soldiers to make  
that company equall in numbers to the other eleaven  
companies of that Regiment. . . .

"14th Janry 1677/8."

This order entailed raising nine additional companies for  
the Holland Regiment.

The officers appointed to these companies and the dates  
of their commissions were as under:—

1678.	<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>	<i>Date.</i>
	Philip Kirke	John Martin	Fras. Richardson	8th Jan.
S. P. Dom.,	John Richardson	Wm. Morgan	Fras. Nicholson	9th "
Ca. II.,	Trevor Wheeler	Allen Jackson	Robt. Deane	10th "
Ent. Bk.,	Chas. Manning*	Hy. Fielding	Tho. Gough	11th "
No. 44.	Gilbert Cornwall	Tho Hill	Edm. Doughty	12th "
	Fras. Collingwood	— Collingwood	Tho. King	13th "
	Ralph De La Val*	Walter Barnett	Arth. Hebborn	14th "
	Chas. Hildyard*	Hy. Holt*	Hy. Cole	15th "
	Edw. Fitz-patrick*	Peter Bristow	Hy. Roules	16th "

Mis. O. Bk.,  
No. 4, p. 25.

Ibid, p. 77.

Ibid, p. 29.

The nine companies for the Holland Regiment were directed to march and rendezvous at Ipswich as soon as they were raised, which appears to have been effected by the 15th February, on which date a warrant was issued authorising the impressment of carriages, to transport the arms (9 partisans, 27 halberts, 18 drums, 618 muskets, 309 pikes, and 618 collers (sic) of bandoleers) for the said companies, from the Tower to Ipswich.

These new raised companies were formed into second battalions of the regiments to which they respectively belonged, but, with the exception of an adjutant,† no field or staff officers appear to have been appointed to them. In the case of the second battalion of the Holland Regiment, however, Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Middleton, the lieutenant-colonel of the old battalion, was in command when they were in garrison at Bruges.

In February seven new regiments of horse‡ and fourteen regiments of foot,§ of ten companies each, were raised, and in addition a second battalion of 9 companies to the Duke

\* In a list of Captains of the Earl of Moulgrave's Regiment, 16th Jan. (S.P.D., Bundle 400), these names are spelt Mannaring, de la Valle, Hilliard and Fitz-Patrick.

† Lieut. Henry Holt was appointed 2nd Adjutant to the Holland Regiment on 1st March. (Dom. Entry Bk. 44.)

‡ The Queen's, His Royal Highness's the Duke of Monmouth's, and Lord Gerard's regiments of Horse. The King's Own, Prince Rupert's and Sir John Talbot's regiments of Dragoons, all subsequently disbanded.

§ Col. Villiers', Sir C. Wheeler's, Lord Allington's, Col. Geo. Legg's, Sir J. Fenwick's, Lord James Douglas's, Sir L. Walden's, Lord Morpeth's, Lord O'Brien's, Col. Henry Sidney's (late Captain in the Holland Regiment), Sir Hy. Goodrick's, Sir T. Slingsby's, and Col. Stradling's regiments of foot, all subsequently disbanded.



of Monmouth's Regiment,\* and an Irish regiment,† of 1678.  
twenty-one companies.

The French, meanwhile, had lost no time, and, taking the field very early in the year, after threatening Luxemburg, Mons and Namur, suddenly laid siege to Ghent and Ypres, Ghent falling on the 9th March, and Ypres on the 3rd April.

The activity and success of the French hastened the warlike preparations in England. A fleet was fitted out with great diligence, and at the end of February 3,000 men were ordered to embark under the command of the Duke of Monmouth, to secure Ostend.

The first instalment of these consisted of eight companies of the King's Own Regiment of Foot Guards, under Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Howard of Escrick, who was appointed brigadier, and four companies each of the Coldstreams, the Duke of York's, and Holland Regiments. The detachments of the three latter regiments were shortly increased to eight companies each, that of the Holland Regiment being furnished entirely by the new raised battalion.‡

The French army, continuing to advance, Lord Howard, fearing for the safety of Bruges, hurried the detachments of the Coldstreams, the Duke of York's, and Holland Regiments on to that city.

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\* Withdrawn from the French service.

† Colonel Thomas Dongan's Regt.

‡ Mis. O. Bk.No. 4, p. 108. The four eldest of the 9 Cos. of our Holland Regt. now at Ipswich to march to Harwich on the 9th and quarter there that night, and until they shall be shipped for Ostend. 2nd March, 1677-8.

Mis. O. Bk. No. 4 p. 110. After shipping 4 Cos. from Harwich, 4 other Cos. to march thither and shipp for Ostend. 4th March, 77-8.

Mis. O. Bk. No. 4, p. 111. The youngest co. of the Holland Regt. to march in one day to Harwich from Ipswich as soon as the 4 other cos. shall have been shipped off, and quarter there. 4th March, 77-8.

As a matter of fact, the 4 first companies arrived at Harwich and embarked on the 13th March, Lord Mulgrave superintending the embarkation and returning to London. (Taylor to Williamson, 14/377-8, S.P.D., Ca. II., Bundle 402).

Richardson's, de la Val's, Hillyard's, and Cornwall's embarked on the 7th and sailed on the 10th April. (Ibid., 9th and 11th Apl., S.P.D. Ca. II., Bundle 403.)

1678

The movements of the companies of the old battalion are somewhat difficult to trace, but the following table, compiled from Miscellany Entry Book No. 4, shows their various moves between January and the end of July.

TABLE SHOWING MOVES OF THE VARIOUS COMPANIES OF THE  
HOLLAND REGIMENT BETWEEN JANUARY AND THE END  
OF JULY, 1678.

<i>Company.</i>	<i>Movements.</i>	<i>Mis. E. Bk. No. 4.</i>
The Colonel's	remained at Berwick	
Sir T. Woodcock's	remained at Gravesend	
Sir H. Lunsford's	remained in Jersey	
Sir J. Berry's	ordered from Plymouth to Southampton 26th Feb.	p. 96
	Southampton to Portsmouth and remain there, 17th July.	p. 387
Lt.-Col. E. of Middleton's and Capt. Sterling's	on relief at Berwick, to prepare to embark at Holy Island for Ostend. Order dated 18th March. This move did not take place until 25th July.	p. 143 p. 166 p. 392
Major Sir T. Ogle's, Capt. Hy. Cornwall's and Capt. Lesley's (late) Capt. Meoles'	To march on 6th March from Hull to Harwich. Order dated 26th Feb. Ordered to Embark at Harwich for Ostend 23rd July. (*)	p. 94 p. 392

\* Embarked and sailed in English Ruby and Asia for Ostend, 25th July, but were not out of sight of Harwich until noon 28th. (Taylor to Williamson, 27th and 30th July. S.P.D. Ca. II., Bundle 405.)

1678

<i>Company.</i>	<i>Movements.</i>	<i>Mis. E. Bk. No. 4.</i>
Capt. Hy. Boade's	Plymouth to Southampton, order dated 26th Feb. Southampton to Gosport and embark for Ostend. Order dated 18th March.	p. 96  p. 142
Capt. Rowland Morgan's	Plymouth to Jersey. Order dated 29th Jan. Jersey to Ostend on relief, order dated 22nd April. Embarked at Portsmouth for Bruges 24th July, on board the Stavarin.	p. 13 p. 233  p. 392
New raised Grenadier Company	Embarked Gravesend for Bruges 18th July.	p. 392

On the 23rd March some 370 officers and men belonging to the five companies of the Virginia Regiment arrived in the Thames, and were landed at Gravesend. Those belonging to the King's Own Regiment of Guards and to the Coldstreams marched to London, and the 66 men of the late Captain Meoles' company were ordered, on the 13th May, to Flanders to recruit the companies of the Holland Regiment. Mis. O. Bk. No. 4, p. 176-177. Ibid, p. 212.

Twenty-four more men from the same company arrived from Virginia on board the *Willing Mind*, in June, and were ordered to quarter at Northfleet.\* Ibid, p. 317.

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\* From various warrants (Mis. O. Bk. No. 5, p. 117, H.O. Dom. E. Bk., Vol. xli., p. 170) it is clear that 20 men from each of the five companies were left in Virginia and incorporated into a company under Lieutenant Morice, in accordance with the instructions in the King's letter already quoted. What became of the remainder does not transpire, but a number doubtless took their discharge and remained in the colony.

1678. In April a new arm was introduced into the service in the shape of grenadiers. In the previous year two men per company of the two regiments of Guards quartered in London had been experimentally trained in the use of hand grenades, and on the 28th March, 1678, warrants were issued directing the raising of eight companies of grenadiers, consisting each of 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, and 100 men, and which were to be attached, one to each of the eight senior regiments already raised, and then raising.\*

Each man carried a fusil or flint lock musket with a sling, a bayonet, a hatchet and girdle, a cartridge box and girdle, and a pouch containing three hand grenades, weighing each from three to four pounds. The sergeants had halberts and the lieutenants partisans or short pikes. The officers also carried a fusil.

The dress of the grenadiers was different to that of the rest of the rank and file, and was, to say the least, somewhat grotesque, judging from the rather uncomplimentary description given of it by Evelyn.

Evelyn's  
Diary, 29th  
June, 1678.

Returned . . . . by Hounslow Heath, where we saw the new raised army encamp'd, designed against France, in pretence at least, but which gave umbrage to the Parliament. His Maty and a world of company were in the field, and the whole army† in battalia, a very glorious sight. Now were brought into service a new sort of soldiers call'd Granadiers, who were dextrous in flinging hand grenados, every one having a pouch full; they had furr'd caps with coped crownes like Janizaries, which made them looke very fierce, and some had long hoods hanging down behind, as we picture fools. Their clothing being likewise pybald, yellow and red.

Hist.  
Colds. Gds.  
Wolseley's  
Life of Marl-  
borough.

They also wore "crevatts of ffox tayles at 3/6 a piece."‡

\* King's Regt. of Foot Guards, the Coldstream, D. of York's, Holland, Duchess of York's, D. of Monmouth's, Sir Charles Littleton's, and Sir Charles Wheeler's regiments.

† Six regiments of horse and seven of foot.

‡ Warrants for payment to Monsr. St. Giles, of "Sixteene Pounds, thirteene shillings, the same being due to him for furnishing the Granadeeres of his

The peculiarity of their dress continued far down into the 18th century even after the use of hand grenades had been discontinued and is referred to in the following verse of the well-known song "The British Grenadiers." 1678.

Then let us crown a bumper  
And drink a health to those  
Who carry caps and pouches  
And who wear the looped clothes.  
We give it from our hearts my boys  
Etc., etc.

A warrant was issued on the 13th April, to a certain Captaine — Jones, to raise the company of "granadiers," which was to be added to the Holland Regiment, and £100 levy money on account of the same, was granted to the Earl of Mulgrave, provided the company were raised within six weeks of the receipt of the money. *Mis. O. Bk. No. 4, p. 211. Ibid, p 213.*

Captain Jones does not appear either previously or subsequently to have belonged to the Holland Regiment, and may possibly have acted merely as a recruiting agent, as Ensign John Bristow, who had been appointed Ensign to Captain Boade on the 28th February, was commissioned on the 30th March, as "Captain of Granadiers in Our Holland Regiment, to be forthwith raised for Our service." Captain Boade's company was at this time already serving in Flanders, and a locum tenens was probably required pending Captain Bristow's return. On the 18th July "Captaine Bristoes (sic) compy of Granadiers was ordered to shipp at Gravesend for Bruges on the 23rd July." *D. E. Bk. No. 44. Mis. O. Bk. No. 4, p. 392*

The raising of so many new forces in the Kingdom seems to have again given rise to questions of seniority and precedence, for on the 28th July it was ordered that: "Regimented Companies in Garrisons shall draw up on the right and take precedence of Unregimented Companies, except of the Governors Company,\* which is to take precedence *Ibid, p. 430.*

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Maty Owne Regimt of Guards with seaventy crevatts of ffox Tayles at three shillings and six Pence apeece, and with Ribbon for them." 8th Nov., '78. *Mis. O. Bk. No. 5.*

\* There were as a rule in each garrison one or more garrison, or unregimented companies, of one of which the Governor was captain.

1678. of all except the Guards, companies of different regiments to take precedence according to that of their respective regiments."

We must now revert to affairs on the continent. The Duke of Monmouth, who had been appointed to command the expeditionary force, proceeded to Ostend in March, and personally superintended the quartering of the English troops as they arrived, after which he returned to England.

On the 3rd April an offensive and defensive treaty was agreed upon, by which it was stipulated that in the case of Holland being attacked, England was to furnish the States General with 10,000 foot soldiers, and if on the other hand England were attacked Holland was to place 6,000 men and 20 men-of-war at her disposal. In addition six British regiments were to be placed on the establishment of the Dutch army, the command of the same being given to the Earl of Ossory, son of the Duke of Ormonde. It was, however, stipulated that the King should have the right to recall these troops at any time he might stand in need of their services.\*

In connection with this treaty, Colonel John Churchill (afterwards Duke of Marlborough) was sent in April to Holland to settle the strength of the land and sea forces to be maintained against France by each allied power. Soon after his arrival he was directed to concert with the Prince of Orange as to the safety of the four English battalions which had been pushed forward to Bruges. Having fulfilled his mission, he returned to England in May.

Mis. O. Bk.  
No. 4, p. 243.

On the 24th of April Colonel Sir Charles Littleton, of the Duke of York's Regiment, was appointed brigadier, and ordered to assume command of the English forces in Bruges, who had so far been commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel the Earl of Middleton, of the Holland Regiment.

Sir Charles wrote in May, shortly after assuming command, describing the situation, as follows :—

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\* This was done at the time of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, and it saw also these regiments which accompanied William of Orange to England in 1688.

I have bine about 10 days landed in this countrey and here the next day after, where wee have allarums all day long wth ye French troopes that appeare in sight of ye towne, the French King lying wth a mighty army, they say 60,000, and I beleeeve it little lesse, wthin 6 or 7 leagues betweene this and Gaunt. Our feare of thayr coming hither is a little of for ye present; not that we know any other design they are going upon, but wee imagine, till it be resolved at London if we shall have peace or warr, they will act nothing especially agst this place, where the King of England's forces lye. Wee are at present 28 companies, and expect 3,000 more this weeke, and there is 12 companies of the Guards at Ostend under my Lord Howards command. The forces heere are under mine, and I beleeeve will continue so while they stay heere, because I am ye eldest collonel, and a genll officer cant come heere to be commanded by ye Governor, whom no coll: of ye Spanish force will receive orders from. My Lord, wee are in a mighty mist wht our businesse is heere; this place is not to be defended nor worth it, and wee have possitive orders, upon no pretence or order of ye Governor (whom I am to abey in all things els), not to draw out any of the forcs to any other place which he has pressed me so hard to doe, that, to sattisfie him, I have bine forced to write to ye King expressly about it. Dam is a very strong fort about a mile hence, and, as it were, ye cittadell to this place, where they have but few men and they would fain had mee sent some, but I could not without orders.

1678.

Hatton  
Corresp.,  
Vol. 1, p. 161

It must be remembered that so far no war had been declared between England and France.

In May additional troops were despatched from England to Flanders, but little was done on the continent, for the French, having made certain overtures to the Dutch, were holding their hand. Charles II., led to believe that the Dutch would accept Louis XIV.'s terms, was preparing for peace, and entered into a secret and disgraceful treaty with Louis on the 27th May, by which he was to receive large sums of money on consenting to a peace advantageous to the French.

Parliament, also anticipating an early cessation of hostilities, readily voted £200,000 for paying off the new raised forces, and on 16th June they were ordered to be disbanded, but the Dutch rejected the French overtures, and the troops

1678. which were about to be dispersed were on the 20th again placed under orders for the continent, and assembled at Hounslow.

At the end of July the Duke of Monmouth returned to Flanders. By this time there were 14 battalions of English troops in the country, besides those in the Dutch pay. Monmouth's intention was to join the Prince of Orange with a division, consisting of eight battalions, leaving six more to garrison Ostend, Bruges, and Nieupoort.

Extract from Journal of the Duke of Monmouth's proceedings :—

S. P. Dom.  
Ent. Bk.,  
No. 52.

. . . The next day being the last day of July his Grace went for Bruges, there mett him from the Towne a convoy of 200 men in several parties, of his owne men and a Troop of Horse from the Towne, the Governor and the Vicomte de Sibourg mett him at his landing with several coaches in which his Grace went to see the regiments drawne up without the Grand porte. Att his returne from thence his Grace ordered what Battalions should march. Vizt one of the Dukes, one of the Earle of Mulgraves, the Lord Allingtons, & Coll Slingbyes & that the foure companies of the Coldstream Regiment att Bruges should join their other four companies coming from Ostend and forme one Battalion, the Lord Obrians Regt was ordered to Ostend & the other Battalion of the Earle of Mulgraves to Newport and there was to continue att Bruges a Battalion of the Dukes, the Lord Morpeth's Regt & Sr Henry Goodricks.

From the above, and from an undated order issued between the 8/18 and 11/21 August, the distribution of the English troops in the Low Countries at this time was intended to be as follows :—

*To join the Prince of Orange with the Duke of Monmouth.*

King's Own Regt. of Foot Guards (2 battns.)	via Brussels.
The Duke of York's Regt. (1 battn.)	via Louvain.
Lord Mulgrave's (the Holland) Regt. (1 battn.)	via Louvain.
Lord Allington's Regt.	via Malines.
Colonel Legg's Regt.	via Villevorde.
Colonel Sidney's Regt.	via Malines.
Colonel Slingsby's Regt.	via Malines.



*To remain in Garrison.*

1678.

Coldstream Regiment of Guards (1 battn.)	at Ostend.
The Duke of York's Regt. (1 battn.)	at Bruges.
Lord Mulgrave's (the Holland) Regt. (1 battn.)	at Nieuport.
Lord Morpeth's Regt.	at Bruges.
Lord O'Brien's	at Ostend.
Colonel Goodrick's	at Bruges.

From one or two unimportant orders issued at later dates it would appear that it was the new raised battalion of the Holland Regiment which was stationed at Nieuport.

During this time negotiations were still proceeding, and on the 1st August, the French, apprehending that Charles at last was in earnest, made an offer of more favourable terms. These were at once accepted by the Dutch ambassador, van Bevering, who was eager for peace, and mistrusted the intentions of the English King. A preliminary treaty was hastily drawn up and signed that night.

How far William was aware of the signing of the preliminary treaty is a disputed point, but he had no formal notification of the same, and now that he was supported by Monmouth's force, he was anxious to renew hostilities and drive the French out of the Low Countries. So on Sunday, 4/14th August, he attacked the French army, under Luxemburg, at St. Denis, near Mons. The French, aware of the phase negotiations had taken, looked on peace as practically proclaimed, and, not anticipating an attack, were surprised. After a severe fight they were driven back and compelled to retire from the vicinity of Mons. In this engagement, at which Monmouth was present, the English troops in the Dutch service, under the Earl of Ossory,\*

\* The Earl of Ossory's Brigade consisted of the following troops :—

*English*—Col. Wisely's Regt. (now 5th Northumberland Fusiliers).

Col. Bellasis' (now 6th Royal Warwickshire).

The E. of Ossory's.

*Scotch*—Sir A. Colyear's.

Maj.-Genl. Kirkpatrick.

Col. Hugh Mackay's.

The Brigade lost 21 officers killed and 38 wounded (7 mortally) at the battle of St. Denis.—*Lond. Gazette*, 15th Aug., 1678.

1678. very greatly distinguished themselves, and contributed in a great measure to the victory. \*

After this action a three days' truce was agreed upon, which was prolonged to five weeks.

Lond. Gaz. Monmouth's division meanwhile was advancing, and on the 11/21 August they were reviewed by the Prince of Orange two miles outside Brussels, after which they marched, *viâ* Hal and Braine-le-Comte, joining the Prince's army on the 13/23 of the month, after which they remained encamped in the neighbourhood of Genap until the 21st September.

Peace was now practically settled, but owing to disputes as to details, the formal ratification was not effected until the day before the expiration of the armistice. The peaceful result of the negotiations was proclaimed in the "London Gazette" of 30th September.

Wolseley's  
Life of the  
Duke of  
Marlborough. In anticipation of the resumption of hostilities, more infantry had been sent over from England, the horse being kept in readiness to embark. Colonel John Churchill and Sir John Fenwick were also appointed to act as brigadiers, the former being directed on the 3rd September "forthwith to repair to the Army in Flanders, to command there as eldest Brigadier of Foot, and your Brigade is to consist of the two battalions of Guards, one Battalion of the Holland Regt., and the Regiments of Her Royal Highnesse,\* and Colonel Legg."

Lond. Gaz. The troops were at this time suffering severely from sickness, to such an extent, indeed, that the battalion were already much weakened. Lord Howard fell a victim to the prevailing malady, and died on the 27th August—6th September. He was succeeded in the command of the English troops by the Earl of Feversham, who, however, in company with the Earl of Middleton and others, started for England on the 28th September.

Ibid. Meanwhile, on the 21st, the troops struck camp and marched to Gemblours and Boneffe Abbey, and on the 28th they were put into garrison at Liere, Malines, and Louvain. Shortly afterwards, the new raised troops were directed to be brought home and disbanded.

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\* The Duchess of York's Regt.

There is no record of when the second battalion of the Holland Regiment, quartered at Nieuport, returned to England, but it must in all probability have done so during the latter half of December, for an undated order, issued with a number of other disembarkation orders bearing date the 14th of that month, directs "the officer in chief, commanding a Battalion of the Holland Regiment to disembark att Harwick and march to the town of Ipswich." The battalion appears to have been disbanded forthwith, for the commissions of Captains Collingwood and Fitzpatrick, who were re-appointed to the old battalion as Ensigns, bear date 1st January, 1678/9. 1678.

The troops in garrison in Brabant remained in the country, however, some time longer, being ordered on the 23rd December to march to Bruges, where, with the three battalions then quartered there, they were to remain until shipping should be provided for them.\* The details given in the "London Gazettes" are extremely meagre, but it would appear that the move to Bruges did not take place until the end of January, the troops eventually embarking for England at Vliessingen (Flushing) about the 24th February, and landing, some at Yarmouth, and some at Portsmouth, about the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th March. S. P. Dom.,  
Ent. Bk. 52.  
p. 170.  
London  
Gazettes.

Meanwhile those of all ranks, who could manage it, appear to have slipped off home, causing a state of affairs which called forth the following circular letter which was addressed to no less than twelve commanding officers:—

#### JAMES. DUKE & CA

Whereas I am informed that severall Field Officers, Capts, Lieuts, Ensignes and souldiers belonging to the Battalions in Flanders are now absent from their respective Commands and employments without my leave, whereby the companies are neglected and His Matie disserved These are to Com- S. P. Dom.,  
Ent. Bk. 52,  
p. 64.

\* "Whitehall, 23 Dec.

" . . . The two Battalions of the Guards, the Battalion of the Duke's, and the Battalion of ye Holland Regt. now in Brabant to march from thence to Bruges as soon as they have received their mony of Mr. Lunn, to continue there together with the other three battalions att present quartered there till shipping bee provided. . . ."

1678.

mand you to order all officers of what quality soever and souldiers belonging to the Battalions of your Regt now in Flanders forthwith to return to their respective Commands and Posts excepting such onely as are detained by reall sickness or have my leave to bee absent under my hand (who likewise are to return at the expiration of their Passes) and hereof they are not to fail.

Given under my hand att Whitehall this 5th day of December 1678.

To the Earle of Mulgrave.

. . . . .

During the year 1678 anti-popish feeling ran very high, and whatever the personal predilections of the King may have been, he was compelled to issue stringent and repeated orders for the repression of roman catholics. All officers known to be papists were dismissed from their employments, frequent edicts were fulminated against "popish recusants," and large rewards were offered for the discovery of any who, under the guise of protestants, might be found retaining their appointments whilst practising the rites of their creed. In the latter part of the year, it was expressly stated in all letters recommending officers for employment that they were protestants.\*

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\* See letters asking for Commissions in the Holland Regiment for Capt. Fitzpatrick, Lieuts. Marman and Jones, Ens. Boles, and Qmr. Butler. (S.P. Dom., Ca. II., Bundles 408 and 411).

1679.

## CHAPTER VII.

1679-1680.

On the raising of the additional forces in 1678, a large number of appointments in connection with the same were given to officers already serving in the army, and now the establishments were reduced again, these officers found themselves about to be turned adrift, while their juniors, who had succeeded them in their old appointments, would be retained in the service. This was felt to be an injustice, and a warrant was issued on 31st May directing that "the said officers bee forthwith restored to the same commands & in the same Troopes or Companies which they voluntarily left upon their taking any other commission in the new raised forces and that those persons who are now in their places bee put out to make room for them and where it shall happen that a Lieut of any company of the old forces quitted his employment for a command in the new forces & thereby the Ensigne of that company became lieutenant of the same, the said officer shall come into his own place as is above directed and hee that is now lieut shall be dismiss his employment, till wee shall have a further occasion to make use of his service." . . .

S. P. Dom.,  
Ca. II., Ent.  
Bk. p. 21, 58.

Another warrant was issued on the same date giving to the senior captains of the new raised companies the companies in the old battalion, the command of which had fallen vacant since the raising of the second battalion.

Whereas the Companies of Our Old Forces in the Cold- streame and Holland Regiment that have become void by the death of their Captaines since the raising Our new Forces of right oft (sic) and should have been disposed to the eldest Captaine of the additionall Companies to the said regiments, but by reason of the absence of the said Captaines who were then employed in Our service in Flanders the said vacancies were supplyd by other officers

Ibid, p. 22.

1679.

whom Wee made choice of att that time And the said new Company being now disbanded to the end that the officers that were att the head of them may not be prejudiced by their being abroad in discharge of their duty & loose their right of precedency by seniority Wee have thought fitt to signify to you and Our Will and Pleasure is that the Companies that have happened to bee void since the raising of the new Forces shall bee disposed of to the eldest captaines of the additionall companies of each Regiment and accordingly you are to displace such officers as are now at the head of those Companies to make room for those officers to whom the said Companies doe in justice belong and to whom we have granted Our commissions for the same. And for soe doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall this 31st day of May  
1679.

By his Majtys command

To our dear and Entirely beloved son  
James Duke of Monmouth.

As far as it is possible to trace, the officers of the regiment affected by these orders were :—

Captain John Bristow, of the Grenadier company, who reverted to lieutenant, being displaced by Captain Kirke.

Captain Lashley (or Lesley), the officer who on 1st June, 1678, was appointed to the company vacant by the death of Captain Meoles in 1677.

Whether Captain Lashley had died or was displaced is not clear, but Captain J. Richardson was appointed on 1st June, 1679, to the "company late — Meolish" (sic).

Ensign Fras. Rogers dispossessed by "Captain" John Parker, who was ordered "to be admitted to his former employment of Ensign to Captaine Morgans Company in place of Mr. Francis Rogers."

Captain Parker was probably the officer of that name who had one of the new raised companies in the Duke of York's Regiment.\* (Rogers was re-appointed Ensign 1st September, 1679.)

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\* The following officers who were originally appointed to the second battalion were subsequently reappointed to the old battalion as follows :—

Before the outbreak of the war, the established strength of the regiment was, as we have seen, 12 companies, but only 11 had been maintained (vide Chapter VI). On the reduction, however, the regiment was kept at the full strength of 12 companies. Whether the additional company was transferred from the new raised battalion, or whether the grenadier company was retained and converted into an ordinary company, does not transpire. In any case the grenadier company, *as such*, ceased to exist, and the regiment was without one until 1685. 1679.

The establishment of the regiment was now fixed at :—

Staff : 1 Colonel, 1 Lt-Col., 1 Major, 1 Chirurgeon & 1 Harl. MSS. mate, 1 Adj't, 1 Qmr and Marshall, 12 Companies, of 16425.  
Captain, 1 Lieut, 1 Ensign, 2 sergeants, 3 corporals, 1 drummer & 50 privates.

The rising of the Covenanters in Scotland at the end of May caused a temporary cessation in the disbanding of the supernumeraries of the old forces, but the rebellion was quickly crushed by a force hurried northwards, under the Duke of Monmouth, who attacked and completely routed the insurgents at Bothwell Bridge on the 22nd June.

Meanwhile orders were issued on the 6th June for the Lieutenant-Colonel's and Captain Starling's companies of the Holland Regiment, having disbanded their additional men, to march forthwith from Dartford to Berwick. S. P. D., Ent. Bk. 51, p. 27.

The whole regiment was ordered to take up quarters as under :—

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Captain Kirke, reappointed Captain, date uncertain.  
Captain Richardson, reappointed Captain, 1-6-79.  
Captain Manning, reappointed Captain, 16-3-80.  
Captain Collingwood, reappointed Ensign, 1-1-79.  
Captain Fitz Patrick, reappointed Ensign, 1-1-79.  
Lieut. Fielding, reappointed Lieut., 27-12-80.  
Lieut. Holt, reappointed Lieut., 31-5-80.  
Lieut. Martin, reappointed Lieut.  
Ensign King, reappointed Ensign, 1-9-79.

1679.	The Colonel's Company to march from York to Hull.		
	The Lieut.-Col.'s	„	Dartford to Berwick.
Ibid.	Major Sir Thos. Ogle's	„	Dartford to Portsmouth.
	Captain Starling's	„	Dartford to Berwick.
	Sir Herbert Lunsford's remained at Jersey.		
	Sir Thos. Woodcock's	„	Tilbury and Gravesend.
	Sir John Berry's to march from Portsmouth to Plymouth*		
	Captain Morgan's	„	Dartford to Plymouth.
	Captain Cornwall's	„	Woodbridge to Portsmouth.
	Captain Boad's	„	Woodbridge to Plymouth.
	Captain Richardson's	„	Woodbridge to Hull.
	Captain Kirk's	„	? to Isle of Wight.

From the above orders it is evident that the companies which had been serving abroad had been landed partly in the Thames and partly at Harwich.

Mis. O. Bk.,  
No. 5, p. 203. On the 9th July, the sergeant, drummer, and 50 men to be disbanded from the company at Jersey were ordered to be sent to England.

The frequent raising and disbanding of troops at this period had, as may well be supposed, a very evil effect on the classes from which they were drawn, and the country was constantly over-run with unemployed rowdies, ready for any mischief, numbers of whom took to the high roads, and it is noteworthy that the orders for disbanding are almost invariably accompanied or followed by orders for troops of the Life Guards and Horse to patrol the roads, for the protection of the inhabitants.

As has already been seen, the Earl of Mulgrave was at this period in high favour at Court, where he held the appointment of one of the Lords of the King's Bedchamber. On the 1st December he was in addition appointed "Governor and Captain of Our Towne of Kingston upon Hull," and of the forts and blockhouses and fortifications belonging to the same, and "alsoe Capt of 20 sufficient men as souldiers to be from time to time placed and remaining

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\* This move does not appear to have been carried out, for on 4th March, 1680, Berry's company was ordered to march from Portsmouth to Hull and it was still at Portsmouth in Dec., 1683.



there. Allowance of 10/- a day for himself, & 8d. per day for each soldier, to be paid out of the Customs collected at the post of Kingston upon Hull. . . . to commence from the Feast of the birth of Our Lord Christ next." 1679.

On the same date he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire, and, on the 31st of the month, Captain of an Independent Company in Hull. Ibid, p. 32. Ibid, p. 45.

These appointments had all three been previously held by the Duke of Monmouth, who had been deprived of all his offices.\*

The regimental establishment for the year 1680 was fixed at 40 officers, 24 sergeants, 36 corporals, 12 drummers, and 600 private soldiers, at a total estimated cost for pay of £12,820 12s. 6d. The rates of pay were the same for all ranks, as laid down in 1665 (vide Chapter I.), but there was no provision for a chaplain. 1680. Harl. MSS. 6425.

The method of paying troops according to the numbers accounted for at the musters was open to very grave abuses, Mis. O. Bk., No. 5, p. 293

\* Monmouth was the reputed natural son of the King by Lucy Waters, and was born about ten years before the restoration, but it was alleged by many that he was really the son of Col. Robt. Sidney. (See note in Chap. I.) A favourite with the King, he had held many important posts. His personal qualities, and the fact of his being a Protestant, had made him extremely popular with the people, and, as the King had no legitimate son, great hopes were entertained that Charles might be induced to legitimize him by a declaration of his marriage with Lucy Waters, thus excluding the hated Romish Duke of York from the succession to the throne. The new parliament of 1679, being more anti-popish than ever, the King, in order to safeguard his brother's interests, made a solemn declaration in council of Monmouth's illegitimacy, and denied all promise of marriage with his mother. On the strength of this the Duke of York consented to withdraw to the continent for a time and retired to Brussels. Monmouth availed himself of his absence to push his pretensions, and on the King's recovery from a serious illness during the summer of 1679, the Duke of York, who had been allowed to return temporarily, stipulated before going back to Brussels, that Monmouth also should be removed from favour, and ordered to leave the country. In consequence of this, the latter in September repaired to Utrecht. James, however, having obtained permission to reside at Edinburgh instead of Brussels, Monmouth on the 27th November returned to England and was received with every sign of delight. The King appeared to be greatly incensed, deprived him of all his offices, and ordered him to leave the kingdom at once. This he refused to do, but the only notice taken of his disobedience was that he was forbidden to appear at Court.

1680. and on 23rd February stringent "Regulations of the Musters" were promulgated, from which the subjoined interesting extracts are taken:—

- No. 1. That none shall be mustered whose armes are not well fixed, and who are not completely armed, vizt each Horseman to have for his defensive armes, a sword and a case of pistols, the barrells whereof not to be under fourteen inches in length, and each Trooper of Our Guards to have a Carbine, besides other armes. And the foot each soldier to have a sword and a collar of Bandileers for their Musquetts, and each Pikeman to have a Pike sixteene foot long and not under. And if any borrow Armes of any other to passe muster, the lender (if a soldier) shall forfeit the Vallue of his armes and the Borrower shall be cashiered, and if any soldier break, pawn or sell his armes, he shall be punished, and soe much of his pay as will buy armes of the like value.
- No. 2. That none shall be allowed upon the musters, who by loss of limbs, or otherwayes is unable, or unfit for Our service, but by Order from Us.
- No. 3. . . . noe Officer or Soldier to be absent from their Troopes or Companies above two months in a yeare, except the officers be members of Parliament, and then to be allowed onely dureing the sitting of the Parliament. . . .
- No. 8. That whatsoever Lieutenant, Cornett or Ensigne shall discover and make proof that his Captain hath made false musters, the said Capt shall be cashiered, and the Lieutenant, Cornett or Ensigne discovering as aforesaid shall have the employment of his Capitaine, and whatever sergeant or corporall shall discover and make proof thereof, shall have Fifty Pounds payable by the Paymaster of Our Army at the first muster immediately following the discovery soe made. But if his accusation shall be found to be false and malicious in that case, he shall be immediately cashiered and suffer such severe punishment as shall be thought fitt.

Notice was directed to be given the night before of an intended muster, and any officer or soldier not duly

observing these instructions was ordered to be cashiered ; 1680.  
and moreover, that they might pretend no ignorance thereof,  
they were to be read at the head of each troop, regiment or  
company, before the muster.

On the 13th January an order was issued for an issue of  
fresh arms to six of the companies for the regiment to  
replace defective ones. It will be noticed from the  
accompanying return that five out of the six were practically  
completely re-armed.

Twelve pikes, 6 muskets to the Colonel's company, and <sup>Mis. O. Bk.,</sup>  
18 pikes, 35 muskets, one partisan, two halberts, and one <sup>No. 5, p. 266</sup>  
drum each to the companies commanded by Lieutenant-  
Colonel the Earl of Middleton, and Captains Starling,  
Morgan, Richardson, and Sir John Berry.

On 7th January Captain Boade's Company, at Plymouth, <sup>Ibid, p. 298.</sup>  
was ordered to Jersey to relieve Captain Fitzpatrick's, and <sup>Ibid, p. 303.</sup>  
on the 28th February Sir Thos. Woodcock's company was  
ordered, on relief by a company of the Guards, to march  
from Tilbury and Gravesend to Portsmouth, and on the  
4th March Sir John Berry's company was ordered from  
Portsmouth to Hull. Whether the latter order was carried  
out is doubtful, for Berry's company was at Portsmouth in  
December, 1683 (vide *Marching Order Book*, Vol. I.).

Part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, on her  
marriage with Charles II. in 1662, was the town of Tangier,  
a seaport on the north coast of Morocco, at the entrance of  
the Straits of Gibraltar. Taken by the Portuguese in the  
fifteenth century, its possession had been disputed by the  
Moors ever since, and the marriage of the Infanta afforded  
the Portuguese a favourable opportunity, of which they  
gladly availed themselves, of handing over a troublesome  
appanage to an ally.

The presence of the English, however, was not more  
pleasing to the Moors than that of the Portuguese, and in  
1662 and 1663 there was some sharp fighting, in which the  
Moors were severely handled, and in consequence the  
garrison was, except at rare intervals, left unmolested for  
some 15 years. However, encouraged by the partial  
success of some of their desultory raids, the Moors deter-

1680. mined on operations on a grander scale, and in April, 1679, under Omar Ben Haddn, they appeared in force before the outlying forts.

Two of these, after nearly every one of their defenders had perished, fell into the hands of the enemy, but the extraordinary bravery displayed by their garrisons caused the Moors to enter into a truce and to draw off for a while.

During the summer and autumn renewed attempts were made on the forts, but, warned by past experience, the Moors could not be got to close quarters, and Omar, finding his attempts fail, determined, at the commencement of November, to lay regular siege to each fort separately.

The garrison, which at this time consisted of some 3,000 men, under Sir Palmes Fairborne, was now reinforced by a Naval Brigade from the fleet, 350 strong, but, nevertheless, several of the outlying forts and blockhouses were surrounded and cut off by the enemy, and had to be abandoned. Fortunately for the garrison, Omar, finding further advance fraught with serious difficulties, and anxious to make the most of his success, blew up the captured works, withdrew his troops, and proceeded to Fez to boast to the Sultan of his exploits. The latter, however, was better informed as to the real state of affairs than Omar gave him credit for, and the crestfallen general retired from Fez to arrange for a fresh attack.

On the 25th March he re-appeared before Tangier, at the head of 7,000 men, and renewed the seige. Matters were now critical for the weak garrison, and reinforcements from home were urgently requisitioned.

Four companies of the Earl of Dumbarton's Regiment\* had been sent to Tangier from Ireland early in the year, and on the receipt of the news of the desperate situation of the garrison it was decided to send reinforcements from England without delay.

The composition of the relief force was as follows:—Twelve more companies of Dumbarton's Regiment from Ireland, and an emergency regiment 600 strong in five companies, furnished from existing regiments. In addition

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\* Now the Royal Scots.

three additional troops were ordered to be raised for the 1680.  
Tangier Horse,\* and also a regiment of foot of sixteen  
companies under the Earl of Plymouth.† The command  
of the expedition was given to the Earl of Mulgrave.

The emergency regiment was constituted as under:—

From the Kings Own Regt. of Foot Guards	...	240 men	Mis. O. Bk.
„ „ Coldstream Regt.	...	120 „	No. 5, p. 348
„ „ Duke of York's Regt.	...	120 „	
„ „ Holland Regt.	...	120 „	

Each company of these regiments apparently contributed a draft of ten men, and each regiment furnished its quota of officers. Unfortunately, information regarding the details of the organisation of the corps is very meagre, and only the names of the officers appointed to command the companies have been recorded. They were as follows:—

Lieut.-Col. Edward Sackville (and to command the battalion)  
from the King's Own Regt. of Ft. Gds.  
Capt. George Bowes, King's Own Regt. of Ft. Gds.  
Lt.-Col. Thos. Talmash (Tollemache), Coldstream Regt.  
Capt. Fortrey, Duke of York's Regt.  
Capt. Philip Kirk (Kirke), Holland Regt.

There is no mention in the orders of the names of the Mis. O. Bk.,  
subalterns appointed, but extra lieutenants were directed to No. 5, p. 349  
be sent, so that there might be two lieutenants to each  
company. From other sources, however, we find that one  
of the lieutenants furnished by the Holland Regiment was  
Lieutenant (late Captain) FitzPatrick. Like Captain  
Meoles in the case of the Virginia Regiment, Captain Kirk  
retained his company in the Holland Regiment until he was  
transferred to a company in the Guards in January, 1683.

The regiment was ordered to rendezvous and embark at  
Portsmouth, any deficiencies being made good from the Mis. O. Bk.,  
companies at that station. No. 5, p. 348

A warrant issued on the 4th June directed:—"The

\* Now the 1st Royal Dragoons.

† Now the King's Own (Royal Lancaster) (4th) Regiment.

1680. Companies and commanded men for Tangier to serve in battalions; that the five comps now going out of this kingdom under the command of John Earl of Mulgrave shall have the first place as a battn of Guards; that the four comps of the Scotch regt with the four other comps from Ireland make one battn, and take the rank of the said Scotch regt, that is to say next after the battn of Guards; that when the rest of the Scotch regt arrive there (with the four Scotch and four Irish comps already mentd) make two battns and take rank after the batt of Guards; that the twelve comps of the Garrn regt\* and the four English comps sent thither last year make two battns, and take rank after those of the Guards and Scotch regiment."

The Colonel of each regiment furnishing a contingent to the King's Battalion was directed "to give order to the QrMr or Adj. . . forthwith to contract for and provide a colour for the company respectively unto which the officers and soldiers to be drawn out of Our said Regt for Our Service at Tangier are formed and when they shall be so provided, to deliver them to the Captains respectively of those companies, whereupon we shall give order for the paying the charge thereof."

As in the case of the Virginia Regiment, each company received a colour similar to those carried by the regiment from which it was drawn.

In Miscellany Entry Book No. 5, p. 410, the cost of the same is recorded.

July 12th 1680. A Bill for Collors.

. . . . .

The Earle of Mulgraves.

4 ells of Green Taffata	...	...	...	11s	...	02	04	0
2 ells of White ditto	...	...	...	11s	...	01	02	0
2 ells ½ Crimson Taffata at	...	...	...	3s	...	01	12	6
						<hr/>		
						04	18	6

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\* Now the Queen's (Royal West Surrey) Regiment.

## The Earle of Mulgraves.

1680.

ffor makeing one Ensigne ... ..	01	00	0
ffor painting in Oyle 2 ffigurs of Distns at 1s 3d			
a piece ... ..	00	02	6
ffor one paire of Tassells ... ..	00	02	6
	<hr/>		
	01	05	00

The regiment sailed for Tangier in June, but it was not until November that recruiting was ordered to fill the places of those sent out. The latter were fully equipped by their regiments, and on the 20th November an order was given for a fresh supply of arms to be issued, and that "if the Collonells of Our most deare Brother James Duke of Yorkes and of Our Holland Regiments respectively shall rather choose to receive the said Armes for their men out of Our Stoares at Portsmouth and Plymouth where the companies of those two Regiments are to be recruited, then you are to give order for delivering the said Armes unto the Captains of those Regiments at Portsmouth Plymouth and Our Isle of Wight."

H.O. Dom.  
E. Bk., Vol. 59  
p. 71.

Mulgrave appears to have made a very brief stay at Tangier, for, according to Luttrell's Diary, he started on the 13th June for Portsmouth to embark, and on the 25th July he arrived back "at Windsor from Tangier, and gave his Majestie an account of that place."

Luttrell.

The following is an interesting account of the arrival of the relieving force, given in the "Tanger's Rescue."

When the glad news came of the arrival of His Majesty's Friggots the Rupert, the Saphire, and others with six hundred of his Majesties Guards from England, under the command of Colonel Edward Sackvill, a man of most esteemable gifts and parts, With many brave Volunteer Gentlemen, encouraged to undertake this noble enterprize in the Service of their King, and country, by that hopeful young youth the Earl of Plymouth (whose mature fruit did anticipate his years, and antidate his age). This gallant recruit changed the effeminat designs and stupid procedures of the bughers to a more propitious and generous resolution, and did animate the old souldiers to a more qualified gallantry, and

J. Ross  
Tangers  
Rescue.

1680.

courage and so confirmed the resolutions of all, that they thought themselves in a sufficient posture of defence.

These Volunteers landed at Tanger, July 2, 1680, with 240 of the King's Own Regiment under the command of Colonel Edward Sackvill, and one Mr. Bowes; a hundred and twenty of the Earl of Craven's Regiment, under the Command of Colonel Tollemach (a Gentleman gifted with the acuteness, and flowrish of wit;) a hundred and twenty of the Duke of York's Regiment, under the Command of a modest young Gentleman, Captain Fawtry; a hundred and twenty of the Earl of Mowgraves Regiment, under the command of Captain Kirk a youth of admirable endowments, according to the politeness of Court.

All those with the Volunteers and drafts of the Independent Companies were Regimented under the Command of Colonel Edward Sackvill, as their Colonel and were called the King's Battalion. After this Landed the valorous Hacket, Major to that renowned Regiment of the Earl of Dumbrition,\* all of them men of approved valour; whose fame eccho'd the sound of their glorious actions and achievements in France and other Nations, leaving behind them a report of their glorious victories, wherever they came, both at home and abroad, every place witnessing and giving a large testimony of their Renown.

Edye.

Tangers  
Rescue.

The truce was still in force when the expedition arrived, but the Moors gave notice that hostilities would be renewed on the 15th September. On the 20th the garrison, reinforced by a Naval Brigade 600 strong, landed from the Mediterranean Squadron, under Admiral Herbert, made a sortie in force before dawn. "Strong detachments of the King's battalion were sent forward to occupy Anne's Fort and Tindal Fort, the officer detailed to occupy Anne's Fort being Captain Fitzpatrick,† who was attached to Captain Fortrey's company of the Duke's Regiment." "He most resolutely and gallantly beat the enemy from a Trench (a matter of forty furlongs beyond his Post) which afterwards proved very advantageous for the benefit and safety of the Labourers, and security of the Guard of Poles Fort."

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\* Dumbarton.

† Lieut. Fitz-Patrick of the Holland Regiment, who had been reappointed as a subaltern after the reduction of his company in December, 1678.



"Whilst the two forts were being occupied the two 1680.  
battalions of Douglas's (Dumbarton's) Regiment and the  
Naval Brigade advanced to their support, driving the <sup>Edye.</sup>  
enemy before them for about a mile. Thus the conflict  
raged for some hours, until about two p.m., when the Moors  
withdrew.

"The English, masters of the ground, were now able to  
carry out the construction of certain advance works, which  
were completed by 8 p.m., when they retired into the town,  
leaving to the King's battalion and the advance guard the  
honour of securing the new position, supported by Douglas's  
battalion.

"On the following day active operations were resumed,  
the enemy being driven to a distance of close on five miles.  
On this occasion Captain Fitzpatrick again distinguished  
himself, and Colonel Sackville proved himself a 'man of  
valour and experience.'"

Sir Palmes Fairborne, the English Commander-in-Chief,  
in his dispatch reporting the result of these engagements,  
mentions, among others who distinguished themselves, both  
Captain Kirk and Captain Fitzpatrick.

The artillery of the garrison was of inferior make, and <sup>Tangers</sup>  
numerous casualties occurred from the bursting of the guns. <sup>Rescue.</sup>  
On the 28th September one burst, severely wounding  
Captain Fitz Patrick and several others, Captain Fitz  
Patrick, it was thought at the time, mortally.

After these events desultory fighting continued until the  
24th October, when Sir Palmes was mortally wounded.  
Colonel Sackville succeeded him in command of the troops,  
and on the 26th it was decided at a Council of War to  
again attack the enemy in force. Accordingly the following  
morning the garrison, supported by the guns of the fleet,  
sallied out under the eyes of the dying Sir Palmes, and  
threw themselves upon the apparently overwhelming  
numbers of the enemy. After desperate fighting, the  
Moors were routed and driven in confusion from their  
trenches, with a loss variously estimated at from two to six  
thousand killed and wounded. The loss of the garrison <sup>Davis.</sup>  
amounted to 14 officers killed, 82 wounded, and 98

1680. non-commissioned officers and men killed and 334 wounded.

After this the Moors were most anxious to conclude a six months' truce, which was arranged on terms most advantageous to the garrison.

Captain Fitzpatrick was, on the 5th December, sent to England as bearer of the despatches announcing the terms of the treaty, and on the 27th of that month he was promoted to the command of the company in the Holland Regiment lately held by Sir Herbert Lunsford.

1681. The new raised Earl of Plymouth's regiment did not arrive at Tangier until the 18th December, and had lost several officers and 50 men on the voyage, from sickness, due to long detention on board ship. In February, 1681, its Colonel, the celebrated Piercy Kirke, who afterwards commanded the old Tangier regiment (now the Queen's), was sent on a mission to the Emperor of Morocco, the result of which was, on the 29th March, the extension of the peace to four years.

In May Colonel Sackville returned to England, and Kirke succeeded to the command of the garrison.

1683. The expenses entailed in maintaining a garrison at Tangier were exceedingly heavy, and more than Charles II. could meet, without a grant from Parliament. For this he made application in the spring of 1683, but the nation had no liking for the occupation of Tangier, looking on it as a nursery and training school for popish soldiers, and the grant was refused. In consequence, it was decided in July to demolish all the works and abandon the place.

Dartmouth  
MSS.

To carry this into effect Lord Dartmouth was sent out, as Admiral, Captain General, Governor, and Commander-in-Chief. He arrived with a fleet on the 14th September, and on the 28th a grand review of the garrison was held with a view to overawing the Moors. Four battalions of seamen, 200 strong, were landed to take part in the parade. They were dressed in uniforms borrowed from the garrison, and carried colours, some improvised and some lent by the regiments. Sir John Berry, who in the event of the death of the Earl of Dartmouth

was to replace him, was in command of this motley naval brigade. 1684.

By November all the civilian inhabitants had been shipped off, but it was not until 20th January, 1684, that everything was ready for blowing up the works. This having been effected, the garrison embarked between the 1st February and 7th March, the five companies of the King's Battalion, 274 strong, under Captain Bowes, taking passage in the Tiger on 15th February.

Before leaving Tangier, Lord Dartmouth wrote to the King, pointing out that "the battalion of Guards then in garrison at Tangier, though few in number, were extraordinary men, and would make the best body of grenadiers possible, if kept together, and added to the two regiments of Guards at home."

Hamilton's  
Hist. Gren.  
Gds., Vol. I.,  
p. 260.

This advice, however, was not acted upon, and on the 17th April, shortly after the arrival of the battalion in the Thames, orders were issued to the effect that: "Whereas five companies of Our Battalion formerly drawn out of Our late Garrison of Tangier, Our Will and Pleasure is that you form one Company of Granadeers to consist of fifty men besides officers out of the two Companies of Our Trusty and Well Beloved Col. Sackvil and Capt. Bowes, pursuant to Our Establishment in that behalf, and that you dispose of the residue of the men belonging to the said two Compys into Our First Regt of Foot Guards under your command in the place of others whom you shall think less fit for Our Service, And you are to take care that the arms of the said men be delivered into the Office of Our Ordnance in the Tower of London."

Mis. O. Bk.,  
No. 6, p. 16.

A like order was given for the men drafted from the Duke of York's regiment to be sent back to it. There is no record of what became of the men belonging to the Coldstream and Holland regiments, but it is only reasonable to suppose that they also reverted to the corps to which they originally belonged.

1681.

## CHAPTER VIII.

1681-1685.

We must now revert to occurrences at home. Information as to the moves of the regiment at this time is very scanty, but Cannon states that in 1681 the companies of the regiment were distributed as follows:—

Two in Jersey.

One in the Isle of Wight.

One at Portsmouth.

Three at Plymouth.

Four at Hull.

One at Scarborough Castle,

but he gives no authority and no particulars.

No matters of interest took place during this and the following year until the downfall of the Colonel of the regiment, the Earl of Mulgrave.

A favourite at Court, where he held the post of Lord of the King's Bed-chamber, besides being a member of the Privy Council, and holding various other appointments, his inordinate vanity and his exalted ideas of his own dignity led him to aspire to the hand and heart of the Princess Anne.\* This was more than the King could stand, and the presumptuous nobleman was dismissed the Court and deprived of all his offices.

WILLIAM PATTEN TO ROGER KENYON.

Grays Inn.

Kenyon  
MSS.

Greate matters since my comeinge hither have occurred, for the Lord Mowgrave hath made soe brisk attempts upon the Lady Anne that he is forbidd the Court, St James Street, and St James Parke. All his offices and employments, as that of Governor of Hull, one of the attendants of the Bedd

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\* Princess Anne, daughter of the Duke of York, afterwards Queen Anne.

Chamber, and some place in the Guards, taken from him 1681.  
and disposed to other persons of quality.\*

SIR C. PHILIPSON TO SIR D. FLEMING.

7th November 1682

We have little new except the downfall of Lord Mulgrave. Fleming  
Lord Ossory has the Bed-chamber, Lord Chesterfield has MSS.  
the Regiment, Lord Scarsdale has the Government of Hull,  
Lord Conyers it is thought has the Lord Lieutenancy.

The command of the Holland Regiment was bestowed by the King on Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield, who was appointed to the colonelcy on the 6th November.

In 1667 Lord Chesterfield had raised a regiment of foot, which, however, was disbanded shortly afterwards, on the signing of the treaty of Breda, when he appears to have been promised the command of a regiment of Foot Guards. On receiving the colonelcy of the Holland Regiment he fully anticipated that this promise would be fulfilled, and that his command would be given the status of Guards. Indeed it would appear that this was the intention of the authorities, for his original commission appoints him "to be Colonnell of Our Holland Regiment of Foote Guards . . ."†

Unfortunately for Chesterfield, he incurred the enmity of S.P.D., Entry  
Bk. No. 69,  
p. 5.

\* See also Luttrell.

† Lord Chesterfield's commission, as recorded in Entry Book No. 69, is as follows :—

"Charles etc. to Our Rt Tr & Rt Welbd Cousin and Counsellor Philip Earle of Chesterfield Greeting. We being well assured of your Loyalty and Courage and Conduct, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Colonnell of Our Holland Regiment of Foote Guards lately commanded by John Earle of Mulgrave, and to be Capt of a Company in that Regimt. You are therefore duly to train etc. etc. Dated sixth November 1682.

"Memorand this commission was  
new writ & signed and the  
word *Guards* left out the  
8th December 1683."

N.B.—The word Guards has been struck through with a pen, evidently, from the colour of the ink, at a later date than the original entry, which confirms the Earl of Chesterfield's statement.—H.R.K.

1682. the Duke of York, by offering, on the restoration of the Duke of Monmouth to favour, to resign to Monmouth the Justiceship in Eyre which he held, having been appointed thereto in succession to Monmouth, when the latter fell into disgrace. As the consequences of this dispute were so momentous to the regiment, no apology is necessary for reproducing in full the account of the same, as related in the "Letters of Philip, Second Earl of Chesterfield."

Letters of  
Philip 2nd Earl  
of Chesterfield,  
p. 39.

. . . . the King conferred special marks of favour on his lordship, giving him command of the Holland regiment of guards, with greater privileges than before.

This appears to have been the zenith of Lord Chesterfields distinctions; he was now Chief Justice in eyre of all the woods and forests south of Trent, colonel of a regiment of guards, and privy-councillor to both their majesties.

Ibid, p. 45.

In 1683, on the re-admission of the Duke of Monmouth at Court, the Earl of Chesterfield's offer to resign the justiceship in eyre in favour of his grace, so incensed the Duke of York, that he prevailed on Charles the Second to deny, or to withdraw the name of "guards" from his lordships regiment. On this point there is ample explanation in the following correspondence, which it seems Lord Chesterfield resented with becoming spirit, the efforts of the Dukes dislike and jealousy of Monmouth.

. . . . .

Ibid, p. 249.

CHESTERFIELD TO SIR L. JENKINS, SECRETARY OF STATE  
TO HIS MAJESTY.

Sir

I have according to the order you received to alter my commission, sent it to you; in which you will find my regiment to be a regiment of guards. I suppose you read it to his majesty, before his majesty and you both signed it; and, therefore, I cannot see how there could be any mistake, as to its being a regiment of guards or not. Besides, he who brought it to mee told mee, when I received it, that his majesty had been pleased to bee more gracious to mee in it, then to my predecessours; all of which makes mee think there could bee hardly any mistake. But suppose there were; I must now be much out of countenance, after having received the congratulations of most persons of quality for

having the command of a regiment of guards, to find that I have none. Wherefore, I doe desire you to return this commission to his majesty, and tell his majesty, whenever he hath occasion I shall be ready and willing to serve him in any capacity, either with a pike or with a musket ; and therefore I doe humbly beg of his majesty not to thinke that this proceeds from any discontent or humour, but to avoid giving the world occation to beleive mee so unfortunat as to bee less in his majesties good opinion or favour then formerly ; espetially since I have done nothing to deserve it ; and shall alwayes, while his majesty is pleased to imploy mee, indeavour to serve him with that duty, fidelity and (if I may say it) affection, that becomes a man of honour and a good subject.

1682.

I am Sir, etc., etc.

A fresh affront was now offered to Chesterfield, for it was intimated to him that on their arrival in England from Tangier, Dumbarton's and the old Tangier regiment would be given precedence of the Holland Regiment, they having been raised at an earlier date than the latter. The Warrant to this effect was not issued until the 6th February, 1684, but the aggrieved Earl did not wait for its publication, and resigned his commission in disgust.

1683.

In a long letter to the Earl of Arran, Lord Deputy of Ireland, he relates his grievances as under :

1684.

January the 30th 1684

Ibid, p. 253.

My dear Lord,

I did not receive the favour of your lordships, dated January the 9th til the 29th inst, which was yesterday. Had it come sooner to my hands, I should not have deferd my most humble acknowledgements for that honour, nor have delayed the justifying myselfe to your lordship, whose good opinion & kindness I doe infinitely valu ; and therefore doe return your lordship a thousand thanks for concerning yourself in my little affaires, and for commanding mee to send you an account of the manner of my quitting my regiment ; which before I can doe I must mention to your lordship, that when his majesty made me justice in Eyre, I asked his leave to compliment the Duke of Monmouth, in his leaving an imployment that his majesty had then bestowed on mee ;

1684.

and having obtained his majesties consent, I told the Duke of Monmouth, that notwithstanding the honour his majesty had done mee, I was very much concerned for his beeing in his majesties displeasure, which I hoped would soon be removed; and then, with his majesties leave, I should resigne to him the beeing Justice in Eyre, with as much satisfaction as I then received it; for that I never desired to have any advantage by the misfortune of a worthy person. My lord, this is what I then said to the Duke of Monmouth; which having been retold to the King and to many persons of quality, I thought myself obliged to performe, when he was lately readmitted to court; and therefore, I humbly offered to his majesty to resigne to the Duke of Monmouth the being Justice in Eyre, which his majesty took so kindly, that he gave mee many thanks for the offer, but commanded mee to keep my place, and was often pleased to mention that day how satisfied he was with my proceeding. And yet my lord I am certaine that this is the only cause of the ill usage I have lately received; for, doubting in myselfe that this proceeding of mine would be misliked, & misrepresented to the Duke of Yorke (who hates the Duke of Monmouth) I resolved to goe the next morning to acquaint the Duke of Yorke with all the particulars of it. But, as I was going through the gallery to his apartment, he met mee and called mee to him, and, with an angry countenance, told mee that he would keep his word with me, in letting mee know what he heard to my prejudice or disadvantage. Hereupon I humbly thanked his highness, and told him, that I would either justify myself or aske his pardon for what I had done amis; and after this preface to a querelle d'aleman\*, his highness told mee that he heard, that I pretended to be colonel of a regiment of guards; in answer to which, I owned that I did soe, and had as much right to doe as anybody; for I had his majesties comition to be colonel of his majesties Holland regiment of foot guards. Thereupon his highness only replied, that he would immediately goe and complain of mee to the King; whereupon I took the liberty to ask him what he would complayne of? for certainly, since his majesty had sent mee a year before such a comition, his highness could not blame mee for receiving it. But, the duke without reply went directly to the King, where I following him, after that the duke had spoke some time privately to the King, his majesty cald mee to them,

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\* Querelle d'allemand, groundless quarrel.



1684.

and asked mee, whether I pretended to command a regiment of Guards? I told him, I did; for, I had his commition for the doing it. The King answered there was some mistake in the drawing of the commition; unto which I replied, that both his majesty and Mr. Secretary Jenkins had signed it, and that neither of them did ever signe any commition without first reading it, and, therefore, there could probably be noe mistake; but, besides, when I received my commition, the secretary that brought it mee did congratulat my having an honour done mee in it, that none of my predecessors had; which was the being made a colonel of a regiment of guards. But, my lord, notwithstanding all I could say, and all the justice I had on my side, his majesty said that he would have my commition altered. My lord, about a week after this I went to the Dukes levee, and his highness having taken me alone into his clozet, I gave him an account of what I have mentioned concerning the Duke of Monmouth, to which discourse his highness made noe reply, but asked mee how matters went with my regiment? whereupon I told his highness, that I intended to quit it; for that after my having received the congratulations of most persons in town for the honour of commanding a regiment of guards, which I had now had above a yeare, I thought it would look ill, if, instead of advancing, I must decend & become less; and, besides I should appeare to be less in his majesties favour, which I vallued above anything else. To this his highness replied that my quitting of the regiment at this time would be very prejudiciall to his majesties service, and therefore he desired mee to keep it a little longer, and did promis mee that my regiment should take place of the two regiments that were coming from Tanger, which were Mr Kerks and the Lord Don Bartons.\* To this I told his highness, that I would never do anything that should be conterary to his majesties service, and, therefore I would keep my regiment which I accordingly did, and had a new comition without the word "guards"; and thus I thought that the storme had been quite blown over. But a week after this, Mr. Blathwaite, who is Secretary of War, came to mee and said that he was commanded to tel mee, that both Mr Kerk's regiment and the Lord Donbarton's were to take place of mine; soe that, from being at first a regiment of guards, I then became the last regiment but one in England. I confess this usage gave mee some

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\* Kirke's (now the Queen's) and Dumbarton's (now the Royal Scots).

1684.

trouble, and made me complaine to the King of having unusual hardships put upon mee ; for after the being made noe regiment of guards, the duke had promised mee that my regiment should take place before Mr Kerk's and the Lord Dunbarton's, as in justice it ought to doe, for by his majesties establishment, all regiments were to have precedence, according to the antiquity of their commition ; and, my regiment having had his majesties commition two yeare before the Lord Dunbarton's, I ought of course, to have precedence. And, as to what was objected, that since the Duke of York's regiment gave place to the Lord Dunbarton's, certainly I had noe reason to dispute it I made answer to his majesty, that, if there should be war, the duke, in all probability, would be general, and then his regiment must march next the king's. But besides, the dukes condition of being brother to his majesty did put him out of competition with all other officers, for he held what rank he pleased. But, finding his majesty stil resolved in the point, I told him that I thought it honour enough to serve him in any condition, and that, rather then to displease him, I would be the youngest colonell, or a captaine, or carry a pike or a musket in his service ; but, if his majesty would not be offended with mee, I had much rather laye down my commition then be obliged to that which was never before required of any gentleman. To this his majesty with great goodness bid mee take my liberty, for he would not be offended with my leaving my regiment ; and upon these terms, I quitted my commition, which most of the officers of this kingdom sayed that I had great reason to doe. But that which must needs be surprizing to your lordship, as well as it was to mee, was that a fortnight after I had quitted, the duke spoke to the king in favour of his own regiment's having precedence before Mr. Kerk's and the Lord Dumbarton's, and got his majesty to send for the Lord Mulgrave (who hath now the regiment I had) and for Sir Charles Littleton and the Lord Dumbarton, to have the matter debated before him and the duke ; and, at that meeting, Sir Charles insisting (with the dukes approbation) on the same point that I had done, his majesty was faine to make a new establishment, a purpose to give Mr. Kerke and the Lord Dunbarton precedence before the regiment that had been mine. My lord, your lordship I know sees through all this matter, and allso how desirous I am of justifying my actings to your lordship,

for else I would never have ventured to have sent you this tedious account of the concerns of, 1684.

my lord  
your lordship's, etc., etc.

Chesterfield's resignation was promptly accepted, and on the 26th of January, the Earl of Mulgrave, who had been restored to favour, was re-appointed to the command of his old regiment.

On the 6th February, the new order regulating the precedence of the regiments of foot, the notification of which had proved the last straw to Chesterfield, was published.

*Order for the Precedency of the Foot.*

Mis. O. Bk.,  
No. 6, p. 5.

Our Own Regiment of Guards  
Our Coldstream Regiment of Guards  
Our Scotch Regiment  
Our Tanger Regiment  
Our Most Dear and Most Entirely Beloved Brother  
James Duke of Yorkes Regt

All other regiment to take place according to their respective seniorities from the time they were raised.

No regiment to loose its precedence by the death of its Colonel.

Captaines to take precedence regimentally according to the dates of their commissions.

If the rules laid down in the above had been strictly adhered to the Holland Regiment should have had precedence of the Scotch Regiment, for the corps from which it was formed, in 1665, were originally raised in 1573.

If, however, it was intended that the precedence should count from the date the regiments first came on the *English* establishment, no exception can be taken to the above order of precedence.\*

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\* The Scotch Regiment (now the Royal Scots) was raised about the year 1625, as Hepburn's or Hebborn's Regiment, for the Swedish service. Under the same name and subsequently as Douglas's, it was in the French service until the spring of 1661, when it was recalled to England. It returned to the French service in the following year, and was recalled in 1666, when it

1684. In the autumn of 1682 the Earl of Middleton was appointed one of the Secretaries of State, and was succeeded in the lieutenant-colonelcy by Sir Thomas Ogle, Captain Sterling being promoted to major in the latter's place. A Captain Rigby was given the Earl of Middleton's company. Thus two out of the three vacancies were filled regimentally, a somewhat unusual occurrence.

It is difficult to trace the movements of the various companies of the regiment at this time, but, assuming the correctness of the distribution of the regiment in 1681, as given by Cannon, the companies of the regiment must have been stationed as follows in December, 1683 :—

The Colonel's Company	-	-	Hull
Major Sterling's	-	-	Hull
Captain Rigby's	-	-	Hull
Lt.-Col. Sir T. Ogle's	-	-	Plymouth
Captain Fitzpatrick's	-	-	Plymouth
Captain Sir W. Wheeler's	-	-	Plymouth
Sir J. Berry's	-	-	Portsmouth
Captain Boade's	-	-	Jersey
Captain Collingwood's	}	-	one at Hull
Captain Middleton's		-	one at Scarborough &
Captain Manwaring's		-	one at Jersey
Captain Throckmorton's	-	-	Isle of Wight.

On the 13th December Berry's and Throckmorton's companies received directions to proceed to Hull, and on the 1st February, 1684, the three companies at Plymouth were ordered, on the arrival of the troops from Tangier, "to embark for Newcastle-on-Tyne and to march thence to Berwick-on-Tweed."

In June of this year the old arms of the regiment were

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proceeded to Ireland. Back in France in 1668, it was finally recalled ten years later, again proceeding to Ireland and thence in 1678-80 to Tangier.

The Tangier Regiment (now the Queen's) was raised in September, 1661, from the troops forming the garrison of Dunkirk, for the purpose of taking over Tangier, which was then about to be ceded to England.

The Duke of York's Regiment was raised, as we have seen, in the autumn of 1664, and was disbanded in 1689.

exchanged, and the following were issued to each of the twelve companies:—

Matchlock muskets	...	...	...	26	MSS.R.U.S
Snaphaunce ditto	...	...	...	9	
Pikes	...	...	...	18	
Partizans	...	...	...	1	
Halberts	...	...	...	2	
Drum	...	...	...	1	

There had been hitherto no regular system of badges or distinctions in dress, to mark the difference in rank of the various officers of the army, but on the 1st September the King issued a Warrant to regulate this matter:—

CHARLES R.

For the better distinction of Our several officers serving MacKinnon Us in Our companies of Foot, Our Will and Pleasure is that Coldstream all Captains of Foot wear no other corselet than of the Guards. colour of gold, all lieutenants, black corselets studded with gold, & the ensigns corselets of silver.

And We do likewise think fit that all lieutenants of foot carry pikes and not partizans, which We do hereby order to be redelivered into the office of Our Ordonance.

And We do further direct that authentic copies hereof be sent to Our several Colonels of Foot, and transmitted to the Governors of Our forts and garrisons, to the end that the respective officers of Our Forces may govern themselves accordingly.

Given at Our Court at  
Winchester, the first day of  
September 1684

By his Majesty's Commd

SUNDERLAND.

On the 1st October, the King held a review on Putney Heath, of eight squadrons and five battalions of foot,\* and

\* Three troops of Guards, the Earl of Oxford's regiment of Horse Guards, the Earl of Churchill's regiment of Dragoons, two battalions of the King's regiment of Guards, one battalion of the Coldstream regiment of Guards, one battalion of the Earl of Dumbarton's regiment, and one battalion of the Duke of York's regiment.

1684. in connection with the same was published the first Army List ever printed.\*

Several more or less incomplete manuscript lists of an earlier date are in existence, but this professes to give a complete list of all the officers of the army, with the exception of those of the unregimented companies. What renders this extremely rare work† still more valuable is that it also gives a description of the dress and of the colours and standards of the regiments, on which matters it is in many cases the earliest known authority.

Subjoined is the list of officers, description of dress, colours, etc., of the Holland Regiment as given therein.

A list of all Commission and Staff-Officers in the Holland Regiment of Foot, commanded by the Right Honourable John Earl of Mulgrave, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter:—

<div style="text-align: center;"> John, Earl of Mulgrave, Colonel.  Sir Tho. Ogle, Lt.-Colonel.  James Sterling, Major. </div>		
<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>
The Colonel's Company, commanded by Capt. Lt.	John Bristow, Capt. Lt.	Ens. John King.
The Lt. Col. Company, commanded by	Lt. Hen. Holt	Ens. Jo. Skrimpton
The Major's Company, commanded by	Lt. Francis Sterling	Ens. Fra. Rogers

\* A General and Compleat List Military of Every Commission-Officer of Horse and Foot now commanding His Majesties Land-Forces of England (excepting the Unregimented Companies.) As also the Proper Distinctions of their Cloathings, Badges of Honour, and Colours of each Troop and Regiment. The names of the Chief Officers of the Ordnance and other Officers belonging to the Army, with a list of the Royal Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners and Yeoman of the King's Guard of his Body. Of the Governours, Lt.-Governours, and Deputy Governours, throughout the Kingdom. As Establish'd at the time of the Review upon Putney Heath, the First of October, 1684. As also an account of the said Review, etc.

London, Printed by F. Gain, for Nathan Brooks at Thomas Knapton's next door to the Flying Horse in Upper Moor Fields, 1684.

† Only one or two copies of this publication are known to be in existence. There is one in the Guildhall Library, and one bound up with some manuscript Establishment Returns in the British Museum. (Add. MSS., No. 10,123).

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>
Sir John Berry, Capt.	Lt. Fran. Williamson	Ens. Richard Moore
Henry Boade, Capt.	Lt. Hen. Bayton*	Ens. Jo. Neules
Cha. Manwaring, Capt.	Lt. Tho. Sanders	Ens. Ehud Boad
Ewd. Fitz Patrick, Capt.	Lt. Bernard Boutell	Ens. Antho. Alix
Fran. Collingwood, Capt.	Lt. Ed. Fox	Ens. Jo. Prideux
Sir William Wheeler, Capt.	Lt. Hen. Feilding	Ens. Tho. Smith
Herbert Throgmorton, Capt.	Lt. John Martin	Ens. Mich. Richardson
Andrew Birch, Capt.	Lt. Richard Boulton	Ens. Fra. Foster
Humphrey Barrington	Lt. Geo. Pilkinton	Ens. Oliver Luke
The State-Major, or Staff-Officers of thee Holland Regiment.		
Jervas Rouse, Adjutant	)	Ja. Pierce, Chirurg,
John Wormall, Quart.-mast. and Marshal		Chirurg Mate.

1684.

The Holland Regiment consists of twelve Companies, without Grenadiers ; coated red, lined with a Flesh Colour ; flies the Red Cross, bordered white in a Green Field.

## • Errata.

. . . p. 16, l. 14, f. Baiton, r. Payton.

Both Author and Printer will mend their hands should encouragement be given for a Second Edition, and the unregimented Companies supplied.

On the 6th of February, 1685, King Charles died from the effects of a fit. Few and far between are the records of good deeds done by the monarch, of whom it was said that he never said a foolish thing nor ever did a wise one, but there is one noble monument of his reign, for which the army should be ever grateful. Chelsea Hospital, the last earthly home of many a scarred veteran, and in whose chapel hangs many a battle torn trophy, was founded by Charles II. in 1682, at the instigation, it is said, of Nell Gwynne, the King's celebrated mistress, whose heart was moved to pity at the tale of woe of a destitute old veteran.

1685.

In connection with the hospital, the following " Establishment & Regulations of Rewards and other Provisions to be made for His Mats Land Forces," were promulgated in 1683 :—

## For Commission Officers wounded in Fight.

His Mats Bounty is to be distinguished by the Quality or Estab. Book, degree of the person wounded and of the Regt Troop or No. 2. Company to which he belongs, whether of the Guards, Horse, Foot or Dragoons, and the same to be bestowed in ready money and not by pension.

1685.

The measure of His Mats bounty is to be one years pay, where the wound shall occasion the loss of an eye or limb, or the totall loss of the use of a limb, or be such as upon a search made by ye Chirurgeon Generall of the Forces, be by him certified to be in all effects thereof of equall prejudice to the health of the Body with the loss of a limb. Where the wound shall not extend to the loss of a limb, his Matie will order a proportionable Reward to the wounded in full according to ye nature of the wound and merit of the officers.

For Non-Commission Officers and Soldiers all non-commission officers and soldiers that are, or shall be disabled by wounds, in Fight or other accidents in the service of the Crown are to be provided for in the Royall Hospitall at Chelsea in such manner as His Matie shall hereafter direct, and in the mean time are to receive the allowances following out of the mony appointed for the use of the said Hospitall, vizt :

To a Private Soldier	...	5d	Per Diem
To a Drummer	...	7	"
To a Sergeant	...	11	"
To a Corporall	...	7	"
.	.	.	.

Which dayly allowances and future provision in Chelsea Hospital are also to be made to such Non-Commission Officers and soldiers as having served the Crown Twenty years are or shall become unfit for service.

Bounty also was ordered for widows and orphans.





1685.

## CHAPTER IX.

1685-1688.

At the death of Charles II., his brother James, Duke of York, succeeded to the throne, and at his accession the whole of the officers of the army received new commissions issued in February. Those of the officers of the Holland Regiment all bear date 11th of that month.

The following is the list of the regiment as given in S.P. Dom. Entry Book 69, f. 143 :—

*Holland Regiment of Foote.*

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensignes.</i>	
John Earle of Mulgrave Colonell	John Bristow, Cpt.-Lt.	Thomas King	
Sr. Thomas Ogle, Lieut. Colonell	Henry Holt	John Shrimpton	
James Starling, Major	Francis Starling	Thomas Rogers.	
Capt. Sr. John Berry	Francis Williamson	Richard Moore	
Capt. Henry Boad	Henry Peyton	John Meols	Dated the 11th February, 1684-5.
Capt. Charles Mainwaring	Tho. Saunders	Ehud Boad	
Capt. Edward Fitzpatrick	Barnaby Bowtell	Anthony Alix	
Capt. Francis Collingwood	Edward Fox	John Prideaux	
Capt. Sir William Wheeler	Henry Feilding	Thomas Smith	
Capt. Herbert Throckmorton	John Martyn	Micha Richardson	
Capt. Andrew Birch	Richard Boulton	Ferdinando Foster	
Capt. Humphrey Barrington	Geo. Pilkington	Oliver Luke	
John Wormall	Quartermaster and Martiall.		
James Pierce	Chyrurgeon		
Henry Holt	Adjutant		

All these commissions were dated the 11th February 1684/5 in the First year of His Mat. Reigne.

Thomas Cornwallis to be a Captain of a Company of Granadiers in the 3rd Regiment.	} George Beach, 1st Lieutenant. Thomas Musgrave, 2nd Lieutenant.	Dated the 1st of July, 1685.
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In the summer a Grenadier company was again added to the regiment. The names of the officers appointed to it

1685. and the date of their commissions are endorsed on the above MS. List.

In the new King, the naval and military forces of the Crown found a sovereign who had their interests at heart, and whose long and extensive experience afloat and ashore, both in peace and war, had rendered him keenly alive to the importance of keeping up an efficient standing army and a well found navy.

James was not left long in undisputed possession of the throne, for in May and June two expeditions sailed from Holland, more or less with the connivance of the authorities of that country. Their ultimate aims were different, but for the nonce it was intended that they should, as far as possible, act in conjunction.

The first, consisting of three ships, under the outlawed Earl of Argyle, arrived off the Scotch coast about the middle of May. Argyle's object was to raise the country against the King and to recover the independence of Scotland.

The attempt was premature and ill-organised, and the quarrels and jealousies of Argyle's followers rendered any general rising impossible. In a short time the rebels were dispersed without striking a blow, and Argyle, disguised as a peasant, was a fugitive, only to be captured and hurried to the scaffold on 30th June.

On the 11th June the Duke of Monmouth, who had retired again to the continent in 1682, landed at Lyme, in Dorset, at the head of a small following, to lay claim to the throne, on the strength of his mother's supposed marriage with Charles II.\* The better classes held aloof, but the

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\* Monmouth was the acknowledged natural son of Charles II. by Lucy Waters (Mrs. Barlow), and was born in 1649. Lucy Waters was the daughter of a Welsh gentleman, and went to Holland, where she became the mistress of Colonel Robert Sydney, afterwards colonel of the Holland Regiment. From him she passed to Charles, with whom it was alleged she went through the form of marriage. "She was so soon with child that the world had no cause to doubt whose child it was, and the rather that when he grew up to be a man, he very much resembled the Colonel both in stature and in countenance, even to a wart on his face. However, the King owned the child."—*Evelyn's Diary*.

1685. tradespeople, farmers, and peasantry of the west of England flocked to his standard. On the 18th he reached Taunton in triumph, a considerable force of Militia, which, under the Duke of Albemarle, endeavoured to intercept him, having fallen back in disorder on Exeter. On the 20th he was proclaimed king. From Taunton he marched to Bridgewater. Meanwhile, Royal troops, both Regular and Militia, were hurrying from all directions to oppose the insurrection. From Bridgewater Monmouth started on a fruitless and ill-considered march to Glastonbury, Wells, and Shepton-Mallet, his progress being harassed by a handful of Royal troops, under Colonel Churchill.\* Headed off from Bristol, he turned on Bath, only to find further progress barred. Doubling back, he encamped on the 26th at Philip's Norton, where he was attacked on the following morning by the Duke of Grafton,† with the advanced guard of the Royal army, which, under the Earl of Feversham, was advancing to meet him. The Royalists were repulsed, and fell back on Bradford-on-Avon. Monmouth at nightfall, abandoning his position, continued his retreat by Frome and Wells, to Bridgewater, where he arrived on the 2nd July. Here he hesitated, and on Sunday, the 5th, the Royal army came up with him and encamped in sight on Sedgemoor, some three miles from Bridgewater. The incompetence of Feversham was only equalled by the riotous and undisciplined state of the troops under his command. A reconnaissance from the tower of Bridgewater church showed Monmouth the scattered and defenceless state of the camp. He at once decided on a night attack, which, but for an unfortunate circumstance, must have resulted in a complete destruction of the Royal army. Under cover of a fog, the insurgents had arrived within almost charging distance of the sleeping Royalists, before the alarm was given, when their advance was completely checked by a rhine or deep dyke, the existence of which

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\* John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough.

† Son of Charles II. by Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, and therefore half brother to Monmouth.

1685. had been overlooked. A furious fusillade was opened across the dyke on the Royal camp, but meanwhile Churchill, by almost superhuman exertions, had succeeded in restoring a certain amount of order among the surprised troops, many of whom were suffering from the effects of a drunken orgie. Ere long the insurgents were attacked on both flanks and in the rear, and after a desperate resistance Monmouth's force was completely routed and dispersed.

The unfortunate Monmouth was taken prisoner shortly afterwards, and on 15th July followed Argyle to the scaffold. As for his unhappy followers, the fiendish vengeance wreaked on every one, man, woman, or child, suspected of having favoured his cause, and the awful atrocities perpetrated by the infamous Judge Jeffries and by the Royal troops, under the notorious Percy Kirke, are too well known for it to be necessary to relate them here. Fortunately for the fair fame of the Holland regiment, it had no part in the suppression of either of these risings.

At the outbreak of Argyle's rebellion the whole of the regiment, with the exception of the two companies in Jersey, was in the north of England, five companies being at Hull, four at Berwick-on-Tweed, and one at Scarborough.

Marching  
Order Book  
Vol. I.

On the 10th May, orders were issued for the four companies in garrison at Berwick to be forthwith recruited up to a strength of 80 privates each, and on the 16th a detachment, consisting of one officer, one sergeant, one corporal, and eight musqueteers, was directed to repair to, and keep guard on Holy Island, to be relieved weekly until further notice. On the 13th June all the companies were ordered to be raised to 100 men each, but after Sedgemoor a general order was issued directing the companies of all regiments to be reduced to 60 private soldiers, besides officers (except the two regiments of Guards, the companies of which were to be 80 strong).

Ibid.

Ibid.

On the 25th a further reduction was ordered, to 50 privates per company (Guards 60).

The insurrections gave James II. an opportunity to increase the standing army, of which he eagerly availed himself. Twelve regiments of cavalry and nine of infantry

were raised during the months of June, July, and August.\* 1685.  
The rebellion was crushed before they were ready to take the field, nevertheless, none of them were disbanded on the restoration of order. In addition to these, James also recalled the three English and three Scotch regiments which were in the service of Holland. These arrived in England in June, and were placed on the English establishment from the 5th of that month until the 3rd August, Dalton, when they returned to Holland.

In consequence of these additions to the army a fresh order regulating the precedence of regiments was issued in August, the order of precedency of the infantry being laid down as follows :—

The First Regiment of Foot Guards.

The Coldstreamers.

The Royall Regiment.

Our Dearest Sister the Queen Dowager's Regiment.†

Mis. O. Bk.

No. 6, p. 59

60.

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\* The Regiments raised on this occasion were :—

The Queen's Regiment of Horse, now the 1st K.D.G's.

The Earl of Peterboro's Regiment of Horse, now the 2nd D.G's.

The Earl of Plymouth's Regiment, now the 3rd D.G's.

Lord Dover's Regiment of Horse, disbanded in 1686.

The Earl of Thanet's Regiment of Horse, disbanded in 1690-1.

The Earl of Arran's Regiment of Horse, now the 4th D.G's.

The Earl of Shrewsbury's Regiment of Horse, now the 5th D.G's.

Princess Anne of Denmark's Regiment of Horse, disbanded in 1692.

The Queen Dowager's Regiment of Horse, now the 6th D.G's.

The Queen's Regiment of Dragoons, now the 3rd Hussars.

Col. John Berkley's Regiment of Dragoons, now the 4th Hussars.

Col. Ric. Hamilton's Regiment of Dragoons, disbanded in 1689.

The Royal Fuzileers, now the Royal Fusiliers. (7th).

Princess Anne of Denmark's Regiment of Foot, now The King's (8th).

Col. Hy. Cornwall's Regiment of Foot, now the Norfolk Regt. (9th).

The Earl of Bath's Regiment of Foot, now the Lincolnshire Regt. (10th).

The Duke of Beaufort's Regiment, now the Devonshire Regt. (11th).

The Duke of Norfolk's Regiment of Foot, now the Suffolk Regt. (12th).

The Earl of Huntingdon's Regiment of Foot, now the Somersetshire Lt.

Infantry (13th).

Sir E. Hale's Regiment of Foot, now the West Yorkshire (14th).

Sir William Clifton's Regiment of Foot, now the East Yorkshire (15th).

† The Queen's (Royal West Surrey).

1685.      The Regiment of Prince George, Hereditary Prince of Denmark.\*  
             Our Holland Regiment.  
             Our Dearest Consort the Queen's Regiment.†  
             Our Royall Regiment of Fusiliers.  
             Our Most Dear and Most Entirely Beloved Daughter the  
                 Princess Anne of Denmark's Regt.  
             Cornwall's Regiment.  
             The E. of Bath's Regt.  
             The D. of Beaufort's Regt.  
             The D. of Norfolk's Regt.  
             The E. of Huntingdon's Regt.  
             Sr E. Hale's Regt.  
             Sr W. Clifton's Regt.

All other regiments of foot to take place according to their respective seniorities from the time they were raised.‡

In the early autumn of this year, orders were issued for the concentration of the Holland Regiment at Southwark, which was effected during the months of September, October, and November. The various companies proceeded by march route from Berwick, Hull, Scarborough, and Portsmouth (the two companies from Jersey), respectively. From the fact that routes were only issued for twelve companies altogether and that no mention is made in them of the Grenadier company, it is probable that the latter was already in London or in its vicinity.

The route issued for the four companies at Berwick is subjoined, and will be found interesting as showing the marching powers expected of the troops at this period.

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\* Formerly the Duke of York's Regt., disbanded in 1689.

† Formerly the Earl of Plymouth's or 2nd Tangier Regt., now the King's Own (Royal Lancaster Regt.).

‡ The English regiments which accompanied the Prince of Orange from Holland in 1683 were permanently taken on to the English establishment, and were given precedence next to the Queen's regiment, on the strength of their having been originally taken on the English establishment in June, 1685.

ROUTE FOR FOUR COMPANIES OF THE HOLLAND REGIMENT  
FROM BERWICK TO SOUTHWARK.

1685.

No. of Days.	Places of Lodging.	Miles.	Rest.	Days of the week.	Days of the month.	Marching Order Bk., Vol. 2.
1	Belford - - -	12	—	Thursday	8 Oct.	1685
2	Alnwick - - -	12	—	Friday	9 Oct.	85
3	Morpeth - - -	14	—	Saturday	10 Oct.	85
4	—	—	Rest	Sunday	11 Oct.	85
5	Newcastle - - -	12	—	Munday	12 Oct.	85
6	Durham - - -	12	—	Tuesday	13 Oct.	85
7	Darlington - - -	15	—	Wednesday	14 Oct.	85
8	—	—	Rest	Thursday	15 Oct.	85
9	Northallerton - - -	10	—	Friday	16 Oct.	85
10	Boroughbridge - - -	14	—	Saturday	17 Oct.	85
11	—	—	Rest	Sunday	18 Oct.	85
12	York - - -	13	—	Munday	19 Oct.	85
13	—	—	Rest	Tuesday	20 Oct.	85
14	Sherburn - - -	13	—	Wednesday	21 Oct.	85
15	Doncaster - - -	15	—	Thursday	22 Oct.	85
16	Bautre - - -	7	—	Friday	23 Oct.	85
17	Tuxford - - -	12	—	Saturday	24 Oct.	85
18	—	—	Rest	Sunday	25 Oct.	85
19	Newark - - -	10	—	Munday	26 Oct.	85
20	Grantham - - -	10	—	Tuesday	27 Oct.	85
21	Stamford - - -	16	—	Wednesday	28 Oct.	85
22	—	—	Rest	Thursday	29 Oct.	85
23	Yaxley - - -	12	—	Friday	30 Oct.	85
24	Huntingdon - - -	11	—	Saturday	31 Oct.	85
25	—	—	Rest	Sunday	1 Nov.	85
26	Royston - - -	15	—	Munday	2 Nov.	85
27	Ware - - -	14	—	Tuesday	3 Nov.	85
28	Waltham Abbey & Waltham Cross - - -	9	—	Wednesday	4 Nov.	85
29	Southwark - - -	12	—	Thursday	5 Nov.	85

The companies from Hull marched viâ Kirton, Lincoln, Sleaford, Bourne, Peterborough, and Huntingdon, leaving on the 18th September, and being timed to arrive at Southwark on the 1st October. The two companies from Jersey were ordered to march from Portsmouth on the 13th September, performing the distance, viâ Petersfield and Guildford, in five marches, with one day's halt en route.

Ibid.

In October, the Earl of Mulgrave, who had been made a Privy Councillor in July, was appointed Lord Chamberlain of the Household and Vice-Admiral of York, thereby

R

1685. vacating the command of the regiment, the colonelcy of which was, on the 25th, conferred on Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, lieutenant-colonel of the 3rd Troop of Life Guards. This officer, who had held commissions in several regiments of horse, served during the rising in Scotland in 1679, and was present at Bothwell Bridge. During the recent rebellion he commanded the force which attacked and defeated with much loss the detachment of Monmouth's army at Caniston Bridge, near Bristol. He also greatly distinguished himself at Sedgemoor, and was knighted by James II.

Dalton.

1686. On the 1st January (1685/6) the establishment of the regiment was fixed as follows:—

Estab. Bk.,  
Vol. I.

## His Majesties Holland Regiment of Foot.

## Field and Staff Officers.

	Per Diem.	Per Annum.
Colonel as Colonel ... ..	00 12 00	219 00 00
Lieutenant Colonel as Lieutnt		
Colonel ... ..	00 07 00	127 15 00
Major as Major ... ..	00 05 00	091 05 00
Chaplain ... ..	00 06 08	121 13 04
Chirurgeon 4s and one mate 2s 6d	00 06 06	118 12 06
Adjutant ... ..	00 04 00	073 00 00
Quart. Master and Marshall, to be executed by one person ...	00 04 00	073 00 00
	02 05 02	824 05 10

## Colonels Company.

His Majesties	Colonel as Captain ... ..	00 08 00	146 00 00
Holland Regt.	Lieutenant ... ..	00 04 00	073 00 00
of Foot con-	Ensign ... ..	00 03 00	054 15 00
sisting of 650	Two Sergeants each 18d p diem	00 03 00	54 15 00
soldrs. in 13	Three Corporalls each 12d ...	00 03 00	054 15 00
companies of	One Drummer ... ..	00 01 00	018 05 00
50 in each	Fifty soldiers each 8d p diem ...	01 13 04	608 06 08
company			
besides officers.			
		02 15 04	1009 16 08



The Pay of eleven companies  
more at the same rate as in the  
Colonels company above men-  
tioned ... .. 30 08 08 11108 03 04

1686.

One company of Grenadiers  
belonging to this regiment.

Captain	...	...	...	00 08 00	146 00 00
Two Lieutenants at 4s. each	...	...	...	00 08 00	146 00 00
Three Sergeants at 18d. each	...	...	...	00 04 06	082 02 06
Three Corporals at 12d. each	...	...	...	00 03 00	054 15 00
Two drummers at 12d. each	...	...	...	00 02 00	036 10 00
Fifty Granadiers at 8d. each	...	...	...	01 13 04	608 06 08
				02 18 10	1073 14 04

Total for this Regiment ... 38 08 00 14016 00 00

The rates of subsistence money were fixed at :—

Ibid.

3/6 a week for a private soldier.  
4/6 for drummers and corporals.  
6/- for sergeants.  
10/6 for Ensigns.  
14/- for Lieutenants.

An acct. of the Ammunition allowed for His Mats Forces  
accordin to the late Establishment for there (sic) Duty and  
exercise for every three moneths Time.

Ibid.

The 13 Compa of His Mats Holland Regiment

Powder Barrells	Match	Musqt Shott
6½	6¼	3

An Acco of the Armes together with all the Habiliaments of Warr thereunto belonging for the Arming His Mat Forces according to the late Establishment etc.

**Estab. Bk.**  
**No. 1.**

Comps.	Men.	
13689	His Mats Holland Regt of Foot	300
144	Match Lock Musketts,	144
444	Snapshance Musquetts,	444
192	Bandaliers,	192
26	Pikes,	26
13	Halberts,	13
53	Drumes,	53
53	Long Carbines Strapt,	53
53	Byonettts with Belts and Froggs,	53
53	Cartouch Boxes for Carbines with Girdles,	53
53	Granado Pouches with Belts,	53
53	Hamer Hatchetts,	53
106	Hand Granadoes with Fuzes,	106

On the 27th October of this year the lieutenant-colonelcy of the regiment became vacant (whether by the death or retirement of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir T. Ogle is not clear), and was conferred by the King on Sir Robert Carey, 6th Baron Hunsdon, a roman catholic, who had not conformed to the Test Act.

The regiment spent the following winter and the spring of 1686 in billets in Southwark.

A curious advertisement appears in the "London Gazette" in January, for the apprehension of two deserters, of which the following is a copy :—

Philip John and Edward John, belonging to Captain Peyton's Company in the Holland Regiment of Foot deserted their colours the 10th instant.

The first is about 21 or 22 years of age, not very tall, of middle stature, brown hair, not long, a little curled. Hath a drugget coat lined with whitish silk. The latter is about 19 or 20 years of age, not so tall as the other, but of a thick well proportioned body, a ruddy round face, lank

short flaxen hair, sanguine complexion, a little down look't ; 1686.  
hath a blackish coat the sleeves faced with red, neither of  
them speaks good English, being Jersey men whose native  
language is French. Whosoever gives notice of them at  
Captain Peytons quarters at the Queen's Head Inn, near  
the Falcon, Bankside, Southwark, shall receive a guinea  
reward for each.

At the end of March two companies were ordered to Marching  
march to Hounslow on "Munday being the fifth of Aprill, Order Bk.,  
and next day to Windsor Castle for duty, relieving two Vol. 2,  
companies of Hales Regiment." They remained there until  
14th May, when they returned to Southwark, viâ Brentford. Ibid.

On the 25th May, the whole regiment marched from  
Southwark, for the camp of exercise formed at Hounslow  
by James II., with the double object of affording training to  
his troops and of overawing the populace of London.

At the outset of his reign James had been decidedly  
popular, both with Parliament, the Church, and the people,  
and, had he acted, after Sedgemoor, with tact and prudence,  
he might have strained the laws to a great extent without  
encountering any serious opposition from the nation, but  
he imprudently attempted to carry everything with a high  
hand.

An ardent papist, he openly attended Mass, appointed  
his co-religionists to every office in his power, civil or  
military, and endeavoured in every way to advance the  
cause of the roman catholic party.

A large number of the officers of the new-raised regi-  
ments were roman catholics who had not conformed to the  
Test Act of 1673, which required all persons holding civil  
and military appointments to take oaths of allegiance and  
supremacy, and to receive the sacrament in the Established  
Church.

On the opening of Parliament in November, the King,  
counting on the support of the standing army in the event  
of his schemes bringing him into conflict with the people,  
demanded its continuance, at its increased strength, instead  
of a Militia, which he declared had proved its worthlessness  
during the late rebellion. He further required for the

1686. popish officers indemnity and dispensation from the Test, exactions very unexpected and very displeasing to the Commons. His demands meeting with stubborn resistance from Parliament, the House was adjourned until February, and James, taking the law into his own hands, on the 28th November issued fresh commissions to all the roman catholic officers of the army, and troubled himself no further about Parliament, which, after several prorogations, was ultimately dissolved.

General alarm now prevailed throughout the country. The Church, hitherto the King's chief support, was terrified, the army was disgusted. The revocation, by Louis XIV., of the Edict of Nantes, flooding England with some 50,000 French Protestant refugees, intensified the unpopularity of the roman catholic party.

But James was determined not to yield, and, under pretence of a camp of exercise, he assembled a force of 14 battalions of foot, 32 squadrons of horse, and 28 pieces of artillery on Hounslow Heath\* to overawe the people.

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\* According to the list given in the Miscellany Order Book, No. 6. p. 102, the following regiments were present at the camp on Hounslow Heath, during the summer of 1686 :—

The Royal Regiment of Horse.		
The Queen's Regiment of Horse.		
The Earl of Peterboro's Regiment of Horse.		
The Earl of Plymouth's	"	"
Maj.-Gen. Werden's	"	"
The Earl of Arran's	"	"
The Earl of Shrewsbury's	"	"
The Princess's	"	"
The Queen Dowager's	"	"
The Royal Regiment of Dragoons.		
The Queen's Dragoons.		
The Princess's Dragoons.		
Two Bns. of the First Regiment of Guards.		
One Bn. of the Coldstream Regt.		
One Bn. of the Scots Guards.		
One Bn. of the Royall Regt. of foot.		
The Queen Dowager's	"	"
Prince George's	"	"
The Holland	"	"
Colonel Cornwall's	"	"
The Royall Regt. of Fusiliers.		

In London, the people saw with terror the assembling of this large force in their neighbourhood, but familiarity soon diminished their fears. "A visit to Hounslow became their favourite amusement on holidays. The camp presented the appearance of a vast fair. Mingled with the musketeers and dragoons, a multitude of fine gentlemen and ladies from Soho Square, sharpers and painted women from Whitefriars, invalids in sedans, monks in hoods and gowns, lacqueys in rich liveries, pedlars, orange girls, mischievous apprentices and gaping clowns, was constantly passing and re-passing through the long lanes of tents." 1686.

The King was constantly at the camp. Regiments were reviewed singly and in bodies, and mock sieges and battles were rehearsed by the whole force. Regiments vied with each other in the magnificence of their tents and accommodation and in the expense of their entertainments.

An open market was held every day for the sale of all kinds of provisions, and orders were given for the severe punishment of any soldier injuring, molesting, or exacting money from the sutlers.

A council or general court-martial was held every Friday morning, to hear complaints between soldiers, or of civilians against the military.

Orders were also issued forbidding sergeants to keep victualling houses, or privates to marry without leave from their captains.

To the extreme annoyance of the King, reports were set in circulation that the camp was so unhealthy that the men were dying in hundreds, and an announcement was consequently published in the "London Gazette" to the effect that only 138 men had been returned sick and lame since the camp had been formed, and that many of those were ill when they came to the camp.

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The Earl of Bath's Regt. of foot.

The Marqs. of Worcester's Regt. of foot.

The Earl of Litchfield's       "       "

The Earl of Huntingdon's       "       "

Also several independant companies,

the numbers amounting to some 3,500 horse and dragoons and 7,100 foot, besides officers.

1686. On the 30th June the King held a grand review of the whole force, an account of which, with the list of the regiments present, a description of their dress, and a statement of their strength, is given in the Antiquarian Repertory, from which the subjoined extract is taken.

Regts. of Foot.	Field Officers.	Colour of Cloaths.	Tps. or Cies.	Men in each.	Total Men.
Col. Oglethorpe's	Sr. Theo. Oglethorpe, Col. Lord Hunsdon, Lt. Col. — Starling, Maj.	Red, lined with ash; ash- coloured breeches and stockings.	12	50	600
.	.	.	.	.	.

The above return does not tally with that already given from the Miscellany Order Book, which shows the strength of the regiment as 650 men (13 companies), besides officers.

The ash colour of the facings was, of course, the colour of ash wood, or pale buff.

March. O. Bk., Vol. 2. On the day after the review (1st July) two companies were detached to Tunbridge Wells "to encamp and attend Princess Anne during her stay there."

Luttrell.

The camp was broken up, after incessant wet weather, on the 10th August, but before it did so the Master-General of the Ordnance received instructions for the issue of two "small field pieces of brasse, of three pound bullet, with such equipage as you shall judge requisite for the same," to each of the following regiments, which were then in camp at Hounslow.

H.O. Mil.  
Ent. Bk.,  
Vol. 2, p. 351.

A Battn of Scotch Guards.  
Dumbarton's Battn.  
The Queen Dowager's Regt.  
Prince George of Denmark's.  
The Holland Regiment.  
The E. of Bath's Regt.  
The Marq. of Worcester's Regt.

These field pieces were to accompany the regiments to their respective quarters, on the breaking up of the camp, and were to be in charge of the Grenadiers. The 28 brass three-pounders then at the camp were ordered to be returned into store. 1686. W.O.Warrant. Bk. No. 8, p. 55.

On the 10th August the camp broke up, nine companies of the Holland Regiment, including the two doing duty at Tunbridge Wells, proceeding, viâ Southwark, Huntingdon, Peterborough, and Lincoln, to Hull, being timed to arrive there on the 24th, "so as nevertheless the said companies rest every Sunday and every third or fourth day if the officer in chief command shall see cause." The other four companies marched with the regiment as far as Peterborough, proceeding thence, viâ Grantham, Newark, and Doncaster, to York, where they were due on the 28th of the month. Marching Order Bk., Vol. 2.

On the 16th December, four of the companies at Hull were detached to Beverley, "to be relieved from time to time as the Governor of Hull should direct." Ibid.

The regiment was left in these quarters but a very short time, for on the 16th February one company marched from York to Scarborough, and three for "Tinnmouth," and on the 11th March one company was ordered to embark or march from Beverley or Hull to relieve a detachment of the Royal Regiment at Landguard Fort, and during the same month the Grenadier company, from Tynemouth, and a company from Beverley, were sent to York. 1687. Marching Order Bk., Vol. 2.

On the 7th August the company at Landguard Fort was ordered to Ipswich, and on the 14th orders were issued for the concentration of the whole regiment at Berwick-on-Tweed, relieving Lord Montgomery's Regiment\* at that station. Ibid, Vol. 3.

A detachment appears to have been quartered at Holy Island, and their being billeted on the inhabitants caused considerable inconvenience and hardship, for on 15th October the Bailiffs of the Corporation of Holy Island petitioned Lord Dartmouth, complaining of the inconvenience suffered by the company of soldiers there Dartmouth MSS.

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\* Late Marq. of Worcester's, now the Devonshire (11th).

1687. quartered by reason of the poverty and disability of the inhabitants. They asked that twelve beds might be placed in the Castle, so that the poorer sort of inhabitants might be eased and the soldiers not forced to lie in that cold place upon straw, very slenderly covered. "The Governor there, Captain Throckmorton of Col. Oglethorpe's regiment would have given an account of the business but the writers supposed themselves more nearly concerned and took it upon themselves to write to his Lordship."

The following is an extract from a regulation for musqueteers, dated Whitehall, 21st February, 1686/7 :—

Mackinnon  
Hist. Coldst.  
Guards.

The musqueteers of Our regiment of Foot Guards to have snaphance musquets with bright barrels, of 3 ffoot 8 inches long in the barrell, with good swords, bandiliers and bionetts; and the pikemen (as also the pikemen of all other regiments) to have pikes 16 ffoot long with good swords.

Musqueteers of all other regiments of Foot (excepting Our regiment of Fuziliers, the Grenadiers, and the company of miners) to have matchlock and snaphance musquetts; the barrells whereof to be 3 ffoot 6 inches long, good swords and bandiliers.

Our Royal Regiment of Fuziliers to have snaphance musquets, strapt with bright barrells of 3 ffoot 8 inches long, with good swords, cartouch boxes and bionetts. All the ffoot grenadiers of Our army, both regimental and non-regimental, to have long carbines strapt; the barrells whereof to be 3 ffoot 2 inches long, cartouch boxes, bionetts granado pouches and hammer hatchets. The companies of Miners to have long carbines, strapt; the barrels to be 3 ffoot 2 inches in length, cartouch boxes, bionetts, and extraordinary hammer hatchets. The Dragoons to have snaphance musquets strapt, with bright barrells of 3 ffoot 8 inches long, cartouch boxes, bionetts, granado pouches, buckets and hammer hatchets.\*

Mis. O. Bk.,  
No. 6, p. 111.

On the 4th March an order was issued "for the preventing of mischief that may happen," which forbade "all officers and soldiers of what quality soever to carry a dagger or bayonett at any other time than when they shall

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\* At this period dragoons fought on foot, using their horses merely for locomotion, like the mounted infantry of the present day.



be on duty or under their arms," under pain of court-martial. 1687.

The following are the names of the officers of the regiment in November, 1687, as given in a manuscript Army List of that date, in the British Museum:—

Harl. MSS.  
4,847.

THE HOLLAND REGIMENT OF FOOT.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>	
Sr. Theophill Oglethorp (Coll.)	John Bristow	Ehud Boad	
Robt. Lord Hounsden (Lt.-Coll.)	Henry Hoult	John Shrempton	
James Sterling, Majr.	Francis Sterling	Francis Negus	
Sr. John Berry	Francis Williamson	Richard Moor	
Charles Manwaring	Thomas Saunders	— Oglethorp	
Edward Fitz-Patrick	John Martin	Anthony Alix	The Holland
Francis Collingwood	Edward Fox	John Prideaux	Regiment of
Sr. William Wheeler	Henry Feilding	Thomas Smith	Foot.
Herbert Throckmorton	Barnaby Bowtell	Alexander Hall	
Andrew Birch	Richard Boulton	Ferdinando Foster	
Humphry Barrington	George Pilkington	Oliver Luke	
Thomas Cornwallis,	{ Thomas Musgrave, 1st	—	
Granadr.		—	
Henry Peyton	John Meolls	Rowland D'Anvers	
<i>Staff-Officers</i>	{ John Mauleverer -	<i>Chaplain.</i>	
	{ Henry Holt -	<i>Adjutant.</i>	
	{ James Peirse -	<i>Chirurgeon.</i>	
	{ John Wormal -	<i>Quarter Master.</i>	

In these days (1687) few, if any, barracks existed, and soldiers were chiefly lodged in billets, receiving an allowance to defray the cost of the same. This not unnaturally caused very great irregularities, which led to the publication of the following order:—

Whitehall, Nov. 27th, 1687.

James R.

For the better preventing all complaints that may be made touching any debts that shall be hereinafter contracted by any Private Soldiers within Our Pay and Entertainment, We have thought fit hereby to declare Our Royal Pleasure to all persons whom it may concern, within Our Garrisons or elsewhere, That no Private Soldier of any Regiment or Company of Foot, be trusted on any Account or Pretence

Lond. Gaz.

1687. whatsoever, in their Quarters ; and to the end every Private Foot Soldier may be enabled duely and constantly to discharge his Quarters, and to pay for what shall be necessary for him : We do hereby further Direct and Require every respective Captain or Officer in Chief, with any Company of Foot, to pay and satisfie unto each Private Soldier under their command, Three Shillings each Week, at Two equal payments, to be made at the beginning and middle of each Week, as subsistence money, without any deduction whatsoever ; and that they do likewise accompt every Two months with each Soldier for six pence per Week more, allowed by Us for the providing such necessities for each Soldier, to which the Off-Reckonings, or Residue of their Pay, hath not formerly been liable : And We do hereby order the said Off-Reckonings to be employed by the Colonel of each respective Regiment, for the Cloathing and Poundage, and satisfying all other remaining Expenses, for which a due accompt is likewise to be made unto each Soldier at the time of every Cloathing.

By this order the men of the Guards were granted an allowance of 4/- per week, and those of the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers 3/6, instead of 3/-.

1687. At this period, both officers and soldiers were exempt from arrest for debt, unless leave were previously obtained for their apprehension. This rule, however, seems to have been systematically disregarded, judging from the number of orders similar to the following, which are recorded from time to time in the Miscellany Order Books :—

Mis. O. Bk.,  
No. 6, p. 116.

Robert, Earl of Sunderland, Baron Spenser of Wormleighton, Knt of the Most Noble Order of the Garter Presdt of the Privy Council etc.

Whereas Oath has been made that Thos. Wigmore Gent. Ensign in His Mats Holland Regiment of ffoot, Commanded by Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe Knt has been lately arrested by John Ruddock, Bayliff and carried into Newgate at the suit of John Atkins without Leave first obtained for the same whereby His Mats Service is greatly hindered :

These are in His Mats Name to Require you to apprehend and bring in custody before His'Maty in Council the persons. of the said John Ruddock and John Atkins to answer what

shall be objected against them concerning the Premises. 1687.  
And all parties etc.

Given at the Court at Whitehall  
the 30 day of January 1687/8

SUNDERLAND.

To St. John Taylor one of the  
Messengers of His Mats Chamber  
in ordinary.

The officer in question, Ensign Wigmore, had not lost time in getting into difficulties, for he had only been appointed to the regiment on the 1st of January.

On the 11th March orders were given for the regiment, on relief by Cornwall's Regiment, to proceed from Berwick-on-Tweed to York, and on the 6th April instructions were given for it to march, on relief by a battalion of the Royal Regiment, to the neighbourhood of London, where it was to be quartered at Brentford, Brentford End, Whitton, Thistleworth (?Isleworth), Hounslow, Eling (sic), Acton, Chiswick, Turnham Green, and Hammersmith. Marching  
Order Bk.,  
Vol. 3.

On the 25th May two companies, or 80 "commanded men," with officers, were ordered to Windsor, where they remained until the 5th of the following month.

Ibid.

Meanwhile James, with blind fatuity, persisted in his endeavours to ride rough-shod over the nation. To advance Roman Catholicism by every means in his power, legal or illegal, to deprive of office, and to oppress all those professing any other creed, was his one thought and desire. In Ireland, protestant officers were deprived of their commissions and papists put in their places, and some 5,000 private soldiers were discharged from the service and turned adrift. In England the clergy were forbidden to preach against popery, and papists were forced into position of authority at the Universities. 1687-8.

In 1687 the King published a Declaration of Indulgence, annulling the penal laws against non-conformists and catholics alike, and abrogated the acts imposing a test, as a qualification for office in Church or State. But, to their honour, the non-conformists would have none of it.

James then attempted, through the Lords-Lieutenant, to

1688. pack Parliament, so as to have a House of Commons which would repeal the Test Act, but the majority refused to comply with his iniquitous orders, whereupon they were deprived of their Lord-Lieutenancies.

A fresh Declaration of Indulgence was issued on the 27th April, 1688, which was ordered to be read by every clergyman during Divine service on successive Sundays. Almost to a man, the clergy refused compliance, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, assembled at Lambeth, signed a protest to the King, declining to publish an illegal declaration. For this they were ordered to be prosecuted, and were committed to the Tower to await their trial.

Dalton. James, in January, foreseeing the possibility of trouble, both at home and from abroad, and anxious to prepare for any eventuality, called on the Prince of Orange, by virtue of his prerogative, to send the six English and Scotch regiments in the Dutch service back to England. This the Prince refused to do, but granted leave to any officer who wished to do so, to return home, and about 40 availed themselves of the permission. Three regiments\* were then formed in Ireland, and taken into the pay of the King of France, who had *proposed to maintain a body of 2,000 men in England, to be principally of the Roman Catholic Church.*

R.U.S.I.  
MSS. At the beginning of June the Camp of Exercise at Hounslow Heath, which had been an annual institution since the accession of James II., was again in the course of formation, and on the 13th the Holland Regiment was detailed to furnish a daily guard of a lieutenant and 30 non-commissioned officers and men over the ammunition and stores within the Park of Artillery, and on the 27th the whole regiment moved into camp,† its strength being 27 sergeants, 39 corporals, 14 drummers, and 638 privates.

\* Hales's (disbanded 1697), Wauchop's (disbanded 1697) and McElligott's (disbanded 1689). These regiments were raised in March and officered chiefly from the officers who had come over from Holland. They remained in French pay until November.—*Dalton.*

† The force assembled consisted of 8 regiments of Horse, 2 bns. of Foot Guards, 1 of the Coldstream Regiment, 1 of the Scots Guards, the Royal

The camp presented the same scene of revelry as on previous occasions. Of military discipline, as understood at the present day, there was little or none, for courts-martial were not recognised by common law, and only in war time was the mutineer or deserter liable to be tried by a military tribunal.\* 1688.

The King, as in previous years, was constantly in camp, and made a practice of dining there twice a week with the Earl of Feversham, the Commander-in-Chief, or with one of the other commanders.

On the 29th June, the imprisoned bishops were brought to trial at the bar of the King's Bench. Popular excitement was intense, and the result was eagerly awaited throughout the realm. The jury was packed, and the judges were mere puppets of the Crown, but dread of popular fury had overawed them, and at ten o'clock on the morning of the 30th the jury returned into court with a verdict of "not guilty." Amid the plaudits of the crowd, horsemen sped in every direction to spread the joyful tidings.

The King that day was at the camp, and was at dinner in the Earl of Feversham's tent, when he was startled by the shouts of the soldiery. Feversham proceeded to ascertain the cause, and returned saying that "it was nothing but the soldiers rejoicing at the acquittal of the bishops."

"Do you call that *nothing*?" cried the King, "Tant pis pour eux!"† Then, calling for his horse, he shortly quitted the camp.‡

Respect for the King's presence had, so far, after the first

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Regiment, the Holland Regiment, the Royal Regiment of Fuzileers, the Earl of Litchfield's, and the Earl of Huntingdon's Regiments, making a total of between 6,000 and 7,000 men.

\* James, however, by packing the courts and bringing pressure on the judges, had succeeded in getting offenders illegally sentenced to death, which sentences were carried into effect in presence of the regiments to which the delinquents belonged.

† So much the worse for them!

‡ "As soon as the verdict was given there was such prodigious acclamations of joy as seem'd to set the King's authority at defiance: it spread itself not only into the Citie, but even to Hounslo Heath, when the soldiers upon the news of it, gave a great shout, tho' the King was then at dinner in the camp."—*Clarke's Life of James II.*

1688. outburst of joy, kept the soldiers quiet, but hardly was he beyond the camp before the shouts broke out again, and for far on his way the sound of triumphant cheering reached the ears of the mortified monarch, who rode on, sulkily muttering: "So much the worse for them!"

But even this rebuff was not sufficient to turn the King from his designs. He now determined to ascertain directly and unmistakably how far he might depend upon his troops for support in the abrogation of the Tests. The first regiment selected was that of the Earl of Litchfield.\*

The regiment was drawn up in the King's presence, and the major, George Trappes, a roman catholic, explained to the men that his Majesty required them to sign an agreement, binding them to assist in carrying into effect his intentions concerning the Test. All those who declined to do so were directed to lay down their arms. To the King's disgust, with the exception of two officers and a few men, all papists, the whole regiment grounded arms. After a few moments, the King bade the men take them up again, observing that another time he should not do them the honour of consulting them. It is needless to say that he did not carry the experiment any further.

Nevertheless, like his father and brother, he seems to have been incapable of learning by experience. His next move was to endeavour to leaven his English regiments with Irish roman catholic recruits, and again he met with a rebuff. He commenced, in September, with the Princess's Regiment of Foot,† of which his natural son, the Duke of Berwick, was colonel. To this regiment, stationed at Portsmouth, five Irish recruits per company were drafted, but the lieutenant-colonel, John Beaumont, and five of the captains, flatly refused to receive them. The King insisting, they tendered the resignation of their commissions, but James had them arrested, tried by a council-of-war, and cashiered. No further attempt, though, was made to draft Irish recruits into English regiments.

On the 9th August the camp at Hounslow Heath was

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\* Subsequently the 12th, now the Suffolk Regiment.

† Subsequently the 8th, the King's Regiment.

broken up. Two companies of the Holland Regiment were 1688.  
ordered to march, viâ Croydon and Westram (?Westerham),  
to Tunbridge Wells, to relieve a detachment of the Queen  
Dowager's Regiment, and to mount guard over Princess  
Anne during her stay there. The main body of the regi-  
ment proceeded viâ the "Hamlets of Our Tower of  
London," Woolwich, and Erith, to Rochester, Strood,  
Chatham, Frindsbury, and Gillingham, finding a detach-  
ment of 100 men, with officers, for Sheerness Fort. . . .  
Companies (number not specified) were also ordered to  
Maidstone.

Marching  
Order Bk.,  
Vol. 3.

On the 15th September the two companies at Tunbridge 1bid.  
Wells were ordered to march for Rochester, etc., the second  
day after the departure of the Princess from that place, and  
on the 24th the companies at Maidstone and the detach-  
ment at Sheerness were also ordered to headquarters.  
According to an "Abstract of the Numbers" and "Quarters  
of His Majesty's Forces," dated 20th October, the regiment  
at that date was stationed at Rochester, Strood, and  
Chatham, with a detachment of 50 men in the Tower  
Hamlets.

Dartmouth  
MSS.

The following is a list of the officers of the regiment, in  
the early autumn of 1688, as given in Add. MMS., 28,028,  
f. 108.

#### SR. THEOPHILUS OGLETHORP'S REGIMENT.

Lord Hunsdon, Lieut.-Coll.

Major Starling.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>
Berry	Holt	Moor
Manwarring	Shrimpton	Oglethorp (a child)
Collingwood	Fielding	Danvers
Fitzpatrick	Starling	
Barrington	Bolton	Luke
Throckmorton	Du Pro *	Wigmore
Birch	Musgrave	Fitzpatrick
Cornwallis	Pilkington	Foster

\* Du Preau or Du Preaux,

1688.	<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>
	Payton	Boad	Ellis
	Fox	Williamson	Negus
	Bristow, C. Lt.	Martin	
		King	
		Mioles	

This list is incomplete, as the adjutant and quartermaster do not appear. In the summary, the strength of the regiment is given as 3 field officers, 11 captains, 13 lieutenants, 12 ensigns, 2 adjutant and quartermaster, 26 sergeants, 39 corporals, 13 drummers, 637 soldiers. The regiment was altogether 3 ensigns and 13 privates under its established strength.

The remark, "a child," against the name of Ensign Oglethorpe instances an abuse practised in this reign, and for long after, of granting commissions to infants. This increased to such an extent during the 18th century as to become a serious evil. Professor Dalton mentions the case of George, Lord Ettrick, who was appointed captain in the Royal Scots Regiment of Foot, on the 23rd October, 1688, at the age of 18 months, and who did not become a bonâ-fide soldier until 27 years later, when he did so as a lieutenant-colonel.\*

Up to 1687 there is little or nothing to be found in the shape of documentary evidence relating to the colours of the regiment, beyond the two warrants quoted in Chapters VI. and VII. regarding the colours to be supplied to the companies under orders to proceed to Virginia and Tangier, and the description given by Nathan Brooks of the colours borne by the regiment at the camp on Hounslow Heath in 1684 (vide Chapter VIII). From these it is clear that the colours of the Holland Regiment were "the red cross, bordered with white in a green field," but there is no mention of any heraldic device or badge, and Major S. M.

Dalton.

\*The well-known story of the "Major crying for his partridge," was not a nursery fiction, nor was the equally true, but less well-known, anecdote of the nurse breaking into the dining-room, in the midst of a dinner party, to inform her master that the "colonel and the captain were a-fighting so in the nursery she could not separate them," a mere fable.



Milne, the author of "Standards and Colours of the British Army," a recognised authority on the subject, is of opinion that there were none. True the warrant of 12th July, 1680, mentions "2 ffigurs of Disns," but this refers to the distinctive company badge, for in those days each company had colours, all being more or less similar, but with company distinctions. Of the Dragon now borne on the colours and worn as a badge by the regiment, and which tradition attributes to the connection of the regiment with the Train Bands of the City of London, there is no documentary evidence until the warrant of 1751, which laid down for the first time officially the badges and devices authorised to be displayed on regimental colours. In this the "Third Regiment, or the Buffs," are ordered to display "In the centre of their colours, the Dragon, being *their ancient badge*," but a warrant issued in 1743 mentions the "Old Buffs" among the regiments "allowed to wear royal devices or antient badges." These warrants, therefore, clearly show that the Dragon had been the regimental badge for a very considerable period.

1688.

However, after the accession of James II., changes and alterations were made in nearly all the colours and standards of the army, of which coloured drawings and detailed particulars are to be found in a finely illustrated manuscript in the Royal Library at Windsor.

With regard to the infantry, four examples are given of the colours of each regiment, viz.: The Colonel's, the Lieutenant-Colonel's, the Major's, and one of the Captain's flags. It will be remembered that it was the invariable custom in those days for the above-mentioned field officers to command companies, and each company in a regiment had its flag distinct in some particulars from the others.

The following is the description given of those of the Holland Regiment:—

"The Holland Regiment, commanded by Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe.

"The Colonel's flag, black. In the centre, very large, covering fully half the space, the 'Sun in splendour.'

1688. "The Lieutenant-Colonel's, black with a red cross, edged white. Over all the sun in splendour.

"The Major's, as the last, with the addition of a small silver flame or blaze issuing out of the upper corner.

"The eldest Captain's as the Lieutenant-Colonel's, but with the numeral 1 in the upper quarter."

Milne. The other captains' flags doubtless were numbered in rotation. With reference to this Major Milne says:—  
 "This will be at once noticed as a strange departure from any colours of this celebrated regiment, as used either before or since. . . . it will be necessary to look far afield for a probable explanation of this device so novel and conspicuous. The colonelcy had been recently given to Oglethorpe, who had been knighted for his services at Sedgemoor, but the 'sun in splendour' formed no part of the armorial bearings of his family. It must be borne in mind that devices and personal badges still played an important part in the European world; we shall see that even on the standards of our own army it yet took more than half a century to eradicate the custom of placing on the colours some private badge of the colonel or some charge from his coat of arms.

"No device, heraldic or otherwise, was placed on a standard in the time of James II., without some good reason; then why this important badge on the new colours of the Holland Regiment given out to the corps about the period when the cavalry leader of Sedgemoor was appointed to the colonelcy? It is not generally accepted that the 'sun in splendour' was a badge of King James II., but, judging from the evidence in Sandford's history of the coronation, such may possibly have been the case.

"In that work is a full page illustration of the set fire-works on that occasion, the principal feature being their Majesties' royal ciphers under the crown, whilst over all is the 'sun in splendour,' the following characteristic motto appearing below:—'Sol occubuit nox nulla secuta est.' Possibly the King, with a desire to do honour to the new colonel, granted his own badge to the regiment. Should this presumption be untenable, and it be denied further that

this device was King James's, then there is only the fact that it was the well-known and world-celebrated badge of 'le Roi Soleil,' Louis the Fourteenth, and might possibly have been conferred upon the regiment out of gratitude for the services rendered to the last of the Stuart kings by his royal cousin of France. One thing is quite certain, the 'sun in splendour' did not become a permanent badge of the regiment, it disappearing in all probability with the advent of William the Third.

1688.

Ibid.

"As regards the devices borne on the colours of the army during the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne nothing appears to be known."



1688.

## CHAPTER X.

1688.

We must now consider the events which brought about the King's downfall and placed William of Orange and his wife Mary on the throne of Great Britain.

James had no surviving son, and his eldest daughter Mary, the wife of the Prince of Orange, would have in due course succeeded him. But the King, by his hostility to the protestant religion, and by his high-handed and illegal proceedings, had rendered himself so odious to the nation that an extensive conspiracy had for some time been on foot with the object of inviting William to come over to assist in dethroning James, and placing Mary on the throne.

On the Continent the aggressive action of France towards Germany and Holland, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the persecution of the protestants by Louis XIV., had aroused general indignation, and in 1686 the German princes had bound themselves in the Treaty of Augsburg to resist further aggressions on the part of France. From this moment war became inevitable, its outbreak being merely a matter of time.

Green.

So far William had refused any encouragement to the malcontents who urged him to interfere in English affairs, and at the same time declined to assist James in carrying out his schemes, it being his aim "to discourage all violent counsels and to confine himself to organizing such a general opposition as would force James by legal means to reconcile himself to the country, to abandon his policy at home and abroad, and to join the alliance against France."

But an event now occurred which completely changed the whole of William's policy. In January, 1688, it was announced that the Queen was with child, and on the 10th of June, to the great joy of the King and the catholics, a

son\* was born, thus destroying the hopes of those who looked for the peaceful accession of a protestant sovereign in the natural course of events. 1688.

In many influential quarters the idea that the Queen had been confined was openly derided, and all sorts of ridiculous stories were invented to account for the child's parentage, among others one which obtained considerable credence was that the pretended prince was really the son of the colonel of the Holland Regiment, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, and of Lady Oglethorpe, who held appointments at the Court.

On the very day the bishops were acquitted, Admiral Herbert, a most popular officer, who had been deprived of his command for refusing to vote against the Test, left for Holland with a formal invitation to William to intervene for the restoration of liberty and the protection of the Protestant religion. The invitation was signed by some of the highest in the realm, who pledged themselves to rise in arms on his landing. A duplicate of the invitation was carried by Colonel Henry Sidney,† who from the first had been exceedingly active in promoting the conspiracy.

The Prince, seeing that all prospects of his wife's peaceful accession to the throne were at an end, and that the time was now ripe for striking a blow, at once commenced extensive preparations for the invasion of England. The utmost despatch and secrecy were observed, but it was impossible for long to conceal the object in view. From France James was warned of the coming danger; naval assistance was offered him, troops were held in readiness to march to the Dutch frontier, and the States General were warned that any attack on England would be regarded as a declaration of war against France.

But James treated Louis' warnings and offers of assistance with contempt, thinking the Prince of Orange would never dare to engage in an expedition beyond the seas, leaving Holland defenceless.

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\* The "Old Pretender."

† Late Captain in the Holland Regiment. See note in Chapter III.

1688. Louis XIV., now provoked beyond measure at James' stupidity and ingratitude, suddenly withdrew his troops from Flanders and threw them into Germany, over-running the whole of the Rhineland from Carlsruhe to Cologne, leaving William a free hand to carry out his designs on England.

Marching  
Order Bk.,  
Vol. 3.

The following precautionary order was issued to the Governor of Sheerness (Sir Chas. Lyttleton) on the 27th August :—" Our W. & P.\* is that upon sight or Information of any fforeign ffleet coming into the mouth or Channell of the River of Thames (sic) you do immediately give notice thereof by express to the Governor, Lieut Govr or the Officer in Chief Commanding the Forts and Blockhouses at Gravesend and Tilbury, and to Sr Theophilus Oglethorpe Knt Coll of Our Holland Regt of ffoot, or the Officer in Chief with that Regiment at Rochester and Maidston, that the Battalion of the Royall Regiment of Foot at Gravesend, and the Holland Regiment of ffoot may repair to such stations as We shall appoint."

But not until the middle of September was the King at length persuaded of the Prince of Orange's hostile intentions. Commissions were then issued for raising fresh regiments,† the establishments of the existing regiments were directed to be increased, troops were hurried into

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\* W. & P. Will and Pleasure.

† Regiments ordered to be raised in England during September, October, and November, 1688 :—

Marq. de Miremont's Horse	...	disb. Jan. 1689.
Lord Brandon's	do ...	do
Slingsby's	do ...	do
E. of Salisbury's	do ...	do
Richards'	Foot...	now the Leicestershire (17th).
Gage's	do ...	disb. Jan. 1689.
D. of Newcastle's	do ...	do
Col. Archibald Douglas'	do ...	now the Bedfordshire (16th).
Col. Bevil Skelton's	do ...	Colonelcy given by William to Capt. Fitz-Patrick of the Holland Regt., disb. 1697.
Holman's	do ...	disb. Jan. 1689.
E. of Stafford's	do ...	doubtful whether ever embodied.

England from Scotland and Ireland,\* and the Militia was 1688.  
ordered to be embodied.

As regards the Holland Regiment, on the 24th Sep-<sup>Etab. Bk.,</sup>  
tember ten men per company were added to each of the<sup>No. 3.</sup>  
thirteen companies, and a sergeant and a drummer to all  
but the Grenadier company. The above increase was to  
take effect from the 1st September. On the 4th October a<sup>March O.</sup>  
further addition of ten men per company was ordered for<sup>Bk., Vol. 3.</sup>  
every regiment. Three men per company from the Foot  
Guards, the Coldstreams, the Queen Dowager's, Prince  
George's, the Holland, the Queen's, and the Royal Fuzileer<sup>Ibid.</sup>  
Regiments, were directed "to be placed on board such<sup>Dartmouth</sup>  
vessels as shall be appointed to carry them to the Fleet,<sup>MSS.</sup>  
where they shall be employed in the King's service."

According to "An Abstract of the numbers of all His  
Majesty's Forces in England," dated 20th October, the  
King had by this time some 40,000 troops at his disposal,  
made up as follows:—

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\* *Scotch regiments* :—

Troop of Life Guards	...	afterwards 4th Troop of Life Gds., disb. 1746.
King's Own Royal Regt. of		
Horse ... ..	...	disb. Jan. 1689.
Royal Regt. of Dragoons	...	now 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys).
Regt. of Foot Guards (2 Bns.)	...	now the Scots Guards.
Col. Buchan's Foot	...	now Royal Scots Fusiliers (21st).

*Irish regiments* :—

Butler's Dragoons	...	disb. Jan. 1689.
King's Foot Guards	...	
Lord Forbes' Foot	...	now the Royal Irish (18th).
Hamilton's do	...	disb. Jan. 1689.
McElligott's do	...	do

1688. *English—*

Old Forces.	Horse.	9 Regts. and 4		
		Troops - -	4,750	
	Foot.	19 Regts. and 1		
		Ind. Co. - -	20,753	
	Dragoons.	3 Regts. - -	1,481	
New Forces.	Horse.	4 Regts. and 7		
		Ind. Tps. - -	1,849	
	Foot.	5 Regts. and 12		
		Ind. Cos. - -	5,487	
			<hr/>	34,320
<i>Scotch—</i>				
	Horse.	1 Regt. and 1		
		Troop - -	487	
	Foot.	2 Regts. - -	2,111	
	Dragoons.	1 Regt. - -	383	
			<hr/>	2,981
<i>Irish—</i>				
	Foot.	3 Regts. - -	2,180	
	Dragoons.	1 Regt. - -	636	
			<hr/>	2,816
			<hr/>	
		Grand Total - -	40,117	

Dart. MSS.

The general opinion in England was that the Prince of Orange would attempt a descent somewhere on the East Coast or in Scotland, but the King thought otherwise, and the course of events fully justified his opinion. On the 3rd November Mr. Pepys, then at the Admiralty, wrote to Lord Dartmouth as follows:—" . . . I left His Majesty just now at my coming from him in Council with his Generall Officers, disposing of matters for the hastning away his troops as fast as may be towards Portsmouth, to which place he seems to be at this present fully persuaded of the Dutch Fleet's being directed, the same being not a little surprizing, after haveing, by a succession of intelligence for severall days together been wrought to a strong beleife of their being designed for Scotland, or least northward, if in England."



On the day after the council a general move of the troops 1688. was ordered, the Holland Regiment marching on the 5th to Dartford and places adjacent, and the following day to Southwark, Lambeth, Rotherhithe, and places adjacent.\* March O.  
Bk., Vol. 3.

Their stay in London was, however, brief, for on the 8th they marched to Kingston, and the next day to "Stains." The detachment of 50 men at the Tower Hamlets remained there.

At this time, it will be remembered, the firearms in possession of the foot regiments were partly snaphance and partly matchlock muskets. On the 7th the latter were ordered to be replaced by snaphance muskets. The issue of these and the equipping the new regiments pretty well exhausted the resources of the Ordnance Office, and on the 22nd Sir P. Murgrave wrote to Lord Dartmouth giving a "melancholy account of the state of our affairs in the Ordnance Office." There was no cash and none obtainable from the Treasury. No "snaphance musquets left but 600 for Lord Dartmouth's regiment . . . changing of the matchlocks in the army hath mightily drained them. . . ." S.P. Dom.  
Milty. Vol. 3.  
Dart. MSS.

Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange, having completed his preparations, set sail with a powerful force† from the Maas on the 18th October. But heavy weather set in, and the expedition was driven back to port, on the 20th, having

\* The order gives the distribution of 4 regiments of Horse, 2 of Dragoons and 5 battalions of Foot in various quarters of London.

† 50 men-of-war, 25 frigates, 25 fireships and 500 transports. Admiral Herbert was in chief command of the fleet. The London Gazette of the 5th Nov. gives the numbers of the troops with the Prince as :—

14 regiments of Horse and Dragoons	...	...	3,660
16 regiments of Foot	...	...	10,692

14,352

Among the infantry were the three English and three Scotch regiments in the Dutch service. These were :—

Tollemache's, now the Northumberland Fusiliers (5th).  
Babington's, now the Royal Warwickshire's (6th).  
Sidney's (afterwards Cutts'), disbanded in 1697.

Balfour's, Mackay's, and Ramsay's remained in the Dutch service as the Scots Brigade until 1782, when they were disbanded and reformed on the English establishment as the 94th Regt. Finally disbanded in 1818.

1688. sustained considerable damage, and lost a large number of horses.

Reports received by James greatly exaggerated the amount of damage done, and the King, for the moment, thought the expedition at an end. But, having refitted, a fresh start was made from Helvoetsluys on the 30th. Steering north for some hours to deceive the English look-out ships as to his intentions, William suddenly changed his course for the Channel, and, eluding the English fleet under the Earl of Dartmouth, which was off the Thames, he anchored in Torbay on the morning of the 5th of November. Hardly had he anchored than strong southerly winds set in, driving Dartmouth, who was in hot pursuit, back to Portsmouth. William, with the British portion of his force, landed at Torbay, and subsequently the transports, with the remainder of the troops and the baggage, proceeded up the River Exe as far as Topsham, where they were disembarked. On the 8th and 9th Exeter was occupied without opposition.

For some days William received no accessions to his army. The promised troops which he expected did not appear, and the local nobility and gentry held aloof. The reason for this was that all arrangements for a rising had been made in anticipation that the Prince of Orange would land in the north, and his doing so on the Devonshire coast took everybody by surprise. Moreover, the horrors which had attended and had followed the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion were still fresh in the memories of the West Country folk, so that they should have hung back was not unnatural. Nevertheless, William, who had risked so much, was deeply mortified and irritated. So much so, that he threatened to withdraw his troops and to return to Holland, leaving to their fate those, whom he imagined, had betrayed him. However, on the 12th, some of the local gentry joined his standard; others were hurrying from distant points, and soon adherents began to flock from all parts.

Meanwhile, the Royal army, numbering some 24,000 men, was assembling in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, a

division being at that place and another near Marlborough. 1688.  
An advance brigade was at Warminster. The Earl of Feversham had been appointed to the chief command, and the intention was to advance from Salisbury to oppose the invaders. But treachery was at work, and now began to show itself among the leaders of the King's army. On the 14th November Lord Cornbury, a young colonel of dragoons, finding himself in temporary command of the troops at Salisbury, under pretence of a reconnaissance, took three regiments of horse, and by forced marches, proceeded to Blandford and Dorchester, and thence on to Axminster, with the intention of taking them over to the enemy. The officers, becoming suspicious, then demanded explanations, and failing to satisfy them, Cornbury found himself in a position of considerable peril, but succeeded in slipping off with a few followers to join the Prince. The bulk of the regiments, more loyal than their leader, managed to make their way back to Salisbury. One after the other James' most trusted officers began to desert, those who were loudest in their protestations of loyalty being the first to go. On the 18th the Earl of Bath, commanding at Plymouth, wrote to the Prince placing himself, his troops, and the fortress he commanded, at his disposal, thus relieving the invaders from all danger of an attack in rear.

On the 19th the King arrived in person at Salisbury, where his officers received him with loud protestations of loyalty. The following day, at the instigation of Colonel Churchill,\* he was to have visited the advanced post at Warminster, but fortunately for him an attack of illness prevented his so doing, for a plot had been conceived to seize his person, and to hand him over, a prisoner, to William.

On the very night of the King's arrival at Salisbury the Prince of Orange decided to advance, and set out on the 21st November. On the previous day a collision occurred at Wincanton between the advanced troops of the two armies, in which Mackay's Regiment of British troops,

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\* Afterwards Duke of Marlborough.

1688. though greatly outnumbered, defeated a force of the King's Irish troops. This affair was magnified into a great victory for the Prince.

On the very night of the King's arrival at Salisbury, many of the superior officers waited on Feversham, and informed him they could not bear arms against the Prince of Orange. Every hour afforded the King fresh proofs of the treachery of those about him. A council of war was held on the evening of the 24th. Feversham advocated falling back on the capital. Churchill and Grafton, to disarm suspicion, eagerly urged James to fight. The council lasted until midnight, when the King pronounced in favour of retreat. When morning dawned it was found that, under cover of the darkness, Churchill and Grafton had deserted to the enemy. A general retreat on the capital was now ordered, the King's intention being to station his army along the line of the Thames, between Marlow and London. (James to Dartmouth, 25th November.)

Dart. MSS.

Marching  
O. Bk., No. 4.

Ibid.

On the 22nd November new articles of war were ordered to be published, at the head of every regiment, and the oath of fidelity therein prescribed taken by every officer and soldier in the army. On the same date urgent orders were sent to the "Lords Commissioners" for "shoes . . . as may be most proper for the present season . . . for 10,000 Foot soldiers to be forthwith made and despatched to the army." From this order it would appear the possibility of a winter campaign was contemplated.

Ibid.

There is no trace in the Order Books of the movements of the Holland Regiment from the time they arrived at Staines, on the 9th, until the 22nd of the month, but they were evidently in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, as on that day orders were issued for them to march on the 23rd (whence does not appear) to "Ambersbury (?Amesbury), the next day to Andover, the next to Kingsclear and places adjacent, the day after to Reading, next day to Maidenhead, the day after to Colebrook (Colnbrook), and the day following to Brentford, to remain there."

On the 24th this route was modified, and they were

directed to march from Andover to Basingstoke on the 1688.  
25th, to Ockingham (?Wokingham) on the 26th, and to  
Colebrook on the 27th.

Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe was, on the 11th, appointed S.P. Dom.,  
Brigadier-General, and on the 20th was commanding the Mil., V. 3,  
troops in the neighbourhood of Amersbury, whence he p. 137.  
was sent to Warminster to report to the King on the state W.O. Letter,  
of affairs there. Bk. V., p. 1.

The King arrived at Andover on the night of the 24th, accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, the husband of his daughter, the Princess Anne, and the Duke of Ormonde, who supped with him. The King had hardly retired to rest, before Prince George and the Duke, together with the Earl of Drumlanrig, mounted their horses and fled. Prince George was a stupid dullard who, when told a piece of news, good or bad, invariably ejaculated:—"Est il possible!" When awoke with the news of his son-in-law's desertion, James' only remark was:—"What! Is 'Est il possible' gone, too? After all, a good Macaulay.  
trooper would have been a greater loss." Clarke.

On the evening of Monday, the 26th, the King arrived in London, and was met with the news of the desertion of his daughter, the Princess Anne, who had fled the night before to Nottingham.

The next day a council of the Lords was summoned, at which James had to listen to reproaches, taunts, and open insults. After a long and animated debate he broke up the meeting, announcing his intention to convene a Parliament. Writs for the same were issued, liberal concessions were announced, and a proclamation was put forth, granting a free pardon to all who were in rebellion.

But James had no intention of conceding anything, and the proclamations were a mere device to gain time. The very day the proclamation of amnesty was issued he explained to the French Ambassador that the negotiations were a mere feint to gain time to get the Queen and infant prince out of the country; that the only troops he could depend on were the Irish, who were too few to resist the enemy; that Parliament would impose on him conditions

1688. which he could not endure, and that, therefore, as soon as his wife and child were safe, he should take refuge either in Ireland, Scotland, or France.

Meantime the Eastern Counties were up in arms, and William, now within 70 miles of London, was hourly receiving fresh accessions to his following. Negotiations were now opened between the King and the Prince. On the 6th the latter arrived at Hungerford, and on the following day 250 of his troops encountered 600 of the King's Irish in the outskirts of Reading, and drove them with heavy loss through the town, the inhabitants joining in the attack.

On the 8th December the King's Commissioners arrived at Hungerford, and were received by the Prince in public. James' proposals were that all matters in dispute should be referred to Parliament, for the assembling of which writs were already being prepared, and that in the meantime the Prince's army should not advance nearer than 30 or 40 miles of London.

To these propositions William assented, stipulating, however, that, pending Parliament's decision, all existing laws and statutes should be obeyed, that James' troops should be withdrawn to an equal distance to the east of London, and that both armies should be maintained out of the revenues. Also that in the event of the King repairing to Westminster during the session of Parliament, with a body guard, the Prince should be at liberty to do likewise. Furthermore, the important fortress at Portsmouth was to be placed under the command of an officer in whom both the King and the Prince could confide.

These terms were delivered to the Royal Commissioners on the 9th, but James, whose only object was to gain time, had now effected his purpose. That night, with the aid of the Comte de Lauzun, a French nobleman resident in London, the Queen and infant Prince of Wales were smuggled down to Gravesend, where they embarked for France in a small yacht. The King received the news of their successful flight the following morning about the same time as the despatches from Hungerford. He at once

summoned all the peers in London, to acquaint them with the progress of the negotiations. To them he admitted having thought it advisable to send the Queen and infant prince out of the country, but declared that he himself should remain at his post. Another meeting of the peers was convened for the following day. 1688.

That night he had all the writs convening Parliament brought to him and flung them in the fire. He wrote a letter to Feversham commanding him to disband the army, and at 3 a.m. he left the palace secretly, taking with him the great seal, and crossing the Thames to Vauxhall, entered a carriage, which was in readiness, and took the road to Sheerness, where a small vessel was awaiting him.

The discovery in the morning of the King's flight spread consternation and dismay far and wide. No regency had been appointed, and in the absence of the King and the great seal all constituted authority vanished. Riots broke out in London, and Feversham, having acted on the King's parting order to disband the troops, the country was threatened with being over-run by a horde of lawless, famishing soldiery. In this critical state of affairs there was no time to be lost. The heads of the army, who were then in London, held a meeting, and declared their submission to the Prince of Orange, and that pending his pleasure, they would keep their men together, and assist the civil power. The peers, under the presidency of Archbishop Sancroft, met at the Guildhall, issued a manifesto in favour of the Prince, and formed a provisional government to carry on business until His Highness should arrive. Grafton and Churchill were despatched to countermand the orders for disbanding the army, and to endeavour to re-assemble those who had already been dispersed. The English soldiers were ordered to rejoin their colours, and the Irish to deliver up their arms on pain of being treated as banditti.

Feversham however, had acted so promptly on James' letter, that by the time a deputation to William, inviting him to the capital, had arrived, the country was already swarming with disbanded troops, rendering it necessary for

1688. the Prince to conform his movements to those of his army.

Meanwhile, fresh complications arose. James had embarked on the morning of the 12th, but an accident delayed the departure of the vessel until midnight. The news of the King's flight had spread, and rumours that papist fugitives were on board reached the ears of the local fishermen. The ship was boarded and the passengers seized and dragged ashore. Mistaken for a priest in disguise, the King was hustled and robbed. On being brought before a magistrate, he was recognised, and, though rescued from further ill-treatment, was kept a close prisoner.

The news of James' arrest and ill-usage aroused various feelings, and, together with the fact of his being still in the kingdom, brought many back to their allegiance. Feversham was despatched by the provisional government in haste with a troop of horse guards to set him at liberty and escort him back to the capital. In the meantime his captors, having discovered that their ill-timed zeal had rendered the Prince of Orange the worst possible service, had released James, who was taken by his friends to rest at Rochester.

On Feversham's arrival there the King despatched him to William, who was now at Windsor, with a message announcing his intention of returning to Whitehall and inviting the Prince to a personal conference. The prospect of the Prince's peaceable and unopposed accession to the throne had apparently vanished, thanks to the blunder of the King's arrest. To induce him, of his own accord, to leave the country, was now of the utmost importance, and to frighten him into this course was William's aim.

He refused to see Feversham, ordered his immediate arrest, and despatched a messenger to the King declining a conference, and desiring him to remain at Rochester.

But James, urged on by his friends, had already arrived in London, on Sunday, the 16th. The rioting had been suppressed and he met with a fairly favourable reception, which had greatly elated him. Hardly had he arrived, however, when an envoy handed him the Prince's message, at the same time clearly intimating to him that William



would not come to London while any troops were there which were not under his orders. This, and the news of Feversham's arrest, filled James with dismay. An appeal to the City authorities for support met with refusal. Nothing seemed left for him but to fly. 1688.

At Windsor eminent men of all parties were flocking to the Prince, including most of those who had formed the provisional government, and on Monday, the 17th, a council was held, at which it was decided to call on James to withdraw from London and take up his residence at Ham.

James was still hesitating at Whitehall, and at night he received the news that the Dutch troops had occupied Chelsea and Kensington.

The Coldstream Guards, commanded by the Earl of Craven, now an old man of eighty, were on duty at the palace. "It was past ten o'clock when he was informed that three battalions of the Prince's foot, mingled with some troops of horse, were pouring down the long avenue of Saint James's Park, with matches lighted, and in full readiness for action. Count Solmes, who commanded the foreigners, said that his orders were to take military possession of the posts round Whitehall, and exhorted Craven to retire peaceably. Craven swore that he would rather be cut in pieces; but when the King, who was undressing himself, learned what was passing, he forbade the stout old soldier to attempt a resistance, which must have been ineffectual. By eleven the Coldstream Guards had withdrawn, and the Dutch sentinels were pacing the rounds on every side of the palace." Macaulay.

Shortly after midnight the King was again aroused by the arrival of messengers bearing a letter announcing that the Prince would arrive at Westminster in a few hours, and calling on him to withdraw to Ham before ten in the morning. James appealed to be permitted to substitute Rochester for Ham. His request was borne immediately to William, and the messenger returned before daybreak with his consent. "That consent, indeed, was most gladly given, for there could be no doubt that Rochester had been Ibid.

1688. named because it afforded facilities for flight; and that James might fly was the first wish of his nephew."

A few hours later, as the Dutch troops were pouring into London, the King embarked at Whitehall stairs for Rochester. Here every facility for making his escape was put in his way, by his keepers, and on the night of Saturday, the 22nd, despite all advice, and to the dismay of his adherents, he stole on board a smack lying in the Medway, and by daylight was well on his way to France.

Deeming it advisable to keep his forces and James' late army at a distance from each other, William directed the withdrawal of all the English troops from London and its neighbourhood, assigning them quarters which were distributed over a widely extended area. To the Holland Regiment were allotted Chesham and Amersham, in Buckinghamshire.

Lond. Gaz.,  
17 Dec.

As a matter of policy, and to avoid friction as far as possible, William also ordered that with the exception of 3,000 of his Dutch Foot Guards and 800 Dutch Horse Guards, the occupation of London was to be carried out solely by the British troops in his service. The three English regiments were stationed in and about the Tower and the three Scotch in Southwark.

M.O. Bk.,  
Vol. 5, p. 1 2.

Grafton and Churchill had, with great exertions, succeeded in rallying the greater number of the disbanded troops, and the Irish regiments were disarmed without much difficulty and sent back to their own country and disbanded.\*

Pending the decision of Parliament, the government of the country was entrusted to the Prince of Orange.

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\* Except Lord Forbes', which being composed of protestants from the North of Ireland, was retained in the service, and is now the Royal Irish Regt.

1688-9.

## CHAPTER XI.

1689-1690.

Considerable changes among the officers of the regiment occurred during the revolution and on the accession of William to the throne, but it is impossible to trace them all owing to the scanty records now in existence of the commissions granted at this time, and to the fact that no regimental lists of the officers of a date between that given in the last chapter, and the one in the Flanders Army List of 1695 (Add. M.S. 17918) appear to be now extant.

Major James Starling (Sterling) was succeeded in the majority by Captain Edward FitzPatrick on the 31st October, and on the 30th November, Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Hunsdon (a roman catholic) being promoted to the command of the Earl of Lichfield's regiment, Major FitzPatrick was appointed to succeed him as lieutenant-colonel (6th December), Captain Collingwood being promoted to the majority the same day.

Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, the colonel of the regiment, a staunch roman catholic, and a devoted adherent of James II., who not unnaturally refused allegiance to the new ruler, was deprived of his command and outlawed, the colonelcy of the Holland Regiment being bestowed, on the 31st December, on Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Churchill, of the Queen's Regiment,\* a brother of John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough.

Lieutenant-Colonel FitzPatrick was on the same day given one of the newly-raised regiments (Skelton's), but there is no record of the vacant lieutenant-colonelcy being filled until Lieutenant-Colonel Roger Goff was gazetted on the 1st April, 1689.

How long Major Collingwood remained in the regiment

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\* Late Second Tangier Regiment, now the King's Own (Royal Lancaster) Regiment.

1688-89. as major does not transpire, but it cannot have been for very long, as Captain Mainwaring, who had been transferred in September to de Miremont's Horse, appears to have been brought back to the regiment, probably as major, when de Miremont's Horse was disbanded, on the 31st December, 1688. In any case, we find Mainwaring serving as lieutenant-colonel from 1692 until his death in 1694, and Captain Henry Peyton was gazetted major (probably vice Mainwaring) on the 1st January, 1691.\*

Chirurgeon James Pierce (Peirce), who had been the medical officer of the regiment ever since 1665, was replaced by Chirurgeon John Smallbones on the 31st December; Chaplain Harris succeeding Chaplain Mauleverer on the same date.

The regiment was not left very long in its Buckinghamshire quarters, for on the last day of the year orders were issued for it to march on the 15th January to Colchester, Halstead, Braintree, and Keldon.

Marching  
Orders,  
Vol. 5, p. 23.

Route from Chesham and Amersham to Colchester, &c.  
in two divisions.

St. Albans	...	...	Tuesday, 15th January, 1688-9.
Ware and Hartford	...	...	Wednesday, 16th January.
The Ongars	...	...	Thursday, 17th January.
Chelmsford	...	...	Friday, 18th January.
Colchester, &c.	...	...	Saturday, 19th January.

On the 6th February Parliament, having met, decided to offer the Crown of England to the Prince of Orange and Mary his wife, eldest daughter of James II., and on the 13th they were proclaimed King and Queen, amid great pomp.

Whatever may have been the feeling of the country at large, the change of rulers was by no means to the taste of the old army. Though hating popery and caring but little

\* According to Dalton, Major Francis Collingwood was the same officer who succeeded to the command of Colonel Edward Fitzpatrick's regiment, on that officer being transferred to the command of the "Fuzileers," after the battle of Steinkirk in 1692.

for the late King, the troops felt keenly the ignominious part they had been made to play in the recent events, and were smarting under a sense of deep humiliation. Disaffection was spreading rapidly in the ranks, the men were deserting in hundreds, and numerous cases of open mutiny were reported. Disbandment was out of the question, and William gladly availed himself of a pretext to send them abroad. France had declared war against the States General, and in pursuance of the treaty of Nimeguen, England was called upon for assistance. The States demanded the return of the Dutch troops William had with him, but he decided, while sending back those of the line, some 6,000, to retain his Guards (3,000), sending in their place a large force of English troops, and on the 8th March a warrant was issued to "John Lord Churchill, Lieutenant-Generall of Our Forces," charging him to make arrangements forthwith, in persuance of the treaty of allegiance with the States General of the United Provinces, for the embarkation for Holland of the following regiments:—

1688-89.

Marching  
Order Bk.,  
Vol. 5, p. 104  
& S.P. Dom.  
Warrant Bk.  
No. 34. p 20

Two Battalions of the First Regt. of Guards.  
Two Battalions of the Coldstream Regt. of Guards.  
The Royall Regt. of Foot.  
Prince George, Hereditary Prince of Denmark's Regt.  
The Regiment commanded by Coll. Charles Churchill.\*  
The Royall Regiment of Fusiliers.  
The Regiment commanded by Coll. Hodges.

Before entering into the details of this expedition we must study an event which brought about a change in the title of the Holland Regiment, and gave it the precedence which it now holds of third regiment of the line.

The occurrence which brought this about was the disbanding of Prince George of Denmark's (formerly the Admiral's) Regiment.

The circumstances under which it occurred are wrapped in considerable obscurity, and have given rise to much misapprehension.

1689.

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\* The Holland Regiment.

1689. On, or immediately before his accession to the throne, James II. resigned the command of his regiment, which had hitherto been known as the Duke of York and Albany's Maritime Regiment of Foot, or the Lord High Admiral's Regiment. The command of this corps was then bestowed on James' son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, husband of the Princess Anne.

For some reason which has never transpired, it was suddenly determined, after the orders were issued for its despatch to Holland, to disband this regiment, and Prince George was given the honorary colonelcy of the Holland Regiment, the next regiment in the order of precedence, and which received the title of Prince George, Hereditary Prince of Denmark's Regiment. The title of Holland Regiment was at the same time dropped, it being more or less a misnomer, for there were now in England six other British regiments which were to all intents and purposes "Holland" Regiments. As a matter of fact, the regiment was, like all other regiments at this period, nearly always known by the name of its actual commanding officer, and we almost invariably find it referred to as Colonel Charles Churchill's or Churchill's Regiment, by which name it will usually be designated in this work for the next eighteen years of its history.

On what date the old maritime regiment ceased to exist is not known, for the actual order for its disbandment is not forthcoming, neither is it clear whether it embarked for the Netherlands or not. In numerous official returns we find both "Prince George of Denmark's" and "Colonel Churchill's" regiments shown as being in Holland, but this may be due to error caused by the confusion of the names.

Harl. MSS.,  
1,018.

In a "Particular of ye Established Pay allowed to their Majts Forces &c." the regiment is entered as "broake" on 28th Feb. 88/89, as likewise in another Treasury document (Add. MSS 9756), but the Treasury warrant closing the accounts of the regiment (Treas. Recds. King's Warrant Bk., Vol. 8, f. 399) directs "that you likewise include in your said Debentures such further sums as you have payd the said Regimt on accompt of subsistence from the 1st of

March 1688\* to the time of their being disbanded, &c." 1689.  
This document shows that the regiment must have existed for a short time after the 28th February, and it also disproves the assertion made by some authorities that it was incorporated into the Coldstream Guards.†

This statement is most probably due to a misapprehension of the following order:—

Our will and P. is that the sevell private Soldiers and non-  
commissioned officers of the Prince George Hereditary Prince George of Denmark's Regt. of ffoot, now at Graves-  
end be forthwith put on board the ships bound for Holland, and incorporated as they are hereby incorporated in the Coldstream Regiment of Our ffoot Guards.

Marching  
Order Bk.,  
Vol. 5, p. 107

Given, &c., the 19th Day of March, 1688/9.

A similar order, referring to some men belonging to the First Regiment of Foot Guards was issued on the 17th of the month, and they both undoubtedly refer to the men of those regiments who were embarked for service afloat in the previous October, and who had been serving with the fleet ever since, for it was not until March that the fleet returned to port.

Colonel Edye, who in his "History of the Royal Marine Forces," has studied the event most exhaustively, remarks:—"Thus, within a few days, there existed on the establishment two regiments, both having the same order of precedence, the same official designation, and the same Colonel, yet having no connection in any other sense one with the other."

"In this manner the identity of the old Admiral's Regiment, now represented by the corps of Royal Marines, was merged into that of the Holland Regiment, now represented by the Buffs, a circumstance that has given rise to what may be described as a traditional misconception that the two regiments are intimately associated with one another as regards their common origin."

Before the expedition to Holland could be despatched

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\* 1688-9. † Cannon, Mackinnon.

1689. troubles began to thicken around William. James, soon after his accession, foreseeing the possibility of mishap, had taken steps to prepare a refuge in Ireland. As we have seen, he had filled the ranks of the regiments in that country with papists, every civil appointment had been conferred on roman catholics, and the Lord Deputy, General Lord Tyrconnel, had strained every nerve to further James' schemes. On his master's fall, Tyrconnel, to gain time, temporised for a space with William's government.

On the 25th February James set sail from Brest with 16 men-of-war and 7 tenders furnished him by King Louis, and with a mixed following of English, Scotch, Irish, and French. On the 12th March the expedition arrived at Kinsale, and in a short time James had around him a force of some 50,000 men, under Tyrconnel.

The news of the late King's landing in Ireland was received in London on the 17th, and energetic preparations were made to resist the invasion. Orders were issued for the immediate raising of 10,000 fresh troops to reinforce the loyal regiments in Ireland, and the departure of the two battalions of the King's Regiment of Foot Guards for Holland was countermanded.

The prospect of proceeding to Holland was by no means pleasing to the troops ordered there, and rumours were spread among the men that they were to be transferred, on arrival, to the Dutch service. To such a pitch did dissatisfaction arise, that the Royal Regiment (composed entirely of Scotchmen), who were on the way to Harwich, where the expedition was to embark, mutinied on arriving at Ipswich, and, seizing four pieces of cannon and a military chest, set out under the leadership of some of their officers, to march back to Scotland. They succeeded in reaching Sleaford, in Lincolnshire, before they were overtaken, surrounded, and compelled to surrender by a force of dragoons, sent after them in hot haste. The leaders were tried, but thanks to the wise leniency of the King, they only suffered slight punishment. The rest, coming to their senses, returned to



their duty, and eventually embarked quietly for the Low Countries, where however, they deserted in large numbers. 1689.

To reassure the troops, who fancied they were about to be transferred to the Dutch service, a proclamation was issued on the 4th April, to the effect that all regiments "sent to the Low Countries or any parts beyond ye seas shall be allwaies continued in Our English pay & upon ye English Establishment as fully to all intents & purposes as any other regiment of Our subjects of ye same Quality remaining in Our Kingdom of England."\*

S.P. Dom.  
Milty.,  
Vol. 3, p. 217.

The mutiny of the Royal Regiment brought about the passing of the first Mutiny Act. Hitherto there had been no constitutional recognition of the standing army, and there was no legally established military law as distinguished from civil law. For the preservation of discipline and the control of the troops, arbitrary regulations had been framed from time to time under the prerogative of the Sovereign, but they were viewed with intense jealousy and distrust by the nation, and in peace time were constitutionally illegal.

Thus there was no lawful means of punishing any offence not recognised by the civil code. The marked contrast

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\* Dalton (Vol. 3, English Army Lists and Commission Lists) gives a list of 29 Regiments of Foot and 1 of Dragoons raised in March and April, 4 of Foot and 3 of Dragoons in June and 1 of Dragoons in July. Most of these regiments were disbanded in 1690, 1697 or 1698, but the following still exist :—

- Col. James Wynne's Regiment of Inniskilling Dragoons, now 5th R.I. Lancers.
- Sir A. Conyngham's Regiment of Inniskilling Dragoons, now 6th Inniskilling Dragoons.
- The Duke of Norfolk's Regiment of Foot, now the Cheshire (22nd) Regiment.
- Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Regiment of Foot, now the Royal Welsh Fusiliers (23rd).
- Sir E. Dering's Regiment of Foot, now the South Wales Borderers (24th).
- The Earl of Leven's Regiment of Foot, now the King's Own Scottish Borderers (25th).
- The Earl of Angus' Regiment of Foot, now the Scottish Rifles (26th).
- Col. E. Tiffin's Regiment of Foot, now the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (27th).

1689. during the late campaign, between the stern discipline and excellent behaviour of the Dutch soldiers and the disorderly, roystering, insubordinate conduct of a large portion of the English troops, followed later on by general discontent and dissatisfaction, culminating in the mutiny of the Royal Regiment, convinced parliament and the nation that, if a standing army was to be maintained, it was imperative that it should be put on a legal footing, and that special laws should be made for its control, and on the 12th April, parliament passed the Mutiny Act, which "recognised for the first time the necessity for a standing army, established the principle that an army not voted by parliament is illegal or unconstitutional, and founded a martial law distinct from civil law."

Walton.

The first instalments of the expedition to the Low Countries embarked towards the end of March, arriving in the Maas and at Helvoetsluys on the 31st and 1st April (N.S.), and went into quarters.

S.P. Dom.  
K. Wm.'s  
Chest, Vol. 5,  
f. 20.

According to an "Abstract of the numbers and pay of the English forces sent into Holland," the expeditionary force was composed as follows:—

2nd Troop of Guards and Grenadiers		256 men	31 officers
The Coldstream Regiment	- -	1,360	192
The Royal Regiment	- -	1,560	295
The Regiment of Scots Guards	-	1,106	146
The Regiment of Fusiliers	- -	780	150
Prince George's Regiment	- -	780	148
Colonel Churchill's Regiment	-	780	148
Colonel John Hales' Regiment	-	780	148
Sir David Collier's Regiment	-	780	148
Colonel Hodge's Regiment	-	780	148
Colonel Fitzpatrick's Regiment	-	780	148
Colonell O'Farrell's Regiment	-	780	148

This return, however, is clearly fictitious, so far as numbers are concerned, the strength shown being that of the regimental establishments. Moreover, as we have just seen, Prince George's and Colonel Churchill's were now one and the same regiment.

As a matter of fact, the first regiments despatched were woefully under their strength and otherwise in an inefficient state. As regards strength, the numbers are not likely to have been understated in the following return :—

Numbers of men putt on Board for the service of Holland with an accmpt of what money is necessary to be remitted to them for their subsistance for 28 days from ye 4th of Aprill to the 2nd of May next.

S.P. Dom.  
K. Wm.'s  
Chest Vol. 5,  
f. 15.

		Number of men.	Subsistance for a weeke.	Subsistance for a month.
Coldstream Regiment	...	800	180 0 0	720 0 0
Royall Regiment	...	300	70 0 0	280 0 0
Coll Churchill's Regimt	...	600	130 0 0	520 0 0
Coll Hodge's Regimt	...	600	130 0 0	520 0 0
Regiment of Fuziliers	...	420	90 0 0	360 0 0
		2720	600 0 0	2400 0 0

No sooner had they arrived than they proceeded to lay claim to all sorts of privileges and exemptions, as related in a letter to King William by the Prince of Waldeck, who had been selected to command the Anglo-Dutch army.

P. of Waldeck to King William

Breda 24 April 1689.

S.P. Dom.  
K. Wm.'s  
Chest, Vol. 5,  
f. 18.

L'on attend avec impatience le reste des troupes angloises. Le nombre de ceux qui sont arrivés est fort petit. Le regiment de Monsr Douglas se dit de six cents hommes et pretend toutes les prerogatives des guardes, celui de milord Churchill de 400. Celui de Monsgr Tolmisch commandé par le comte Silvin se disent aussij garde de 400 sans les deux compies de Grafton et pretend comme gardes ne faire point de services. Celui de Hotscher 400 hommes et pretendent en partie estre mieux logés et du service, mais Monsieur le Prince de Waldeck ayant communiqué aux Hauts Officiers les ordres donnez a Monsr le Lieutnt General Milord Churchill espère y remedier mais soubaitteroit scavoir par qui la monstre de ces troupes se doit faire n'en pouvant point avoir une liste exacte.\*

\* The arrival of the remainder of the English troops is awaited with impatience. The number of those who have arrived is very small. The regiment of

1689. According to the above the numbers of the English contingent were smaller even than set forth in the subsistence return. However, steps were being taken to bring the contingent up to its proper strength, and drafts from other regiments appear to have been sent to reinforce it, Captain Oliver Luke, of Colonel Churchill's Regiment, receiving instructions on the 24th April to "take under his command the detach of one hundred men out of each of the Regts of the E. of Monmouth, Sr John Guise and Coll Lutterell to be put on board at Portsmt and I. of Wight for Holland and to be disposed of by him according to orders he shall receive there."
- Marching  
Orders,  
Vol. 5, p. 147.
- S.P.D. Milty.,  
Vol. 3, p. 277.
- On the 8th May the colonel of Prince George's Regiment, Colonel Charles Churchill, was appointed Brigadier of Foot. His brother, John Churchill, who had now been created Earl of Marlborough, on being appointed to the command of the expedition, had been given authority empowering him to appoint officers to the various regiments and to fill any vacancies which might occur therein.

Earl of Marlborough's Instructions :—

Ibid,  
p. 266-288.

. . . . . and yt ye respective troops & companies of Our said Forces may not be unsupplied of officers to command them whilst they are abroad in ye said service, Wee do give you power and authority in case of the death, removall by sentence of a Court Martiall, or ye quitting of any of the present officers of ye said forces, to supply ye said vacancies by such persons as you shall make choice of for ye purpose, who are to be acknowledged, & to command

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Monsr. Douglas† professes to be six hundred strong, and lays claim to all the prerogatives of Guards. Milord Churchill's professes to be 400 strong. That of Monsgr. Tolmisch‡ commanded by Count Silvin says also that they muster 400 guardsmen, without Grafton's two companies, and as Guards claim to do no duties. That of Hotscher§ are 400, and part claims to be better lodged and to have easier duties, but the Prince of Waldeck having communicated to the superior officers the orders given to Lieut.-General Milord Churchill, he hopes to remedy matters, but would like to know by whom the muster of these should be taken, as he cannot obtain a correct list of them.

† The Royal Regiment.    ‡ The Coldstreams.    § Hodges.

in their respective stations as if they had received commissions from Us, and to continue in their said employments until Our further pleasure be known etc. etc. etc.

1689.

This warrant was acted upon in all the subsequent campaigns, and the fact that no regular record of the commissions granted was ever kept, or if kept was never transmitted home, has rendered the task of compiling correct and complete regimental lists of the officers who served in these campaigns a matter of impossibility.

The allied plan of operations for the summer was as follows:—The Imperialists, under the Duke of Loraine, were to manœuvre on the Upper Rhine. The Prussians and contingents from Northern Germany, under the Elector of Brandenburg, were to attack Bonn, the Spaniards were to advance to Courtrai and destroy the lines constructed there by the French, and the Prince of Waldeck, with the Anglo-Dutch army, and a contingent furnished by Sweden, was to oppose Marechal d'Humières on the Sambre.

Marlborough landed at Rotterdam on the 17/27th May, and proceeded to Maestricht to confer with Waldeck.

As regards numbers, if the following return is to be trusted, the expedition was now nearly up to its established strength:—

An accompt of what men are wanting upon the muster rolls of May & June 1689 in the severall Regiments of the Holland Establishment.

S.P. Dom.  
K. Wm.'s  
Chest, Vol. 5,  
f. 30.

2nd Troop of Guards ... ..	nil.
2nd Troop of Granadrs ... ..	4
Royall Regiment of Horse ... ..	13
2nd Regt of Foot Guards ... ..	120
Royal Regt of Foot ... ..	13 Cos Compleat
Royal Regt of Fuziliers ... ..	—
Regt of Scotts Foot Guards ... ..	427
Prince of Denmarks Regt ... ..	12
Col John Hales Regt ... ..	—
Sr David Coljears Regt ... ..	—
Coll Fitzpatrick's Regt ... ..	—
Col Hodges Regt ... ..	48
Col O'Farrells Regt ... ..	151
	<hr/> 775

1689. However this may have been, the British contingent was in anything but an efficient state either as regards equipment or discipline, and the rest of the allied troops appear to have been little better.

Ibid, f. 25. Writing to the King on the 18th/28th May, Waldeck complained that none of the Swedish contingent were fit for service, except the first regiment. The English were not in a condition to make long marches, and were without 14 troops of auxiliary cavalry which Zeeland should have furnished, but refused to raise. The Spanish, not being paid, were deserting. A few days later he writes:—"Le Lieut General Milort Montbarou" (Marlborough) complains of the state of the arms of the troops which cannot be changed for this campaign, but should be seen to for the future. "Ce general me paroît fort raisonnable." On the 1st June the Prince mentions irregularities committed by Colonel Hodges and others, and complains that the men are far below their proper strength, and that the officers are badly paid.

Marlborough set to work with great energy, and, as we shall see, with marked success, to bring his disorderly command into shape. On the 10th June six of his battalions joined the army between Judoigne and Tirlémont, the other four following a few days later. On the 18th/28th the Prince wrote to the King:—

Ibid, f. 44. . . . avec les anglois je me puis apresent rendre superieur au Marischal d'Humieres, et voudras que ces gens que l'on croit fort brave fussent aussi disciplinés qu'ils paraissent brave. Mons de Mallbrout a bien de la peine avec eux.\*

Lond. Gaz., 2466. The following extract from the "London Gazette" gives a brief and succinct description of the military position at this juncture:—"Yesterday (20th/30th June) the Dutch army commanded by Prince Waldeck decamped

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\* . . . with the English I can now render myself superior to Marshal d'Humières, and I could wish that these people, who are believed to be very brave, were as disciplined as they appear brave. Mons. de Mallbrout (Marlborough) has a great deal of trouble with them."

from Judoigne and marched to Peruys and encamped this day at Fleurus from whence they will advance to enter the country between the Sambre and the Meuse. The Marechal d'Humières retired the 29th from Pieton and we hear he was encamped yesterday with his army on the Haysne near Binch. The Prince de Vaudemont having passed the Lys at Deynse in Flanders with 3000 horse and 2000 foot of the Spanish troops, and being joined on the other side of that river by the Count de Horne with 5000 Dutch foot they marched to Harlebec near Courtrai to attack the French forces that were posted on that side but Monsr Calvo, who commands them did not think fit to keep his ground, but retired with all the haste he could behind the line which the French have made from the Lys to the Schelde between Menin and Pont Esperies where he has since been reinforced by a detachment from the M. d'Humières army. Our Governor General has likewise ordered several other troops to join the P. de Vaudemont who will attempt to force Monsr Calvo from his post in order to put the country about Lille, Courtrai and Ypres under contribution." 1689.

After a stay of ten days at Fleurus, the Anglo-Dutch force, now some 35,000 strong, moved on the 1st/11th July to Tongrenelle, between Charleroi and Namur.

The French at this time were suffering severely from desertion. A disaster also overtook them, the Haysne overflowing its banks, placing part of their camp under water, a number of men and 1,000 horses being drowned, and quantities of baggage, tents and stores being swept away. Lond. Gaz., 2468.

The results of Marlborough's exertions were now beginning to show themselves, and on the 3rd/13th July Waldeck reported to the King that so far he could not sufficiently praise the English troops,\* and on the 6th/16th he wrote reporting their strength as being some 6,000, without counting the sick, besides four squadrons of horse 500 strong, "le tout si bien en ordre que je l'ay admiré et S.P. Dom. K. Wm.'s Chest, Vol. 5, f. 61. Ibid, f. 62.

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\* ". . . je ne me puis assez louer des anglois jusqu'icy."

1689. puis dire que Mons Milord Marlbrouck et les Colonels ont montrés que leur application a eu un bon effet. . . .”\*

On the 13th/23rd July, the Allies moved to Timeon, from whence on the 30th July/9th August, they fell back on Nivelles, this move being intended to deceive the French as to their real intentions, and three days later they advanced again to Fontaine l'Evêque, the Marshal d'Humières falling back towards Quiverain and Bossu. On the 6th/16th August, having been reinforced by 4,000 Luxemburg horse, Waldeck's army passed the Sambre at Marchienne-au-Pont and encamped at Ham-sur-Hure. The French crossed the Sambre the same day, the Marquis having his quarters at Forsane, the outposts of the two armies being in sight of each other, and a few skirmishes took place.

Meanwhile sickness and desertion were working havoc French emissaries were most active. Waldeck reported in the ranks of the British contingent, amongst whom on the 2nd August that the companies were becoming very weak, and that letters had again been distributed broadcast among the English and Germans, to induce them to desert, and that his condition was by no means satisfactory.

On the 14th/24th August the allied army encamped about a mile from the small walled town of Walcourt, a German regiment being sent forward to occupy it. On the morning of the 15th/25th large parties of foragers were sent out beyond the town, covered by a force of 600 British infantry, made up of detachments from each regiment, and 200 foreign horse. The whole was under the command of Colonel Hodges.

The infantry occupied the village of Forge, the horse being sent forward to cover the front.

D'Humières, who had hitherto acted on the defensive, having been recently reinforced by some 6,000 men, had now assumed the offensive, and was on the morning in

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§ “ . . . the whole in such excellent order that I was struck with admiration, and can affirm that Mons. Milord Marlbrouck and the Colonels have shown that their zeal has had good results. . . .”



question advancing on Walcourt, with the object of bringing the allies to battle. 1689.

The foragers had not been long at work, when, about 9 a.m., numerous squadrons of French cavalry, the advance guard of d'Humières' army, were seen moving down on them from the village of Boissy, at which place the Marquis proposed encamping that night.

The allied horse were rapidly driven in, but Colonel Hodges meanwhile had lined the hedgerows and enclosures about Forge with his British infantry and held the French cavalry and dismounted dragoons at bay until between 10 and 11 o'clock, by which time the greater number of the foragers had succeeded in getting back to camp. Hodges then fell back and occupied a mill, from the walls of which his men kept up a deadly fire on the enemy.

The main body of the French was, however, now coming up, and Marlborough, who had hurried to the front as soon as the action began, seeing the impossibility of successfully holding the mill against overwhelming forces, ordered Hodges to retire and take up a position on some high ground to the east of the town. This difficult movement was carried out with conspicuous gallantry and coolness by the British, the men keeping up a steady fire as they fell back, their retreat being facilitated by the heavy fire maintained by the Lunenburg regiment from the walls of the town.

D'Humières, under the fatal impression that he could not attack Waldeck until he had captured the town, now attempted to carry it by direct assault. The four guns which he brought up to batter down the walls were powerless to inflict any damage, whereas the 10 or 12 Waldeck had wrought destruction on the attacking infantry. The assault was headed by the grenadiers of the famous regiments of Soissons and of Guiche, supported by the French Guards and the regiments of Champagne and Greder. Notwithstanding the terrific fire and the difficult ground, intersected by a network of streams, which they had to traverse, these gallant troops returned time after time to the assault, only to be beaten back again. But at

1689. last the garrison began to waver. To reinforce them was, owing to the extremely difficult nature of the approaches to the town, by no means an easy matter, but about 2 p.m. Brigadier-General Tollemache,\* at the head of the Coldstreams, and a German regiment, succeeded in forcing their way into the town.

Realising at last that the place was impervious to their attacks, the French now proceeded to assail the position taken up by Waldeck's army on the hill outside the town. Greatly outnumbered, the state of affairs was rapidly becoming serious for the allies, and a counter attack upon both flanks of the enemy was decided upon. General Slangenberg, with a column, advanced from one wing, whilst Marlborough, at the head of the English troops (himself leading the Life and Horse Guards), issued from the other, and simultaneously threw themselves on the French. The fight raged furiously until past six o'clock, by which time D'Humières' army was driven back in disorder, leaving behind their guns, ammunition, prisoners, and some 500 or 600 dead around the walls of the town alone. The losses of the Allies were, however, inconsiderable.†

Unfortunately, the nature of the ground precluded anything like a vigorous pursuit on the part of the victors.

The brilliant conduct of the English in this action, and the eagerness with which they entered into the fray, seem to have taken their continental allies by surprise, and the admiration which their behaviour inspired is clearly expressed in the following letter from Waldeck to King William :—

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\* Colonel of the Coldstreams and second in command of the British contingent.

† The British losses were Lt.-Col. Graham, Capt. Davison, and about 30 men killed. The French had some 2,000 killed and wounded, their official list comprising the names of 21 officers killed and 39 wounded, many of whom were noblemen and of high rank. (Lond. Gaz., No. 2,483, Paris, 3rd Sept.)

Prince of Waldeck to the King

1689.

25th Aug 1689

Sire

S.P. Dom.

K. Wm.'s

Chest, No. 5,

f. 96.

ici joint votre Majesté verra ce qui c'est passé ce jourdhuis, je confesse que le bon Dieu y a plus fait que les hommes et que parmi ceux qu'il a employé a soustenir la conservation de la cavallerie, et par consequent de l'armée Mons le Colonel Hotges, et les anglois, qui ont été avec lous ont fait des merveillies et je n'aurois jamais cru que tout les anglois auroit monstrés une telle joie de combattre et de me seconder que j'ay sujet de plaindre ces braves gens que la maladie les travaillie tant. Monsieur le Comte Mabarog est assurément un des plus galants hommes que je connoisse.\*

. . . . .

A few days later Waldeck wrote, reporting that d'Humières had attacked him on the strength of the assurances of deserters that the English would not fight, "but he found it the contrary, for these brave fellows are only too eager to fight."

S. P. Dom.

K. Wm.'s

Chest, No. 5,

f. 99.

After the fight the allies took up a position in the neighbourhood of Walcourt, where they remained until the 19th/29th, when they marched to Gerpennes, the French being at Florennes. On the 22nd August/1st September, the allies repassed the Sambre, and encamped between Montigny and Charleroi, d'Humières following up to Gerpennes.

Waldeck's army remained on the banks of the Sambre until the 6th/16th, when it marched to Genappe, remaining there until the 10th/20th. The French meanwhile also

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\* Translation.

Sire,

Herewith your Majesty will see what has happened to-day. I confess that God has done more than man, and that amongst those whom he has employed to carry out the preservation of the cavalry, and consequently of the army, Colonel Hotges (Hodges) and the English who were with him performed marvels, and I should never have believed that all the English would have displayed such a delight in fighting and in supporting me. What cause I have to pity these fine fellows whom sickness is trying so!

Count Mabarog (Marlborough) most assuredly is one of the most valiant men I know. . . .

1689. crossed the Sambre, marching towards Binche, and sending detachments to Soignies and Casteau.

Ibid.

But sickness, aggravated by want of clothing and shoes, was decimating the British contingent, despite all Marlborough could do, and on the 8th/18th September Waldeck reported that he had been obliged to send four of the English regiments back to Breda. He does not, however, specify which regiments these were.

On the 10th/20th the allies marched on Hal, encamping on the 14th/24th at Tubise and Lembeck. D'Humières was now at Lessines, where he received considerable reinforcements.

On the 15th/25th the Prince de Vaudemont reinforced Waldeck with 30 squadrons and 8 battalions, and the following day the Count de Flodorf joined him from Brandenburg's army with 3,000 horse, so bringing up the allied army to a strength of 14,000 horse and 24,000 foot.

With these Waldeck marched on Enghien on the 2nd October, with the intention of attacking the French, but on the intelligence of the allied advance, d'Humières fell back on Leuze, where he entrenched himself between two rivers. Waldeck encamped between Bourgette and Lessines, about two leagues distant. Here the two armies remained watching each other, an ineffectual attempt being made on the 2nd/12th October by the Prince de Vaudemont to draw the French into battle.

3. P. Dom.  
C. Wm.'s  
Chest, No. 6,  
. 26.

Meanwhile sickness was still raging in Waldeck's army, and on the 16th he reported to the King his fears of having no infantry left, unless he sent them into quarters, as he had already had to do with the remaining English regiments.

However, at daylight on the morning of the 21st the French broke camp and retired in the direction of Valenciennes. The season being now too far advanced to continue the campaign, the allied army fell back and dispersed into winter quarters. The British contingent were stationed at Ghent (6 battalions) and Bruges-Dam (4 battalions), the Holland Regiment being at Bruges.

The actual losses of the English troops from sickness

during this campaign cannot be ascertained, but they were undoubtedly heavy. The returns are, however, most inaccurate, and are manifestly falsified. Peculation was rife in these days in all ranks. It was to the interest of officers who drew the pay and allowances of the men to represent their commands as strong as possible, except at recruiting time, when the more vacancies they had to fill, the more levy money they could draw.

The following is a return of the vacancies which were alleged to have occurred from May to December inclusive :

Accompt of private soldiers wanting in their Maties								S. P. Dom.	
Forces in the Low Countries in								K. Wm.'s	
May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	1689	Chest, No. 6, f. 84.
759	759	853	919	1013	1059	1767	1972		

according to the muster rolls.

Churchill's Regiment figures therein as follows :—

July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
104	104	110	110	305	305

The following remarks upon the muster rolls in question would evidently point to the fact that the returns were fraudulent or that an excessive number of recruits were estimated for :—

Observations upon the abstract of the Musters of His S. P. Dom.  
Majesties forces in Holland for six months ending the 31st K. Wm.'s  
Octobre 1689. Chest, No. 6,  
f. 25.

- 1st. The Musters of June, August, and October are the same in effect with the Muster of May, July and September; except in Coll Hodges Regiment. From whence it is to be feared the said forces were mustered but twice in ye said six months.
- 2dly. In severall of ye said Regiments there was not soe much as one man wanting during ye said six months which is almost incredible.
- 3ly. Although for Octobre last, there wanted only 330

1689.

private men in the seaven Regiments following viz : The Royall Regiment of ffoote, the Fuziliers, Sr David Coleyears, Coll Churchills, Coll Hales, Coll Hodges ; and Coll : O'Farrell's. Yett now Leavy money is demanded for 929 men to compleate the said Regiments, so that by this demande 599 men are dead or runne away since Octobre last.

4ly. Altho in the said month there only wanted 286 private men in the Coldstream Regiment yett now leavy money is demanded for 560 men, to compleate ye same ; so that by this demand 274 men are dead or runne away since Octobre last.

These returns and the remarks thereon speak for themselves.

It will now be as well to glance briefly at the course of events at home during the past summer and autumn.

In Ireland James, who had landed at Kinsale in February, advanced to Dublin by the 24th March, receiving the adhesion of the inhabitants throughout the south and centre of the country. In the north, however, he met with resistance. The inhabitants of Enniskillen and Londonderry preferred facing the horrors of a siege to submitting to the papists, and, after losing 9,000 men, James had to desist.

In Scotland, too, William had had to deal with insurrection, some 5,000 or 6,000 Highlanders, led by Dundee, rising in arms in support of James. A force of five battalions and two troops of horse, under Mackay, was despatched by William to suppress the rising. On the 17th/27th July they met at Killiecrankie, where all four of Mackay's Scotch regiments broke and were routed, Hastings' English regiment\* alone standing firm and retiring in good order.

It was not until the 21st August that the Earl of Angus, with the new raised Cameronians, 1,200 strong,† finally defeated the insurgents at Dunkeld, after four hours' fierce fighting, and ended the Highland war.

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\* Now the Prince Albert's (Somersetshire) Light Infantry.

† Afterwards the 26th, and now the 1st Bn. Scottish Rifles.

James joined his army near Londonderry in the middle of April, but, despite treachery, feeble fortifications, assault and famine, the gallant townsmen held out. The Enniskilleners, meantime, had been holding their own, and were even contemplating an attempt at relieving the besieged city. In the middle of May an expedition, under Kirke, left England, but contrary winds delayed its arrival in Lough Foyle until the 15th June. Even then Kirke did nothing. At last, on the night of the 31st July, two transports, laden with supplies, succeeded in forcing their way into the beleaguered and starving city, and the following morning the besiegers raised the siege. On the 31st also the Enniskilleners routed an Irish force at Newtown Butler. 1689.

Meanwhile, a large force had been sent over to Ireland, under the Duke of Schomberg, and landed at Bangor on the 13th August, but, owing to the hopeless corruption of the contractors and an utter want of organisation, they were, despite the exertions of William, little better than a half-starved, ragged, ill-armed rabble, and effected little against the rebel forces.

James' Irish, however, fell back before Schomberg on Drogheda, where James had a force of 20,000 men. By the middle of September Schomberg had advanced as far as Dundalk, where he entrenched himself. From these two points the rival armies watched each other until the middle of November.

Schomberg's army, with the exception of the Dutch regiments and a few formed of French Huguenot refugees, was, as we have seen, little better than a disorderly rabble that at once fell a prey to the malaria of the swamps of Dundalk. The men died like rotten sheep at the rate of nearly a thousand a week, and when at the end of about six weeks James' army dispersed into winter quarters, and Schomberg was able to do likewise, he retired into Ulster with barely 5,000 effective men. The winter was an unusually severe one, and the sufferings of the unfortunate troops were terrible.

During the winter and spring William in person took the

1690. re-organisation of the army in hand, and, thanks to his exertions, by May the English force in Ulster amounted to some 30,000 well-appointed troops, whilst a few more and immense quantities of provisions and stores were on board transports in the estuary of the Dee.

James, during this time, on the contrary had completely neglected his army, which had deteriorated as rapidly as William's had improved, and on the arrival of reinforcements from France in the early spring, absolutely nothing had been prepared for their reception.

On the 4th June William, leaving Mary to act for him, set out for Ireland. The denudation of England of troops and the activity of the French fleet at this time had rendered William apprehensive of a descent on the English coasts, in the event of a disaster to the English fleet, and to provide against this eventuality, he deemed it prudent, much as they were wanted there, to recall a portion of the British forces serving in the Low Countries under the Prince of Waldeck. Orders were issued therefore early in June for the following five regiments to return to England under Brigadier-General Charles Churchill:—Hale's, Churchill's, the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers, Collier's, and Fitzpatrick's.

M.O. Bk.,  
Vol. 6.

These regiments arrived in the Thames about the 16th June, and were ordered to be quartered in various places between Dartford and Lambeth, Deptford and Greenwich being assigned to Churchill's regiment. From these quarters they moved into camp at Blackheath, where they were reinforced by a battalion of the First Foot Guards from London. Here they remained under the command of the Earl of Marlborough, in readiness to march in any direction, should an attempt at invasion be made.

The disaster to the combined English and Dutch fleets, under Torrington, off Beachy Head, on the 30th June, spread consternation in England, which was increased by the news of the defeat of the Prince of Waldeck at Fleurus, after a desperate struggle. With a French fleet in command of the Channel, and a victorious French army within a few days' march of its shores, invasion was within



measurable distance, and energetic steps were taken to prepare for the same. The tidings of the defeat of James' army at the Boyne, on the 1st July, however, did much to restore confidence. Troops were hurriedly raised in all directions, and armed men flocked to the coasts, eager to meet the invaders. 1690.

But after landing a few troops and sacking the village of Teignmouth the French fleet departed, having only succeeded in raising the whole of the West of England in arms, and in inducing all parties in the country to combine against James and the papists.

The danger of invasion being over, Marlborough was now eager to lead an expedition against Cork and Kinsale, two strongholds still held by James' forces, and he urged that for this purpose he should be given the troops lately withdrawn from the Low Countries.

Marlborough's proposals were warmly approved of by the King, and on the 21st August orders were issued for the five regiments before-mentioned, together with Beaumont's, all of which had only the day before returned to their quarters from the camp at Blackheath, to march forthwith to Southsea Common, to embark for Ireland. M.O. Bk.,  
Vol. 6.

Route for Churchill's Regt from Greenwich, Deptford and Lewsham to Southsea Common near Portsmouth, appointed by the Earl of Marlborough for their encampment. Ibid, p. 119.

Kingston ... .. Friday, 22nd August, 1690.

Guilford ... .. Saturday, 23rd     "     "

Petersfeild ... .. Sunday, 24th     "     "

Portdown or thereabouts. Munday, 25th     "     "

Southsea Common.. Tuesday, 26th     "     "

Memdm.

It is Her Majesties Pleasure that this Regiment do encamp where they shall not find Quarters.

On the 25th August orders were given for the following regiments to embark as soon as the fleet should arrive at Spithead :— Home Office  
Mil. Ent. Bk.,  
Vol. 2.

1690.      The Prince of Denmark's.  
            Trelawney's.  
            The Regiment of Fusiliers.  
            The Princess of Denmark's.  
            Coll. Ferdinand Hastings'.  
            Coll Haile's.  
            Sr D. Collier's.  
            Coll Fitzpatrick's.

As a matter of fact, the expedition did not sail from Spithead until the 18th September, being detained by contrary winds.

The Prince of Denmark's (Churchill's) Regiment did not proceed with the force, but for some reason which does not transpire, marched on its departure to Newbury, in Berkshire, where it appears to have remained until January, 1692.\*



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\* Cannon says that the regiment passed the summer of 1691 in various quarters in the maritime towns in the south of England, but there is nothing to show this in the Marching Order Books, and it was certainly stationed at Newbury in the month of December, 1691.—H.R.K.

1690-91.

## CHAPTER XII.

1690-1691.

Although having no direct bearing on the history of Prince George of Denmark's Regiment, a short summary of the campaigns in Ireland during 1690 and 1691, and of that in Flanders in the latter year, may not be thought out of place.

William, as we have seen, left England on the 4th June to take command of the army, and he landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th of that month. His forces, consisting of some 37,000 men, distributed between Newry and Armagh, were by the 27th concentrated at Dundalk.\*

James, contrary to the advice given him, to retire into Connaught and contest the line of the Shannon, had collected the bulk of his army between Dundalk and Ardee, but on William's preparing to advance he fell back on Ardee, where he was reinforced by the French contingent and by artillery. From Ardee, as William advanced, the Irish fell back to the River Boyne, taking up a strong position behind that river near Duleek and Oldbridge. Here he was attacked by the English army on the 1st July, and after long and desperate fighting, in which the Duke of Schomburg was killed, the position was forced and the Irish routed.

James fled from the field as soon as defeat appeared inevitable, and returned to Dublin, whence he took ship to France. Most of his army retreated across the Shannon on Limerick. The day after the battle, Drogheda surrendered, its garrison being permitted to march to Athlone. On the 3rd, William's cavalry entered Dublin, followed on the 5th by the King, the army encamping in the suburbs.

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\* According to Walton, William's army consisted of 21,282 English, 2,626 French, 6,008 Dutch, 5,393 Danish, and 1,900 sundries, total 37,209. James' forces north of the Boyne amounted probably to about 30,000.

1690-91. On the 9th the main army marched southwards, Lieutenant-General Douglas being detached with a division to invest Athlone, the possession of which would secure the whole of the north of Ireland against the enterprises of the Irish. On the 17th, Douglas arrived before Athlone and summoned it to surrender. Meeting with a defiant refusal, he invested the place, but its strength had been under-rated, and Douglas, finding himself without supplies, stores, or heavy artillery, and threatened by a force of 15,000 men, which, under Sarsfield, was advancing from Limerick, raised the siege on the 25th, and with some difficulty succeeded in rejoining the King.

William, meanwhile, having left Dublin on the 9th, marched directly south, so as to seize or cut off the places in the south-eastern counties held by the enemy, before turning west. The route followed was by Kilcullen and Carlow, to Carrick-on-Suir, detachments taking possession of Kilkenny, Clonmel, and Waterford. On the 27th the march was resumed by Clonmel, to Cahircoulish, some six miles from Limerick, where Douglas' division from Athlone rejoined the army.

The Irish, after their defeat at the Boyne, had retreated with all haste across the Shannon, Lauzun, the French commander, directing the Irish colonels to get their men to Limerick as best they could, he undertaking to cover their retreat.

On the 9th August the investment of Limerick commenced, and was completed the following day. Since the battle of the Boyne the defences of the place, already formidable by nature, had been considerably added to. William had with him no siege train, and the arrival of a convoy which was on its way from Dublin, with artillery, ammunition, pontoons, and provisions, was anxiously awaited, but, thanks to the utter neglect of all precautions, its small escort was surprised in the dead of night by Sarsfield, and overwhelmed. Sarsfield burned everything combustible, disabled all but six of the guns, and then fled again into the mountains.

Nevertheless, on the 17th the trenches were opened, and

active siege operations commenced, but the weather was such that the ground occupied by the besiegers was practically under water. Ammunition was running short, likewise provisions, and it became imperative either to carry the place at once or to raise the siege. 1690-91.

On the 27th a desperate attempt was made to storm the town, but after three hours' fierce fighting the assailants were forced to withdraw. The weather now became worse, and matters were so serious that on the 29th the siege was raised, and the English army withdrew into winter quarters.

In the south of Ireland, however, Marlborough's expedition proved a complete success. Arriving off Cork on the 21st September, in seven days that place was in his hands, and on the 15th of October Kinsale capitulated.

During the winter both parties made active preparations for what was seen must prove the decisive campaign of the war. William's presence was required on the Continent, whither he proceeded in January, accompanied by Count Solms, the latter being replaced in command of the British army by Lieutenant-General de Ginkell.

The campaign opened in May, the British headquarters being at Mullingar. Banagher was appointed the rendezvous for the troops from various parts of the country. On the 6th June de Ginkell marched on Ballymore, capturing the fort there on the 8th, after a brave resistance. Ten days later the army advanced to Ballyburn, and on the 19th, having been reinforced (their strength being now some 18,000 men), they engaged and drove in the Irish outposts covering Athlone.

Athlone stands on both banks of the Shannon, the portion on the Leinster side being known as English-town, that on the Connaught side Irish-town. English-town was stormed and captured on the evening of the 20th, but it was not until the evening of the 30th, after incessant fighting for the possession of the bridge between the two towns, that Irish-town was carried by assault, and the defenders driven out. Reinforcements, under St. Ruth, the French Commander-in-Chief, came up, only in time to see

1690-91. the gates of the town shut in their faces. St. Ruth fell back to Aughrim, four miles from Ballinasloe, where he took up a strong position surrounded by bogs. On the 10th July, de Ginkell, having placed Athlone in a state of defence, and left a garrison in charge, resumed his advance, and on the 2nd/12th July proceeded to attack the position.

The battle commenced about 3 o'clock, and the fighting soon became desperate, lasting until nightfall, when the Irish fled, routed, from the field, with fearful loss, among the slain being St. Ruth, their commander.

The remnants of the defeated army made the best of their way to Limerick, followed by the garrisons of Portumna, Bannagher, and Galway, who retired before the advance of the victorious British. Supplies and material having been collected, the march of the army was resumed on the 28th, and on the 14th August de Ginkell's forces appeared before Limerick, and on the 25th the siege commenced. Owing to the smallness of numbers, it was, however, carried on with great difficulty, the investment being only partial, and towards the middle of September it looked as if the siege would have to be abandoned. On the 16th of that month, however, thanks to the treachery of Major-General Luttrell, the besiegers were enabled to force the passage of the Shannon, cutting off a portion of the garrison, and a naval brigade effecting a landing, de Ginkell found it possible to complete the investment.

The attack was now pushed with vigour, and on the 28th negotiations were opened, resulting in the surrender of the town on the 3rd October.

With the loss of Limerick the war terminated, and any chances James may have had of re-establishing his supremacy in Ireland vanished for ever.

On the Continent the course of events was by no means favourable to the allies, and as in the previous year, the campaign of 1691 terminated decidedly to the advantage of the French.

William, as we have seen, returned to Holland in January, to attend the congress of the allies at the Hague, at which all the arrangements for the coming campaign

were to be settled. But the negotiations were long drawn out, and while the delegates were talking the French were acting. Under the chief command of the Duc de Luxembourg, the ablest general of the time, the French forces during the winter occupied a line of fortified places extending from Dunkirk on the sea to Dinant on the Meuse, behind which they were enabled secretly to concentrate their troops and to collect supplies at given points, the object of these movements being the acquisition of the unfinished fortress of Mons, the connecting link in the allied frontier between the Scheldt and the Sambre. The retention of the place was of vital importance to the allies, though, notwithstanding the repeated warnings of Marlborough, their generals did not seem to see it. 1690-91.

Suddenly, under pretence of breaking up their winter quarters, the French made a general move all along their line, and almost before William was aware that they were in motion, Mons was closely blockaded by 40,000 men, under Boufflers, Luxembourg's able lieutenant, whilst another army, commanded by d'Humières, was threatening the allied garrisons between the Lys and the sea, and a force of cavalry near Treves, under d'Harcourt, prevented the junction of the Brandenburg contingent with the rest of William's forces.

By dint of immense exertions however, William succeeded in collecting some 50,000 men of different nations, and was advancing with the desperate intention of attacking Luxembourg, but it was too late, for, after a feeble defence, in ignorance of approaching relief, Mons capitulated on the 31st March, and William fell back towards Brussels to complete the concentration of the allied army.

By this time a considerable contingent of British troops had arrived from England, and with those already in the country, were placed under the chief command of the Earl of Marlborough, with Lieutenant-General Kirke as second-in-command.

The contingent consisted of about 10,000 men, made up as follows :—

1690-91.

2 Troops of Guards  
 1 Bn 1st Regt of Foot Guards  
 1 Bn 2nd Regt of Foot Guards  
 2 Bns of the Scots Guards  
 2 Bns of the Royal Regt of Foot  
 The Royal Regt. of Fusiliers  
 The Earl of Bath's Regt (afterwards 10th)  
 Col. Hodges' Regt (afterwards 16th)  
 Col. Fitz-Patrick's Regt of Foot  
 Brigadier Ramsay's Regt of Foot  
 Col. O Farrell's Regt of Foot (afterwards 21st)  
 The Cameronians

Of these Colonel Charles Churchill, the colonel of Prince George of Denmark's Regiment, commanded a brigade consisting of the Royal Fusiliers, Bath's, Hodges', and Fitz-Patrick's regiments.

In addition to these there were Dutch, Spanish, and German troops, the whole amounting to some 19,000 Horse and Dragoons, and 31,000 Foot, William being in supreme command. This force assembled at Anderlecht, near Brussels.

Luxembourg now determined to attack Liège, detaching a force of 20,000 men, under Boufflers, for that purpose, and to cover his operations advanced himself with an army, from Courtrai, appearing before the allied camp at Anderlecht on the 20th May.

But William's position was too strong for him to attack, and William, on the other hand, dared not assume the offensive, as defeat in that position would have been fatal. Under the circumstances the two armies remained watching each other for several days, neither venturing to move. Finally, Boufflers, having failed in his attempt on Liège, Luxembourg withdrew with great precautions to Braine-le-Comte, the allies, suspecting the movement to be merely a feint to draw them out of their strong position, refraining from molesting their retreat. William then retired to Parck.

From the middle of June until the close of the campaign the opposing armies manœuvred against each other in the neighbourhood of the Sambre and Meuse, without however,



coming into collision, until William succeeded in completely outmanœuvring his opponent, cutting him off from Beaumont and Mons, which latter place he had practically at his mercy. Then, by an unaccountable delay of three days, he threw away all his advantage, for Luxembourg, by a forced march through country hitherto deemed impassable, regained all he had lost. William now fell back to Cour, and, after some further manœuvring, to Leuze, where he handed over the command of the army to the Prince of Waldeck, to whom he entrusted the task of moving into winter quarters. Luxembourg closed the campaign by a brilliant attack on the allied cavalry near Leuze, utterly defeating them. The only English troops engaged were the Life Guards, who greatly distinguished themselves.

1692.

## CHAPTER XIII.

1692.

At the end of 1691 Churchill's Regiment was still in quarters in Berkshire, but on the 2nd January, 1691/2 an order was issued for it to march forthwith, nine companies to Oxford and four to Abingdon.

Marching  
Order Book,  
Vol. 6.

ROUT FOR COLL' CHURCHILL'S REGIMENT FROM NEWBERRY  
TO OXFORD IN TWO DIVISIONS.

First Division

Wantage	—	Tuesday 5th January 1691*
Abingdon	—	Wednesday 6th - - - -
Oxford	—	Thursday 7th - - - -

The second Division to march the day after and to leave four companies at Abingdon.

The regiment was, however, allowed but little time to settle down in its new quarters. William was making vast preparations for renewing the struggle against France during the coming year. The triumph of his arms in Ireland had released a large force, and he was now in a position to send considerable reinforcements to the Low Countries, and in January and February ten regiments of the line, besides two battalions of the Guards, received orders to embark for Holland and Flanders.

The route for Churchill's Regiment was issued on the 17th February.

Ibid.

O. W. & P. is that you cause our Regiment of Foot under your Command to march forthwith from their Present (sic) according to the Rout hereunto annex to the Hamletts of our Tower of London, from which they are to march to Greenwich or the Red House and to embark upon notice

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\* 1691/2. At this time the civil year commenced on the 25th March.

from the Commy for Transportation that the shipping is ready to receive them on board in order to their being carried to Holland or Flanders. And the Officers are to take care &c. 1692.

Given this 17th day of February 1691/2.

In the Fourth year &c.

To Col Churchill

Rout

First Day Tame and

Wattington Tuesday 23rd February 1691/2

Second Wickham Henty (sic)

and Marlow Wednesday 24th

Third. The companies at Henty Thursday - 25th to Maidenhead and the whole Regiment to remain at Wickham, Marlow and Maidenhead until the notice from the Commy for Transportation, and then to march to Colebrook and Slow. (sic)

Next day to ..... the Brentfords, Acton, Eling, Chiswick, Turnham Green & ye day foll to ye Hamletts."\*

They do not seem to have been detained long waiting for transport, for they landed in the early days of March, at Willemstadt, in North Brabant, marching thence into Flanders, the English regiments being told off to quarters in Bruges and Ghent.† Cannon.

The establishment of the regiment at this time, and for some years afterwards, was 44 commissioned officers, viz. : 3 Field Officers (who also commanded companies), 10 Captains, 14 Lieutenants, 12 Ensigns, 1 Adjutant, 1 Quartermaster, 1 Surgeon, 1 Surgeon's Mate, and 1 Chaplain, 39 Sergeants, 39 Corporals, 26 Drummers, 780 Privates, and also 69 servants. The Corporals and Privates

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\* The spelling of the names in this order is somewhat irregular, but they may be recognised as :—Watlington, Wycombe, Henley, Colnbrook, Slough and Ealing.

† A London Gazette report under date Hague, 18th March, N.S. (8th March, O.S.) states : 5 regiments of Horse and 6 of Foot from England are come into the Maese. The troops from Scotland are likewise in the Texel and Earles Regiment at Ostend. Danes from Ireland, 21 March (N.S.). Forces that came out of the Thames the beginning of last week are come to Moerdyke and Willemstadt.

1692. were divided into :—63 Grenadiers (all in one company), 168 Pikemen, and 588 Musketeers (14 Pikemen and 49 Musketeers per company, except the Grenadier Company).

It was at this period, but the exact date cannot be ascertained, that the number of colours carried by a battalion of the line was reduced from one per company to three for the whole battalion, a battalion when drawn up in order of battle being formed in three divisions, the pikemen in the centre, and the grenadiers and musketeers on each flank, one colour being with each division.

Walton. Of the officers, the captains carried pikes, the lieutenants partisans, the ensigns half pikes, and the sergeants had halberts. The officers of grenadier companies and of fusilier regiments carried a light fusil instead of a pike or partisan.

It was no slight task that William had before him to collect his forces for the coming campaign. So far as the British contingent was concerned, however, the Commons had voted supplies for 66,000 men, British and foreign. Of these 26,000 were required for home service, leaving 40,000 at the King's disposal, of whom 23,000 were British.

But as regards the rest of the allies, nothing could impress on the various governments that there was any necessity for hurry or punctuality, added to which their mutual jealousies, suspicions, and differences of opinion proved insuperable obstacles to prompt or combined action. And when at length the various contingents had assembled they formed together a heterogenous force, varying in efficiency, training, equipment, and armament, in language, and in creed.

The French, on the other hand, were under the supreme command of one man, the warlike King Louis XIV., whose generals, the most able of their time, were eager to carry out their master's behests.

All through the winter supplies had been pouring into the various posts along the frontier, and a huge siege train had been collected on the Scheldt and Meuse, with the object of an attack on the important fortress of Namur. By the first days of May the French preparations were

complete. Luxembourg, with the main army, 115,000 strong, was in rear of the Haisne near Mons. Boufflers, with 18,000, was at Rochefort on the Lesse, and another corps, under de Joyeuse, on the Moselle, threatened William's Brandenburg and Hessian contingents. 1692.

On the 7th/17th May the French King, accompanied by the Princesses of the Blood and a magnificent retinue, arrived at the camp of Luxembourg's army, and three days later reviewed a force of 115,000 men, extending over a front of 9 miles.

On the 13th/23rd the French army set out for the siege of Namur, Luxembourg, with the main body, occupying the line of the Ormeau, with Gemblours in rear of his centre, on the 15th/25th, Louis, who had assumed nominal command of the corps which was to form the besieging force, camping at Le Massy, between Gemblours and Namur. The following day Namur was completely invested, the siege operations being under the direction of M. de Vauban.

Meanwhile William, who had foreseen the French move, had, notwithstanding his urgent warnings, been hampered in every way by the dilatoriness of the allies, and his army was by no means complete. But the sudden stroke of the French rendered immediate action imperative.

Hastily collecting a force of 30,000 men at Anderlecht, close to Brussels, he marched through that city on the 17th/27th May, and encamped on the 18th/28th at Bethlehem Abbey, between Brussels and Louvain, where he was joined the following day by General Mackay with 16,000 English and Dutch troops, who had rendezvoused about Ghent and Dendermonde.

The following is a list of the English regiments which took part in this campaign :—

#### HORSE.

- 4 Troops of Guards
- 3 Troops of Grenadiers
- Lord Berkeley's (now 3rd D.G.'s)
- Colonel Wyndham's (6th D.G.'s)

1692.

Colonel Longston (Broke 24 Aug, and the men incorporated into other Regts).

Lord Galway's (De Ruvigny)

Colonel Chas Godfrey (4th D.G.'s)

The Duke of Leinster

Colonel H. Lumley (The Queens) (1 D.G.'s)

#### DRAGOONS.

Lord Fitzhardinge (The 4th Hussars)

#### FOOT.

First Foot Guards - 1st and 2nd Battns.

Second Foot Guards - 1st Battn.

Scots Guards - 1st and 2nd Battns.

The Royal Regiment of Foot (Douglas's) - 1st and 2nd Battns.

Colonel Churchill's - (now the Buffs).

Colonel Trelawney's - (now the King's Own).

The Prince of Hesse's - (now the Royal Warwickshire - 6th).

The Fusiliers (Hamilton's) - (now the Royal Fusiliers - 7th).

The Earl of Bath's - (now the Lincolnshire - 10th).

Colonel Hodges' - (now the Bedfordshire - 16th).

Colonel Erle's - (now the Princess of Wales's Own - 19th).

Colonel O'Farrell's - (now the Royal Scots Fusiliers - 21st).

The Earl of Leven's - (now the King's Own Scottish Borderers - 25th).

The Earl of Angus - (now the Cameronians - 26th).

Colonel Fitzpatrick's.\*

Lord Castleton's.

Lord Cutts's.

Lt.-Gen. Mackay's.

Sir Charles Graham's.

Colonel Lauder's.

The English army had sustained a severe loss since the last year's campaign by the disgrace and dismissal from office of the Duke of Marlborough, in consequence of an intrigue with King James. Had he been present with the

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\* Fitzpatrick's Regiment is frequently confused with the "Fusiliers." Colonel Fitzpatrick (formerly of the Holland Regiment) was not appointed to the Fusiliers until after the battle of Steinkirk, when he succeeded Lord Geo. Hamilton (Earl of Orkney). Colonel Fitzpatrick's old regiment was then given to Lt.-Colonel Collingwood, late of Churchill's.

army during this and the ensuing campaigns, it is more than probable that it would have escaped the disasters which befel it. In his place, Count Solms was appointed second-in-command of the Allies, with the Duke of Wirtemberg and the Elector of Bavaria under him, Lieutenant-General Mackay being in chief command of the British infantry. 1692.

During the previous year William had promulgated the following :—

Rules for the Ranks of ye English and Scotch Forces. Home Office  
Milty. Entry  
Bk., Vol. 3,  
f. 179.

William R.

Rules concerning the Rank which Our Forces now in the Low Countréys are to observe among themsevels.

Each nation both English and Scotch (as much as is possible) must be together.

The English shall be posted on the Right of the first line, it being understood that the English have the right where ever they be.

When the officers of both Nations & of different Regiments are to pass upon Duty together, then he that has the eldest Commn shall command, as likewise when detached with any other Nation whatever, according to Our Orders when in Ireland, Notwithstanding which the several Regiments shall keep their Ranks according to their Seniority as has been practised hitherto without any regard to the date of the Colonells Commn.

Given at Our Camp at Anderlech the 16th day of June 1691 in the third year of Our Reigne.

By His Maties Command

SYDNEY.

The allied army now proceeded to advance with a view to raising the siege of Namur. The direct route, however, had been rendered impossible owing to the destruction by the French of all the forage in the country about Gemblours; moreover, its selection would have exposed the Brandenburg contingent to be cut off. William,

1692. therefore, marched viâ Parck (25th May/3rd June), Meldert (27th May/5th June), and Helixhem, where the Brandenburg contingent joined him, and on the 30th May/8th June he occupied a position six miles long, along the Mehaigne, his left resting on Lattine and his right at Thine.

d'Auvergne. The allied army was now 80,000 strong, the centre being under the personal command of William, the Elector of Bavaria having the right and the Prince of Waldeck the left. The reserve, under the Count de Lippe, consisted of twelve squadrons of horse and dragoons, and six battalions of infantry, viz.:—Churchill's, Bath's, Saxe-Gotha (two battalions), Friesen and Anhalt, camping in rear of the line, covering the King's quarters.

Meanwhile, the town of Namur, after a brief and feeble defence, had surrendered to the French on the 26th May/5th June, the garrison retiring into the citadel, thus enabling the besiegers to draw in their lines of investment and releasing a large number of troops to reinforce the field army.

The Mehaigne, which rises near Namur, follows a semi-circular course to Huy, where it joins the Meuse, forming an excellent advanced line of defence for Luxembourg's covering force, which had advanced to Emptine, within the arc of the semi-circle, at the same time as William had moved to Helixhem, and from this position he was able to anticipate any attempt on the part of the allies to cross the river or to construct bridges.

Lond. Gaz. His army occupied a strong position on rising ground, his left resting on Emptine and his right opposite the allied right at Thine. William, however, determined to attack, and on the 30th May/8th June marched about a league and a half to Ville, on the Mehaigne, in line of battle, seizing the posts on the river without opposition. The same night orders were given for laying bridges over the stream, each battalion and squadron preparing their own. By the morning these were ready, and it was intended to have attacked, but during the night the rain came down in torrents, falling without ceasing for eight days, flooding



the country, and rendering military operations a matter almost of impossibility. 1692.

The sufferings of both armies were terrible. The army investing Namur was no better off. The Duc de St. Simon, Memoirs of the Duke de St. Simon. who took part in the siege, says:—"The tents of the King could only be communicated with by paths laid with fascines, which required to be renewed every day, as they sank in the soil. The camps and quarters were no longer accessible, the trenches were full of mud and water, and it took often three days to remove cannon from one battery to another. The wagons became useless too, so that the transport of bombs, shot, and so forth, could not be performed except upon the backs of mules and horses taken from the equipages of the court and the army. The army of the Duc de Luxembourg was perishing for want of grain . . . . the household of the King had scarcely any repose during this siege, what with carrying fascines, furnishing guards, and other daily services, this increase of duty being given it because the cavalry served continually also, and was reduced almost entirely to leaves of trees for provender."

On the 7th/17th June William moved to his right to Perwez, Luxembourg making a corresponding movement to cover Namur. On the 12th/22nd William again moved to Sombreffe, and on the 14th/24th to St. Amand and Melle, as if intending to cross the Sambre and attack the besiegers from the south side of the river. But Luxembourg met this manoeuvre by moving Boufflers from Namur up to the banks of the Sambre.

The flooded state of the country rendering the Mehaigne impassable, the allies remained in the neighbourhood of Melle until the 20th/30th June, when, after a siege of barely a month, Namur, the garrison of which consisted of Dutch, Spanish, and German troops, capitulated.

Louis XIV. having thus successfully opened the Campaign and having gained great honour at the expense of little personal labour, forethought or risk, departed gaily for Versailles with all his train of ladies, fops and beaux, amid the discharges of cannon and feux de joie.

1692. On the same day that Namur surrendered, Captain Oliver Luke, of Churchill's Regiment, was taken prisoner, under circumstances related by d'Auvergne, as follows :—  
"We made a considerable detachment from our army to cover our foragers, who went about Tresigny on the Sambre; and we made this detachment so much the stronger that the next, in which we had some other designs than to cover our foragers, should give no suspicion to the enemy.

"Captain Luke, of Brigadier Churchill's Regiment, being in this detachment, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner; he was posted with a guard upon the wood, in which (it seems) there was a French party, who beat both the English and Scotch march as if they had been some of our detachments; one of their soldiers came, and, when he was challenged by the sentry, he desired in English to speak with the officer. Whereupon, Captain Luke coming to him, he was thus drawn in an ambuscade, that made him prisoner just by his guard, and was afterwards carried to Namur."

Namur having fallen, William now decided to make a dash at Mons and retake it by a coup de main, before the garrison, which had been considerably depleted, could be reinforced. Accordingly, on the night of the 23rd June/3rd July the Duke of Wirtemberg was despatched to effect this object, with a force of some 5,000 or 6,000 men, composed of a company (1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, and 60 men) from every battalion in the allied army.

After a late start and a forced march, they halted at one o'clock in the morning about three or four miles from Mons, when they found that not only was the garrison on the alert, but that, owing to the foresight of Luxembourg, a considerable body of cavalry had been thrown into the place when William made his last westerly movement. Under the circumstances, there was nothing for Wirtemberg to do but to return without firing a shot.

During the night the French made an important capture. Sir Robert Douglas, who was in command of the English contingent, Colonel O'Farrell, and Captain Francis Sterling,

presumably the officer of that name belonging to Churchill's Regiment, who had accompanied Sir Robert Douglas as a volunteer, were summoned by the Duke to a council. The night was dark, and on their return they lost their way. Hearing voices, they rode towards the sound, and found themselves in the midst of a party of the enemy's horse, who made them prisoners, carrying them into Mons. Here they were detained until the 30th June/9th July, when, according to the "London Gazette," "being demanded by a trumpeter," they "were sent back from Mons, having been civilly used by the governor." 1692.

William now had two courses open to him. To endeavour to recover Namur, or to fall back, in hopes of enticing Luxembourg into following him, and then to defeat him in the field. He chose the latter course. The Brandenburg contingent, and that of the Elector of Cologne, were despatched to the neighbourhood of Huy, to protect the country laid bare by the fall of Namur, and the main army marched on the 26th June/6th July to Genappe. The state of the roads was such that the train of artillery, escorted by the "Corps de Reserve" (of which Churchill's regiment formed part), had to be sent on the day before, to ensure their getting through in time.

Luxembourg, on his part, was only anxious to retain what he had got and to hold the allies in check. Fourteen of his battalions had been drafted to form the garrison of Namur, and forty-one had been despatched to the Rhine, his commissariat train was worn out, likewise the remainder of his troops. But under the circumstances, it was imperative that he should place himself between Mons and the allied army. The position of the latter, near Saint Amand, and the fact that Charleroi was held by them, rendered it necessary for him to cross the Sambre, take a circuitous route by St. Gerard and Ham-sur-Hure, and recross again near Thuin. Thence he marched to Roelux and Soignies, at which place he arrived on the 1st/11th July, after encountering the greatest difficulties, owing to the awful state of the roads and the exhaustion of his forces.

1692. From here he was in a position to threaten Brussels, in the event of the allies making an attempt to retake Namur. William, on his part, anxious to induce Luxembourg to still further weaken his army by detaching corps of observation, caused preparations to be made at Liège, as if for an attempt on Namur, and unfortunately, in addition made the mistake of despatching a force of 8,000 men, under Count Horne, to Ghent.

d'Auvergne. On the 29th June/9th July the King, accompanied by the Elector of Bavaria, reviewed the whole of the English infantry present with his army, together with the Dutch Guards on the English establishment, the force consisting of fifteen battalions, "with which his Electoral Highness, as well as His Majesty, seemed to be very well satisfied." The ground upon which this review took place formed, 123 years later, part of the field of Waterloo.

The next day he inspected the Danish and other troops on the English establishment, and a few days later thirteen battalions of Scottish infantry.

On the 21st/31st July the allied army marched from the plains of Genappe to Eschembeque (Braine-le-Chateau), opposite Hal on the Senne, a long march carried out under great difficulties, in the pouring rain, the state of the country becoming worse and worse. The following day they passed the Senne in several columns, the Corps de Reserve marching through the town of Hal, encamping on the heights along the river, the left resting on the Senne at Tubise, the King's headquarters being at Lembeque.

Here the Corps de Reserve was broken up, and Brigadier Churchill's and the Earl of Bath's regiments resumed their former posts in the English line.

On the same day, Luxembourg advanced to Enghien, his camp extending between that place and Steinkirk, a village on the banks of the Senne. Boufflers was at Mazy-Saint Jean, seven miles to the rear.

The hostile armies thus lay some six miles apart, and here it was that William decided to give Luxembourg battle.

1692.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## STEINKIRK, 1692.

As we have said, the position taken up by Luxembourg's army was situated some six or seven miles from that of the allies. Its right rested on the high ground above Steinkirk,\* a small village on the banks of the Senne, about four miles south of Enghien, and the centre, where Luxembourg had his headquarters, was at Hoves, on the Mons road. The ground between Steinkirk and Hoves was high, and the front was covered by a ravine, which gradually died away near Enghien. On the extreme right the ravine was deep and narrow, with a wood, the Bois de Feuilly, on the near side. On the rising ground opposite were the Bois de Xoulemont and the Bois de Rouscou, and beyond these again another ravine, from which smaller ones ran up towards the woods. On the far side of the greater ravine again, a high plateau extended for a mile or more. The whole country between the French position and the allies was most uneven, dotted with woods, orchards, farm-houses, and cottages, and closely intersected with fences and hedgerows. The roads were but deep lanes, almost impassable from mud, a country, in fact, in which infantry alone could act, and then only with difficulty.

Undoubtedly Luxembourg was justified in thinking that here, while observing the enemy, his jaded troops might rest in comparative security from attack, especially as he had every reason to suppose that he was well informed of his enemy's intentions. Among the numerous retainers and hangers on who abounded with both armies, was one, Jacquet, whose wonderful vocal talents had ingratiated him with the Elector of Bavaria to such an extent that he attached him to his suite, first as musician and subsequently

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\*Sometimes spelt Steenkerke and Estinkerke.

1692. as secretary. In this capacity Jacquet, better known by the punning sobriquet of "the Chevalier de Millevoix," was in a position to make himself acquainted with all the plans of the allied commanders, and well he made use of his opportunities, for, as a matter of fact, he was a paid spy of the Duc de Luxembourg, whom he kept constantly informed of all that was going on.

Unfortunately for him, on the 23rd July/2nd August a letter, picked up by a peasant and brought to William, disclosed not only the treachery that was going on, but the identity of the traitor. The King at once availed himself of the discovery to attempt to surprise the French camp. With a pistol held at his head, the wretched "Chevalier" was compelled to write to Luxembourg, at William's dictation, to the effect that a considerable force of the allies would be under arms, during the early hours of the following morning, in the vicinity of the defiles between the two camps, but that he need be under no apprehension of an attack, as they would merely be the covering force of a large foraging party, which was to be sent out that night, in the direction of Ninove.

D'Auvergne. That evening orders were issued for six battalions to parade at the head of the Duke of Waldeck's regiment, and to be ready to march, as the vanguard of the army, an hour before daybreak, under the command of the Duke of Wirtemberg. The regiments composing this force were:—The Second Battalion of the First Regiment of Guards, the First Battalion of Douglas' Regiment (the Royal Regiment), FitzPatrick's (*not* the Royal Fusiliers), O'Farrell's (Royal Scots Fusiliers), a battalion of Danish Guards, and the Queen's Regiment (a *Danish* regiment).\*

At the head of these was a party, consisting of 17 men from each battalion of Churchill's brigade, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mainwaring,† who were

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\* The two latter regiments are in some works erroneously referred to as *Dutch* Guards, and as the regiment *now* known as the Queen's (Royal West Surrey), and at that time as the Queen Dowager's or Colonel Selwyn's. Selwyn's regiment did not land in Flanders until the 23rd August, O.S.

† Presumably Lieut.-Col. Charles Mainwaring of Churchill's regiment.

to act as pioneers, and clear away the brushwood and fences, and widen the ways through the defiles. They carried hatchets and spades in addition to their arms, and their instructions were to lay down their tools and join in the attack as soon as the fighting began. The duties of a pioneer being at that time considered derogatory to a soldier, they were to receive the sum of a ducat per man as a sop to their feelings. 1692.

Wirtemberg's force moved off at the appointed time, while the rest of the army was parading, its objective being the extreme left of the French position.

Luxembourg had received several warnings of the intended move of the allies, but, placing implicit trust in Millevoix's letter, and being moreover a man of intensely lethargic temperament, and fond of his ease when no necessity for exertion was apparent, he refused to believe that anything more than foraging was intended, even when soon after dawn, his patrols sent in word that the enemy's army was in motion, and of the direction in which they were moving. He was ill and in bed, having spent the night, as usual, in carousing and gambling. A further report that a force of cavalry was near the Senne, with a body of mowers at work, only tended to confirm him in his opinion, and it was with difficulty that he was induced to rise and ride out to the hill in front of his right, where he arrived just in time to see the English Guards advancing through the trees.

The alarm was at once sounded, and the troops turned out at utmost speed. Express messengers were sent to hurry Boufflers up from Mazy with all haste. In the camp all was confusion, and nothing intervened between it and the advancing British but the Bourbonnais Brigade, which was encamped in advance of the line, on an eminence to the right front. These ran to arms, and a battery of artillery was hurried up to reply to two of Wirtemberg's which had opened fire. It was now nearly eleven, and Wirtemberg's column pushed on across the plateau of the Bois de Rouscou, the Guards and Danes advancing into the Bois de Feuilly, and the Royal Scots, O'Farrell's. and Fitz-

1692. Patrick's into the Bois de Xoulemont, a ravine running down to the French position separating the two forces, those in the Bois de Feuilley being on the same ground as the enemy. The Bois de Xoulemont however, was separated from the French position by a long ravine full of hedgerows and fences.

Meanwhile the main body of the allies, under Count Solms, moved off in the track of Wirtemberg soon after daybreak, but on reaching the plateau already referred to, the column received orders to halt, and here they remained for the rest of the day, only the English cavalry of the left wing, which had led the advance, and seven British regiments of foot,\* being ordered to continue the advance across the ravine into the woods, to extend Wirtemberg's line to the right.

One of William's chief objects in endeavouring to bring on a battle in this particular neighbourhood was that the nature of the ground would preclude Luxembourg from using his cavalry, of which the King stood in considerable awe. But, with inconceivable fatuity, whether from blind adherence to the exaggerated rules of precedence which prevailed at that time, from incompetence, or as has been alleged from deliberate malice, his own mounted troops not only were sent on into the boggy defiles, but were actually pushed on in front of the infantry intended to act in support of Wirtemberg.

As might have been foreseen, they promptly became involved in hopeless confusion in the miry lanes, unable to extricate themselves, and completely blocking the advance of the infantry.

With greatest difficulty Cutts's, Mackay's, Graham's and the Cameronians succeeded in forcing their way through the struggling mass, and gained the right of the vanguard, being followed in support by the Prince of Hesse's, Leven's, and Lauder's. But the time lost was irreparable. Had Wirtemberg pushed on at once at eleven o'clock, with his

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\* Cutts's, Hesse's (now Royal Warwickshire, 6th), Mackay's, Graham's, Leven's (now the King's Own Scottish Borderers, 25th), the Cameronians, and Lauder's.



leading troops, while the French were still in confusion, there is no knowing what might have been the result of the day, but he lost, in an artillery duel, an hour and a half of precious time, which Luxembourg utilised to the utmost. 1692.

The French camp was formed according to the regulations of the time, the mounted troops on each flank, and the dragoons of the right were hurried on foot into the gap between the Bourbonnais regiments who had first come up, and the river. The rest of the horse galloped off to the left to bring the distant infantry up, mounted behind them. The nearer infantry fell in, in haste, forming into line as they came up, regardless of the rigid rules of regimental precedence. A second line was in support, and in places a third, a fourth, and even a fifth, and, where practicable, trees were felled and the hedgerows and fences were occupied and strengthened. On the left, where the ground was more favourable, the cavalry prolonged the line towards Hoves.

It was not until half-past twelve, when, as a surprise, William's plans had completely failed, that Wirtemberg gave orders for the advance. The attack was commenced on the British left, by the Guards and Danes, the Royals, O'Farrell's, and FitzPatrick's following suit from the Bois de Xoulemont, seconded on their right by Cutts's, Mackay's, Angus's, Graham's, Lauder's, Hesse's, and Leven's regiments, the cavalry, when they had extricated themselves, forming on the right rear.

Slowly the Guards and Danes advanced, carrying hedgerow after hedgerow, capturing the battery, and driving the Bourbonnais back on the second line. On the British right the other regiments gradually drove the French back foot by foot to the crest of the hill, the supporting battalions prolonging the attacking line to the right. The fighting was desperate, the combatants being separated but by the thickness of the hedges, and the losses were frightful.

At the commencement of the engagement Lieutenant-General Mackay, who was at the head of his own regiment (the Royals), foreseeing the perilous nature of the

1692. enterprise, sent an aide-de-camp to Solms, pointing out the urgent necessity for support, but his request was refused. Nevertheless, the British struggled on against overwhelming odds. The first line of the French was wavering, and several battalions had fallen back in confusion, leaving gaps in the lines. But the second, third, and fourth lines were rapidly receiving reinforcements. From these, fresh troops were urged to the front, but numbers of these, despite the entreaties of their officers, could not be induced to face their gallant assailants. Brigadier-General Paulier was shot down, and the Prince de Conti had two horses killed under him, while vainly endeavouring to induce their men to follow them. The British, despite their rapidly increasing exhaustion and their terrible losses, were now nearly in the French camp, and if only reinforcements had come up the day was theirs. Luxembourg saw that at all costs they must be driven back. Princes and generals placed themselves at the head of their wavering troops. The flower of the army, the French and Swiss Guards, led by the Duc de Bourbon, the Princes de Conti and de Turenne, and the Duc de Chartres bore down on the assailants with cold steel, and a desperate hand to hand struggle ensued along the line.

All this time William was vainly striving to extricate his main body from the hopeless confusion which it had been thrown into by Solms' action in sending the cavalry in advance of the infantry into the defiles. He ordered a brigade to push on into the Bois de Rouscou, endeavouring to form the main body into line on the plain. The brigade which advanced into the wood however, did so with such eagerness that they were thrown into confusion, and had to be re-formed.

.uttrell.

Meanwhile, in front, the hopeless struggle continued. The twelve battalions, their numbers reduced to half, and worn out by exhaustion, still fought on against the whole French army.\* But surely and slowly they were gradually overwhelmed by sheer weight of numbers, and borne foot by

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\* 53 Battalions of Infantry and 7 Regiments of Dragoons.—*Beaurain*.

foot back down the slope. Before falling back, however, 1692.  
the six guns taken from the French, together with two British ones were spiked, the ammunition was blown up, and the carriages set on fire.

On the right of the British, the English Horse Grenadiers, Fitzhardinge's (now 4th Hussars), Hesse Marowitz's and Eppinger's Dragoons, who had been dismounted, advanced out of the wood on foot, charged and broke the regiment d'Orleans and the Dauphin's Dragoons and covered the retreat of the hard-pressed infantry. Then, remounting, they fell back themselves.

But the French forces were gaining in strength every moment. Boufflers had now come up, and the sorely-tried troops of the vanguard were at last driven back through the wood in disorder. This spread to the Lunenberger Regiment of Baron Pibrack, one of those moved up by the King into the wood, and the Count himself was severely wounded while trying to rally his regiment.

Prince Casimir of Nassau now, despite Solms' orders, hurried two regiments from the right of the allied main body to their support. These two regiments, Bath's and Churchill's, under the command of Sir Bevil Granville the colonel of the former, advanced coolly down the slope under a hail of fire, without returning a shot until within point blank range of the victorious French, when they delivered a murderous volley which effectually stopped the pursuit for the time being. They then took up a position along the sunken road which skirted the wood, which they held for an hour against repeated attacks of the enemy, until the retreat of the Lunenbergers and of the shattered remains of Wirtemberg's division had been made good. They then slowly fell back, but twelve guns fell into the enemy's hands, four however, being retaken.

Col. Richard  
Diary,  
Stowe MSS.

Towards the allied right the enemy were advancing and showing signs of making a turning movement, which, however, was frustrated by some Dutch and Danish infantry, who not only succeeded in checking the movement but gained at one time some considerable advantage.

But William, seeing all hope of ultimate success was

1692. gone, made arrangements for retreat, and again the British troops were chosen for the post of honour. As many battalions were drawn up on the plateau as the ground would permit of, among these being the 1st Battalion of the Coldstream Guards, the Royal Fusiliers, and Hodges' Regiment. Under cover of these the remainder of the army withdrew in good order through the narrow lanes along which the morning's advance had been made. The enemy brought heavy artillery to bear on the covering troops, causing heavy losses. Among others Colonel Hodges was killed at the head of his regiment.

When once the main body had withdrawn the covering line followed, the rearguard consisting of the grenadiers of all the British regiments with the army. The French followed up at a respectful distance until dark, the grenadiers repeatedly facing about to check the pursuit. It was not until well into the early hours of the morning that the weary and exhausted troops regained their camp at Halle.

The losses on both sides were enormous, and both armies had to deplore the death of many officers of high rank and distinction. According to a detailed list by ranks in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 28,926) the killed and wounded are given as follows:—

	Killed.	Wounded.	
Colonels ... ..	10	11	
Other F. Officers ...	17	18	
Other Officers ...	139	281	
N.C. Officers ...	138	105	
Ptes. ... ..	4409	3130	
	<hr/> 4713	<hr/> 3545	Total
			<hr/> 8258

Besides these there were 1,300 prisoners, nearly all of whom were severely wounded.

Two colours were lost by the British and some three more by the foreign regiments.

As on the side of the allies only 26 regiments of infantry and two of dragoons were actually engaged, in all some

15,000 (of whom 8,000 were British), it will be seen how 1692.  
terrible their losses were.

The French admitted the loss of :—

112 officers, 86 sergeants, and 2262 men killed.

de Quincey.

507 officers, 187 sergeants, and 3813 men wounded.

It is impossible to ascertain the losses of Churchill's Regiment in this battle. Those of some regiments have been returned in detail, with the names of the officers killed and wounded, but no casualty return of Churchill's is forthcoming. In a roll, in the British Museum, of officers killed Har. MSS. and wounded in the battle there are six whose regiments are not specified. Among these occurs the name of Captain Sterling, wounded. This officer was probably Captain Francis Sterling, of Churchill's Regiment, who has already been mentioned.

Among the most distinguished officers who fell among the British were Lieutenant-General Mackay, Sir Robert Douglas, the Earl of Angus, Colonel Wauchope, and Colonel Hodges. Colonel Lord Cutts, Colonel Lauder, and many others were wounded.

William's plan for the battle was well conceived, but its execution was hopelessly muddled. Want of sufficient reconnoitring, the long delay during the artillery duel, the criminal folly of placing the cavalry in front of the infantry, and the shameful neglect to support the vanguard or to create a diversion by attacking or threatening the French centre or left, were all inexcusable faults which no amount of valour and dogged determination could counteract.

No one appreciates better than the French military historian de Quincey, how dearly bought the victory was, and how near to utter destruction the French army stood that day. The sole advantage, he says, to either side was that they had had a trial of strength at the cost of a number of gallant men.

So shaken was the enemy in fact, that the morning after Luttrell. the battle seven of the lost guns, which had been left on the field by the French, were recovered by a detachment sent

1692. out from the allied army, which brought them off in sight of the enemy's camp, without a shot being fired. They also brought off fifty wounded men.

How far Solms was responsible, wholly or partly, for the disasters of the fatal day has never been clear. William for months after, could not bear the sight of him. In the eyes of the British, his malevolence and his detestation of the English, were the sole cause of their misfortunes. "Damn the English," he was reported to have replied to urgent appeals for reinforcements, "Damn the English, if they are so fond of fighting, let them have a bellyful."

Sterne's hero, Corporal Trim,\* well expresses the popular feeling of the time:—"Had Count Solms, Trim, done the same at the battle of Steinkirk, said Yorick, drolling a little upon the corporal, who had been run over by a dragoon in the retreat—he had saved the . . . Saved, cried Trim interrupting Yorick, and finishing the sentence for him after his own fashion—he had saved five battalions an' please your Reverence, every soul of them. There was Cutts's, continued the Corporal, clapping the fore finger of his right hand upon the thumb of his left, and counting round his hand—there was Cutts'—Mackay's—Angus's—Graham's—and Leven's, all cut to pieces; and so had the English lifeguards too, had it not been for some regiments upon the right,† who marched up boldly to their relief, and received the enemy's fire in their faces, before any of their own platoons discharged a musket. They'll go to heaven, added Trim. . . Trim is right, said my Uncle Toby, nodding to Yorick; he's perfectly right. . . What signified his marching the horse, continued the Corporal, where the ground was so straight that the French had such a notion of hedges, and copses and ditches, and felled trees laid this way and that, to cover them (as they always have). Count Solms should have sent us; we would have fired muzzle to muzzle with them for their lives."

The two armies remained watching each other for the

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\* *Tristram Shandy*. Sterne's father was an officer of foot and served during this campaign.

† Churchill's and Bath's.

following week, neither being in a position to resume the offensive. On the 27th July/6th August the so-called "Chevalier de Millevoix" paid the just penalty for his rascality, being hanged as a spy, on a tree in front of the right wing of horse. 1692. d'Auvergne.

The campaign was now virtually over for the year, and the eighth day after the battle the French withdrew to Ghislinghem to cover Tournay, Lille and Courtrai, and also to menace the allied right, should an opportunity be afforded. So little anxious however, was Luxembourg for another brush with the English, that the withdrawal was carried out with the utmost secrecy, without beat of drum and with pikes at the trail, for fear of attracting attention, and all the wounded were abandoned at Enghien, to become prisoners of war.

As soon as William received intelligence of the French retreat he set out in pursuit with all the regiments which had not been seriously engaged at Steinkirk, but his information had been received too late, and, failing to come up with the enemy, he returned that evening to Halle, where his army remained encamped until the 9th/19th August, when he marched to St. Quentin-Lenneck, and the following day to Ninove, the French having taken up a threatening position between Grammont and Lessines.

The 2nd Battalion of the First Foot Guards, Cutts's, and the Prince of Hesse's regiments, which had been so cut up, were sent into garrison at Malines and Maestricht, and the Danes, with the heavy baggage, to Ghent.

During the next few days the two armies continued their parallel march, the allies by St. Levens, crossing the Scheldt at Gavre on the 16th/26th and the Lys at Deynse on the following day, Luxembourg arriving the same day at Herlebec. Count Horne's force (ten battalions), which had been detached from Genappe on the 3rd/13th July, here rejoined the main army, ten English and Scotch regiments\* being sent to Bruges, under Brigadier Ramsay, where they

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\* Bath's, Castleton's, Mackay's, Graham's, Leven's, a Bn. of the Foot Guards, the 2nd Scotch Guards, Trelawney's, the Fusiliers, and Stanley's (late Hodges').

1692. arrived on the 21st/31st August and 23rd August/1st September, marching on the 24th August/3rd September to Ostend to join the Duke of Leinster, who had arrived from England with 15 regiments.

During the month of September these regiments occupied Furnes, Dixmuyde and Ypres. The main army had remained at Deynse and Grammont, and on the 16th/26th September William handed over the command to the Elector of Bavaria, returning himself to England. The troops encamped at Grammont marched for winter quarters on the 28th September (O.S.), but those in the neighbourhood of Deynse (Gavre and Mariekerken) remained in the field for some time longer.

Luttrell. About this time a duel was fought between Captain Parry, of Churchill's Regiment, and a Captain Cary, of another regiment, who came fifty miles to the meeting. According to Luttrell, both combatants were mortally wounded, but so far as Captain Parry is concerned, this is a mistake, as that officer was one of those killed at the battle of Landen in the following autumn.

Early in October Boufflers made a show of attacking Charleroi, causing the Elector to march to Waterloo and Genappe. On the 9th Charleroi was bombarded, a considerable destruction of forage and stores being effected, but reinforcements being thrown into the town, Boufflers withdrew.

The Allies now went into winter quarters at Brussels, Mechlin, Ghent, Villevorde, and Dendermonde, Churchill's Regiment being stationed at Ghent.

Boufflers however, had no intention of leaving the allies in peace and quietness. On the 19th December he suddenly invested Furnes. All officers on leave in England were hurriedly recalled, and the English garrisons of Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend were ordered to the relief of Furnes, but they were too late, for on the 4th January the garrison, consisting of five Dutch and Spanish battalions, surrendered. An attempt on the part of the French against Huy during the month of December was, however, unsuccessful.



1693.

## CHAPTER XV.

LANDEN, 1693.

As usual, the French spent the winter in vigorous preparations for the coming campaign, but terrible weather lasting well on into the spring rendered it impossible for either army to take the field until the middle of May.

The French had assembled two armies, one under Luxembourg, numbering 24,000 horse and 47,000 foot at Givry, between Mons and the Sambre, and the other under Boufflers, numbering 17,000 horse and 31,000 foot at Tournai. Their intentions were to confine their movements to the neighbourhood of the Meuse, Boufflers' army, as in the previous year, undertaking the active operations, and Luxembourg's acting as a covering force.

William arrived in Flanders at the end of March, and commenced assembling his forces. The continental troops rendezvoused at Dieghem, close to Brussels, and the British, under the Duke of Wirtemberg and Talmach, at Antwerp Port, near Ghent, those from Bruges, Damme, and Ostend arriving on the 14th May, and the garrison of Ghent on the 15th.

On the 23rd (O.S.) the French King joined the army, and on the same day Boufflers marched for Gemblours, where his force arrived on the 28th, Luxembourg marching at the same time to Tourine-les-Ordon.

As soon as the French moves were evident the troops from Ghent were at once ordered to Dieghem, marching viâ Dendermonde, and encamping between Villevorde and Dieghem on the 25th, but before they could join the main body William pushed on by a forced march to Parck, to cover Brussels and Upper Brabant, the remainder joining him at once.

Owing to his having to detach strong reinforcements to Liège and Maestricht, and to the great amount of sickness

1693. among his troops, due to the weather, William's army was weak, consisting of only 80 squadrons of horse and 52 battalions of foot (23,000 horse and 38,000 infantry).

Of these some 17,000 were British, the British this year being stronger than heretofore, although several regiments which had suffered severely at Steinkirk (notably Hesse's and Cutts's) had returned to England.

The following is the list of English troops at Parck Camp at the commencement of the campaign of 1693 :—

#### CAVALRY.

Lieut.-Generals .....	Earl of Portland Lord Auverquerque (Casimir of Nassau). Lord Scravenmore
Major-Generals .....	Earl of Galway Duke of Ormond Earl of Scarborough Lord Colchester
Brigadier .....	Hon. Henry Lumley

#### HORSE.

1st, 2nd and 3rd Troops of Guards and Grenadiers.  
Colonel Lumley's Horse (1st Dragoon Guards).  
Lord Galway's.  
Colonel Langston's (4th Dragoon Guards).  
Colonel Wood, late Lord Berkeley's (3rd Dragoon Guards).  
The Duke of Schomberg's (7th Dragoon Guards).

#### DRAGOONS.

Earl of Essex's Dragoons (4th Hussars).

#### INFANTRY.

Lieut.-General .....	Talmach.
Major-General .....	Sir Henry Bellasyse.
Brigadiers .....	Churchill (Charles) Ramsay Erle.
Talmach's Brigade .....	1st Foot Guards (2 Battns.). 2nd Foot Guards (Coldstreams) (1 Battn.) The Regt. of Scots Guards (2 Battns.)

Churchill's Brigade ...	The Royal Regiment (1st or Royal Scots) (2 Battns.) Selwyn's (late Kirk's) (Queen Dowager's) (now the Queen's). Churchill's (Prince George of Denmark's) (now The Buffs). Trelawney's (The Queen's) (now The King's Own). The Fusiliers (now the Royal Fusiliers). Sir Beville Grenville's (10th or Lincoln).	1693.
Erle's Brigade .....	Tidcomb's (14th or West Yorkshire). Hon. James Stanley's (16th or Bedford). Erle's (19th or Yorkshire). Collingwood's.	
Ramsay's Brigade .....	Offarell's (21st or Royal Scots Fusiliers). Maitland's (now 25th or King's Own Scottish Borderers). Ferguson's (26th or Cameronians). Sir Chas. Graham's. Lauder's. Mackay's. The Earl of Argyle's. Lord Castleton's. Colonel Pitt's Companies of Miners.	

Anticipating the easy capture of Liège, after the fashion of Mons and Namur in the previous campaigns, Louis the XIV. arrived with his court at Namur early in June, and assumed command of Boufflers' army at Gemblours. But there were great difficulties in the way. Huy had to be taken before Liège could be besieged, and it was strongly held. So were Maestricht and Charleroi, to say nothing of William being at Parck with 60,000. Altogether the coming campaign promised more knocks and less pomp and glory than were altogether to the liking of the "Roi Soleil," and on the 2nd/12th he took himself off home again with

1693. his ladies, leaving Luxembourg to manage affairs; he first however, much to the latter's disgust and dismay, detached Boufflers with 30,000 men to Germany.

The French army at this time had removed to Meldert 5th/15th June, near Tirlemont, only some 8 or 9 miles from Parck. Luxembourg had hoped to have been able to attack the allied camp, but the position was so strong, being covered by dense woods with narrow defiles, by a stream with steep banks on the left front, and by the River Dyle on the right, and the facilities for withdrawing, should William wish to avoid an engagement, were so great, that the French commander gave up the attempt. Throughout the month of June, therefore, both armies remained in position watching each other, both suffering severely from the terrible weather which still prevailed.

London  
Gazette.

On the night of the 14th/24th "the waters from the hills came down with such violence as to carry away divers tents, wagons, and horses, that were in the hollow ways, and some persons were drowned. Several houses that stood in the way of the torrent were likewise carried away." Desertion, too, from both armies was rampant. To such an extent, in fact, did it prevail that William actually offered a reward of £10 to any soldier bringing in a deserter.

Walton.

Both armies had great difficulties in bringing up supplies, particularly the French, whose line of communication was greatly harassed by the garrison of Charleroi.

Seeing that the deadlock could not be allowed to continue, Luxembourg now endeavoured to draw William out of his strong position by a feint on Huy and Liège, and on the night of the 28th June/8th July he withdrew his army in strict silence, without interruption, to Judoigne. William at once recalled the several corps of observation which he had in the direction of the Meuse, but hoping to create a diversion on the Scheldt, in favour of the Meuse fortresses, he made the fatal mistake of dividing his forces, which were already inferior to those of the enemy, and on the 1st/11th July a force of 6,000 cavalry and 8,000 infantry, with 12 guns, under the Duke of Wirtemberg, marched for

Oudenarde on the Scheldt, where they arrived on the 3rd/13th July.\* 1693.

Here the column was reinforced by 6,000 men from the Scheldt garrisons, and on the 6th/11th the advance was continued to Coveghem, in front of the French fortified lines, which stretched from Espierre on the Scheldt, to Menin on the Lys and thence to the sea. The French lines at Dottignies were stormed on the 8th after an arduous march in terrible weather, the English playing a conspicuous part in the action. The defenders (2,000 horse and 8,000 foot) were driven out, and the victorious troops encamped that night at Dottignies. On the 12th Wirtemberg moved on Tournai with the prospect before him of a successful inroad into the enemy's country, when the intelligence of the catastrophe to William's army arrested his victorious advance.

On the 8th/18th July, the same day as the Duke of Wirtemberg's success at Espierre, Luxembourg moved towards Huy, encamping the next day between Vignamont and the Mehaigne, a detached force being sent to invest Huy.

William, therefore, left Parck and marched on the 10th/20th to Tirlemont, the next day to Neer-Hespen, and on the 12th to Hesperling, his camp extending from Tongres to St. Sion.

Meanwhile Huy, after the feeblest of defences, surrendered on the 13th/23rd, and Luxembourg continued his movement on Liège, halting at Lamin. William, thereon, threw 6,000 men (10 battalions) into Liège and 2,000 into Maestricht, retiring with the remainder of his army (45,000 men) on the 15th/25th to Neer-Hespen, a village on the banks of the Geete, between Tirlemont and Landen. Luxembourg, meanwhile, moved to Hellich, close to Liège. It was of the utmost importance to the French commander to keep William in the open and to bring on a decisive engagement, especially as a reconnaissance of Liège showed

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\* Four English regiments accompanied this force, the Duke of Schomburg's Dragoons, 7th Dragoon Guards, Bath's (10th), Argyll's and Castleton's Foot.

1693. that a vast entrenched camp had been formed there, rendering the place too strong to be forced. To keep up the pretence however, that to besiege Liège was his intention, he caused great preparations to be made as if for that object, and enormous quantities of fascines were constructed by the forced labour of the peasantry.

Luxembourg was however, very fearful that William should see through his scheme, and heavy rains on the 16th/26th and 17th/27th delaying all movements, increased his anxiety. However, the weather cleared on the second afternoon, and at sundown Marshal de Joyeuse set out with 10,000 men to Warem and Avèsnès on his way, it was assiduously reported, to the Scheldt. Before daybreak on the 18th/28th the whole body of the French army marched off in dead silence, Luxembourg riding in advance with the cavalry.

During the afternoon William received intelligence from patrols of the arrival of the French cavalry at Warem; further reports left him no doubts of the near approach of Luxembourg and his whole force.

To fall back on Brussels would have been a difficult matter, and moreover, would have been tantamount to abandoning the Meuse fortresses to their fate. William determined to give battle, therefore, and no doubt he was right, but, despite the urgent representations of his lieutenants, he chose a position ill adapted for encountering a force half as strong again as his own.

The position selected by the King faced south, extending across the fork between two streams, the Little Geete and the Landen Beck, some three or four miles south of their point of junction at Leuw. Near their confluence, in rear of the position, the ground was marshy, but then rose in long gentle undulations, forming a ridge of high ground along the Beck as far as the village of Rumsdorf, where the stream bent away in an easterly direction. North of Rumsdorf and on the opposite bank of the stream, was the village of Neer-Landen. From Rumsdorf the ridge ran in a westerly direction, terminating about the village of Oberwinden, about a mile distant. From this place ran a

small brook, joining the Geete at Elixheim,\* two miles off, skirting the south side of the village of Neerwinden and the north of Laer on its way. Two miles down the Geete from Elixheim was situated Neerhespen. From opposite Laer and parallel to the Geete a ridge ran nearly to Neerhespen, and between this ridge and the one terminating above Oberwinden lay a hollow about half a mile wide, in which, close to the stream, was the village Neerwinden. At a short distance south of the Rumsdorf-Oberwinden ridge another one extended parallel to it, behind which was the town of Landen. 1693.

The position was not without its merits. The gentle slopes of the ridges were all to the advantage of the defenders. The flanks were strongly guarded by the Landen Beck and the Little Geete, and the villages of Neerlanden, Rumsdorf, and Laer formed valuable advanced posts. The weak point was the Neerwinden gap, and, unfortunately, the extent of front was far too great for the force William had at his command. The flanks were too distant for reinforcements to pass from one to the other, and from the centre no troops would be withdrawn without risk.

In rear there was so little space that mounted troops could not manœuvre, and, in the event of the front being driven in, there was no second position, and no room to rally. The bridges also over the Geete were too few and too far between to admit of an orderly retreat. The greater part of the afternoon was spent by the allies in moving into position and making preparations for the coming struggle.

Between 3 and 4 o'clock Luxembourg, who had pushed on with the cavalry, arrived at St. Gertrud, near Landen, where he found, to his great joy, that the allies were not only in position, but apparently were unsuspecting of his approach. On de Joyeuse with his advanced force coming up at 6 o'clock, Landen which was only feebly held, was at once occupied by the Marquis de Crequi with two brigades, being shortly after reinforced by the Marquis de

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\* Helixheim, Heylissem, Elissem.

1693. Feuquières with another brigade, with three more in support and a force of cavalry on his left, near St. Gertrud. Oberwinden, immediately opposite Neerwinden, was occupied without opposition by General de Montchevreuil with two brigades, three more, under General Rubantel, being between Oberwinden and the Geete. Behind these were 8,000 cavalry, under de Joyeuse and de Ximenes. But it was 10 o'clock before the last of the main body had come up, after an arduous and exhausting march in the sweltering heat, and bivouaced about Landen and St. Gertrud.

In the allied lines work went on all night. The villages of Laer and Neerwinden, surrounded by stout hedges and by ditches, and mud banks some five feet high, easily lent themselves to defence, but from Neerwinden to Neerlanden, a distance of about two miles, the ground was open, and across this, by order of the King, a continuous line of entrenchments, with bastions and sallyports covered by demilunes, was thrown up during the night. Owing to the importance, however, of resting the men before the coming battle, the working parties were limited to 30 men per battalion. They worked well, however, but the profile can have been but that of a slight breastwork, and hardly the "formidable retrenchment" described by the French.

d'Auvergne.

The allied army was disposed as follows:—Ramsay's Brigade, consisting of five battalions, O'Farrel's (Royal Scots Fusiliers), Mackay's, Lauder's, Leven's (King's Own Scottish Borderers), and Monro's (Cameronians), were on the extreme right of the position, in front of the right wing of horse, holding Laer and some thick hedgerows and hollow ways on the right of Laer and between that village and the Geete.

To the left of it were six battalions of Brandenburgers, under Prince Charles of Brandenburg. Lining the hedgerow between the brook and Neerwinden and in that village, were six battalions of Hanoverians, under General Du Mont. These were afterwards reinforced by the 1st Battalion of Scots Guards and a battalion of Dutch Guards. The entrenchment immediately to the left of Neerwinden



was occupied by the Fusiliers (Royal Fusiliers), the remaining two battalions of the 1st Guards and Scots Guards, the Coldstreams, and a battalion of the Royal Regiment (Royal Scots). To the front, holding Rumsdorf, was Erle's Brigade, consisting of Tidcomb's (West Yorkshire), Stanley's (Bedfordshire), Erle's (Yorkshire), and Collingwood's, and Neerlanden was held by the remaining battalion of the Royal Scots, Selwyn's (the Queen's), Churchill's (Buffs), Trelawney's (the King's), together with Fagel's and Prince Frederick's Danish Regiments. 1693.

The artillery, consisting of one hundred guns, was distributed along the entrenchment. The cavalry were posted all along the line in rear and between Neerlanden and Dormael on the extreme left, where the bridges over the Beck were guarded by dragoons.

The Earl of Essex's Dragoons (4th Hussars) were here, the remainder of the British cavalry (three troops of Guards and Grenadiers, and six regiments of Horse), were in the left wing of the main body. Their action, however, was paralyzed, for the entrenchment precluded their moving to the front, and in rear there was no room to manoeuvre.

The commanders being busy until a late hour superintending the preparations, it was far into the night ere William retired to his couch to snatch a few hours' sleep, and before daylight he was at prayer with his chaplain.

At Laer and Neerwinden the work of strengthening the hedges and banks and throwing up breastworks was continued almost until the commencement of the action.

The earliest dawn revealed the enemy under arms in huge masses between Landen and Oberwinden, where the French centre, 36,000 strong, half foot and half horse, was drawn up in eight lines, two of which only, the first and fourth, were infantry. Luxembourg, who knew the ground intimately, had intended overnight to force the allied centre between Neerwinden and Rumsdorf. The ground was open, and once the ridge carried, the result of the battle would only depend on the cavalry, in which arm the French army was overwhelmingly superior.

But, to his astonishment, on daylight appearing, he

1693. perceived the entrenchment which had been thrown up during the night, and which would have to be stormed and levelled before his horse could cross the ridge.

Soon after four o'clock the allied artillery opened fire with all their guns on the French centre. Luxembourg, with difficulty, got 70 guns into position to reply to them, and, being badly placed, their fire fell short, doing but little damage. About six o'clock the French centre, which had now merged into four lines, the two centre ones being mounted troops, made two attempts to storm the entrenchment, but met with such a murderous reception that they had to fall back, whole battalions being almost annihilated. Luxembourg, seeing that a frontal attack was hopeless, now made preparations for turning the allied flank.

Neerwinden was the key of the position, and once that was carried the entrenchment could be turned, but to capture Neerwinden necessitated a simultaneous attack on Laer.

Anticipating that Luxembourg would attack the allied right, the First Battalion of the First Foot Guards, the 2nd Battalion of the Scots Guards, and a battalion of Dutch Guards, who had been massed in rear, were at once thrown into Neerwinden to reinforce the Hanoverians, and Churchill's and Trelawney's Regiments were ordered from Neerlanden to join Ramsay's Brigade at Laer.

To turn the allied wings two thousand five hundred dismounted dragoons were thrown across the Beck to threaten Neerlanden, and fifteen thousand infantry were directed, under the Prince de Conti, in front of and close to Rumsdorf. Between Oberwinden and the Geete 20,000 foot were massed, under Generals de Rubantel and Montchevreuil, together with 8,000 mounted troops, under de Joyeuse and de Ximenes.

About 8 o'clock the French advanced on Neerwinden and Laer. The attack on Neerwinden was made in three columns, those under de Rubantel and Montchevreuil attacking the flanks, the centre under the Duke of Berwick, assaulting the projecting head of the village. De Reynault, with six battalions, at the same time advanced on

Laer and the hedgerow between it and Neerwinden, while on the other side of the hamlet, Ximenes, with 16 companies of dragoons, supported by Pracontal, with thirty-two squadrons, moved up the left bank of the Elixheim brook until stopped by the hedgerows.

1693.

Then, dismounting, the dragoons swarmed across the obstacles simultaneously with de Reynault's attack. With such impetuosity did the French advance, that the Brandenburgers were driven from their defence back on to the cavalry, while Ramsay's force in Laer, outnumbered and nearly surrounded, but resisting desperately, were slowly driven out of the village. As they fell back from the cover of the houses, de Pracontal's Cavalry bore down on their flank to complete their discomfiture. But in their turn the French horse were charged in flank and rear by the left wing of the allied cavalry, led by the Elector of Bavaria, and driven off in confusion. Ramsay rapidly rallied his men, and with a shout the whole brigade, headed by their commander, charged furiously down on the victorious French infantry, and after a fierce hand-to-hand struggle, hurled them out of Laer. Prince Charles, at the head of the Brandenburgers, at the same time re-took the hedgerows from which, shortly before, his men had been driven.

Meanwhile at Neerwinden the fight had been equally fierce. As the key of the position projected like a bastion, it was the object of Luxembourg's main attack, and, as already said, was assaulted by three columns, numbering no less than 24 battalions. The centre one, led by the Duke of Berwick, a youth of two and twenty, pushed on under a hurricane of shot and bullets, reserving its fire until it could be delivered at close quarters, before swarming over the outer trench. Then ensued a desperate struggle, the combatants swaying backwards and forwards between the lines of defence, the assailants steadily increasing in numbers, being reinforced by three more regiments. At last the Foot Guards, shattered and decimated, gave way, the Hanoverians fell back too, and gradually the fences and houses fell into the hands of the French.

1693. On the right and left de Rubantel and Montchevreuil pushed on, but when closing in on the flanks of the village they were enfiladed by a murderous fire from the great hedgerow and from the breastwork, as well as from the defences of Neerwinden itself. Montchevreuil fell dead, and Sarsfield, who accompanied him, dropped mortally wounded from his horse. Wavering for a few minutes, the columns broke and rushed for shelter behind Berwick's troops, in the part of the village already in French possession. Having gained the outskirts of the village, Berwick halted and proceeded to re-form, but the allies were doing likewise. The First Foot Guards were rapidly rallied behind the Scots Guards by Churchill, and the Dutch and Hanoverians re-formed in their rear. Then, urged on by the King in person, they charged down on the French.

Hampered by the network of defences and crowded into the narrow lanes in helpless masses, Montchevreuil's and De Rubantel's men, already shaken and disorganised, fled in disorder after a short resistance. Berwick's brigades held on for some time longer, their leader exposing himself with the utmost gallantry, in his efforts to induce them to stand. But their losses were terrible, and, finding themselves unsupported, a panic seized them, and they too, broke and fled. Finding himself cut off, and likely to be surrounded, Berwick removed the white cockade from his hat and, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, dashed across the allied camp, trusting to pass for an English officer, but, unfortunately, he encountered Churchill, who recognised the aide-de-camp, and, aware of his nephew's\* presence with the French army, at once made the two prisoners. After a hurried embrace the uncle and nephew galloped off to seek for William.

"The meeting of the King and captive, united by such

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\* The Duke of Berwick was natural son of James II., by Arabella Churchill, and therefore nephew of the Duke of Marlborough and of Charles Churchill. William being son of James II.'s sister Mary, was Berwick's cousin and, as husband of James II.'s daughter Mary, was also his brother-in-law.

close domestic ties and divided by such inexplicable injuries, 1693. was a strange sight. Both behaved as became them. William uncovered, and addressed to his prisoner a few Macaulay. words of courteous greeting. Berwick's only reply was a solemn bow. The King put on his hat; the Duke put on his hat; and the cousins parted for ever."

Berwick was escorted to Leuwe and thence to Antwerp, being subsequently exchanged.

We must now turn to the left flank of the allied army on which Luxembourg now directed his efforts. At 10 o'clock Villeroy gave the signal for the attack on Neerlanden and Rumsdorf. Neerlanden was held on the Rumsdorf side by a battalion of the Royal Regiment, Selwyn's (the Queen's) occupying a similar position on the Attenhoven road, while two Danish regiments occupied the far side. A fierce attack was made from the Rumsdorf road by the four regiments of dragoons\* who had crossed the Beck in the morning, and, after a sharp struggle, the Royals were compelled to evacuate the houses they held, and to fall back, until reinforced by Selwyn's led on by the King in person, who had galloped over as soon as the French attack developed. The two regiments now held their own, and reinforced by two Danish battalions, they succeeded, after two hours' hard fighting, in driving their assailants out of the village, following them in pursuit for some distance.

At Rumsdorf Erle's Brigade, numbering only some 3,000, received the onset of 15,000. Erle, who had that morning left a bed of sickness, fell desperately wounded, and his men, overwhelmed by weight of numbers, were driven out of the village and retreated towards the entrenchment. But as the French, following in pursuit, advanced up the slope, they came under the heavy fire of the British artillery. The retiring troops now halted, and reinforced by those in the entrenchment, charged their pursuers, driving them back into Rumsdorf, where they

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\* It must be remembered that the dragoon of the 17th century was armed with a musket and bayonet, and fought on foot; he was the prototype in fact of the mounted infantry man of the present day.

1693. succeeded in holding the far side of the village. From Neerlanden the King was recalled to the other flank by the news of a fresh disaster at Neerwinden.

While the attack on the allied left was proceeding Luxembourg had ordered a fresh assault on Neerwinden and Laer. Seven thousand fresh troops, under the Duc de Bourbon, were ordered up, and behind them the broken regiments were rallied. Thirty-seven battalions in all swept down on the defenders of the two villages, and again they were driven slowly back through Neerwinden, and from fence to fence and enclosure to enclosure. Again the French committed the same mistake as in the first attack, and crowded into the village to avoid the cross fire from either flank. Here clubbed, cramped, and unable to deploy, they were twice charged in front by the Guards and Hanoverians, led by the King himself. The Brandenburgers at the same time fell on their flank, and with hideous slaughter the French were driven back to the outskirts of the village, to which they held on with great tenacity.

Luxembourg was now getting reckless, and attempted to carry the breastwork with the cavalry of the centre,\* who had already suffered severe loss, having been halted under fire for the last four hours. Three times in succession they charged the entrenchments with the utmost bravery, only to be mown down and hurled back by the united fire of the batteries, delivered at a range of fifty yards.

A council of war was now held, and the French leaders urged retreat, but Luxembourg would have none of it, and insisted on another attempt to storm Neerwinden. The battle had already lasted eight hours, and so far the allies had had the best of it, but they had been engaged almost without intermission, without reinforcement under a blazing tropical sun, and were worn out by their exertions and disorganised by their losses. At Laer and Neerwinden

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\* St. Simon accounts for this mad proceeding on the part of Luxembourg by explaining that he did not expect that the cavalry would succeed in penetrating the entrenchments, but that this bold movement would cause their abandonment by the allies.

alone, originally held by some 14,000 men, quite 5,000 had fallen. Luxembourg, on the other hand, had still a large force of fresh troops at his disposal, for of the infantry of the centre, a considerable proportion had not yet fired a shot. With these, supported by the regiments which had already been repulsed, he determined to strike a final blow. 1693.

From Oberwinden 12,000 fresh troops, the Gardes du Roi, the Gardes Françaises, and the Gardes Suisses, the pick of the French army, moved off under the Duc de Chartes and the Prince de Conti, to take post on the left, opposite Laer and Neerwinden. Further to the left the Swiss regiments of the line took post under the Duc de Bourbon. All these were fresh troops, and beyond them again were masses of cavalry and dragoons, under Joyeuse. By 3 o'clock a huge crescent of 50 battalions of infantry, supported by the cavalry, under Villeroy, menaced the doomed villages.

In the centre of the French line more infantry were brought up, to throw themselves against the breastworks, while away on the right the Marquis de Feuquières replaced Villeroy in command of the attack on the allied left.

As soon as it became evident that a fresh attack on the allied right was intended, William sent orders for nine regiments from the left to reinforce the threatened points, but they never reached their destination.

The last phase of the battle now began. An attempt was made by the Elector, with the Scots and Dutch Guards, to retake the outskirts of Neerwinden, which were still held by isolated bodies of the French, three battalions of Hanoverians advancing to take them in flank. But Luxembourg had given the signal for the general assault, and the Gardes Françaises dashed down on the front of Neerwinden, led by the Prince de Conti, the Gardes Suisses assaulting the portion of the entrenchment held by the Coldstreams and Fusiliers. The Scots and the Dutch Guards fought desperately until not a round of ammunition was left in their pouches, when, two out of the three Hanoverian regiments on their right, overpowered by numbers, having given way, they, too, were compelled to fall back. On

1693. their left Fitzpatrick's men held their fire until the Grenadiers of the Swiss Guards had actually mounted the breastwork, when they poured in a volley at point blank range. But the troops in rear pushed on in surging masses over the dead and dying, and poured over the breastwork, closely followed by Villeroy at the head of the cavalry of the Maison du Roi. These were forming up on the left of the infantry, but before more than five squadrons were in position they were charged and driven out of the entrenchment by the Bavarian cuirassiers, led by the Count d'Arco.

All this time a fierce struggle had been raging in Neerwinden. Twice led by William himself, on foot sword in hand, the British, at the point of the bayonet, forced their way back to the breastwork. So furious was their onset that the veteran French Guards gave way, and were only rallied by the personal effects of Luxembourg, who threw himself into the *melée*.

On the allied left, as we have seen, nine battalions had been withdrawn, and were on their way to reinforce the right. De Feuquières, who instantly perceived the movement, waited until they had got too far to interfere, and then threw forward his infantry, closely supported by cavalry.

The point in the defences which de Feuquières selected was doubly weak, for a line of wagons had been substituted for the breastwork, and its defenders had just been withdrawn. Consequently the French penetrated the line with little or no opposition, before its late defenders could return, and when they attempted to do so they were compelled to form square in self-defence.

Meanwhile the struggle continued at Neerwinden. Outnumbered and overpowered, its defenders were again driven out, and for the third time the village was in the hands of the French. On the left of Neerwinden too, the Brandenburgers had fallen back and abandoned the entrenchment.

At this moment fresh reinforcements to Luxembourg arrived on the field, in the shape of the Marquis d'Harcourt



1693.

and 22 squadrons which had been detached the previous day towards Huy. As they arrived a general advance of the whole French line took place. Charged by the cavalry of the Maison du Roi, who, after their repulse, had rallied behind the Swiss, the Hanoverian Cavalry broke and fled, throwing the troops in their rear into confusion. Following up their success, the French now delivered a second charge in one long line, before which the whole of the allied cavalry of the right wing gave way, a few squadrons of cuirassiers only rallying under the Elector of Bavaria, who withdrew them across the Geete, to receive the fugitives and to form a rear guard.

From the allied left, de Feuquières' cavalry was now surging down on the Guards and Fusiliers. The Dutch Guards wavered and broke, making the confusion worse than ever. The English Guards and Fusiliers held on a little longer, and then formed square, retiring slowly in good order, carrying off in triumph the captured standard of the Maison du Roi.

All this time Ramsay's Brigade, with Churchill's and Trelawney's Regiments, had made a gallant stand at Laer, and had fully held their own against overwhelming numbers. But at last, when the French horse had penetrated the line by the gap left when the Brandenburgers gave way, and were threatening the British rear, Ramsay gave the order to retreat. But it was too late. Set on in front by the French infantry, and charged by the cavalry in flank and rear, the regiments were simply ridden down, cut to pieces, and scattered. Round the colours of Churchill's Regiment a furious struggle raged. One by one the three ensigns who carried them fell, two to rise no more, and the third, badly wounded, became a prisoner. The colours, too, fell into the enemy's hands. The names of the three ensigns, unfortunately, have not been recorded.

The retreat now degenerated into a rout. The King brought up the English cavalry from the left, and time after time these splendid regiments charged into the thick of the enemy, in their gallant endeavours to cover the retreat, and it was numbers alone that enabled the French

1693. cavalry to withstand them. General Talmach and the Earl of Athlone, with great skill, drew together the regiments on the left, the defenders of Rumsdorf and Neerlanden, and organised an orderly retreat on Leuwe by Dormael, the rearguard being commanded by Sir Henry Bellasyse. So hard were they pressed, that they constantly were compelled to face about and drive their pursuers back, but their conduct materially assisted the rest of the army in getting away.

The nine battalions of the left centre, of which we have spoken, succeeded in making good their retreat across the Geete. On the banks of this stream the sight was a horrid one. At the few bridges, baggage, guns, horse and foot were mingled in a seething mass. All ranks were struggling for bare life, and the French horsemen were riding through the crowd, cutting down all within their reach. Hundreds were trampled to death, and hundreds pushed into the stream and drowned.

William to the last exposed himself with the utmost valour. Having seen Talmach making good his retreat, he remained as long as possible covering the bridge at Neerhespen. Around him his officers fell fast. Ginckell was drowned, Solms mortally, the Duke of Ormond severely wounded, and both taken prisoners.\* The King himself narrowly escaped the same fate, being rescued by the gallantry of a subaltern of the Life Guards. .

At last, as the evening was drawing in, having crossed the river, he conducted the cavalry of the left wing, together with the Guards and the remains of Ramsay's Brigade, to join the Elector of Bavaria, en route to Boutchem, near Tirlemont.

No attempt was made by the French at pursuit beyond the streams, and the weary troops bivouacked on the battlefield, the supper tables of the officers being spread among the slain.

The hero of the day, universally acclaimed as such by both sides, was William. Throughout the day, conspicuous by his broad riband and star of the Garter, his weakly form

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\* Ormond was exchanged shortly afterwards for the Duke of Berwick.

was seen in the thickest of the fight, here rallying and steadying his men, there leading them, in charge after charge, both on foot and on horseback, against the pick of the enemy's troops. 1693.

"One musket ball passed through the curls of his wig, another through his coat, a third bruised his side, and tore his blue riband to tatters. . . . Two led horses which in the field always closely followed his person, were struck dead by cannon shots." Macaulay.

Nor had his opponent, the deformed Luxembourg, spared himself in the fray. "It is probable that among the hundred and twenty thousand soldiers who were marshalled round Neerwinden under all the Standards of Western Europe, the two feeblest in body were the humpbacked dwarf, who urged forward the fiery onset of France, and the asthmatic skeleton who covered the slow retreat of England." Ibid.

The losses on both sides had been terrible, but it is impossible to ascertain with any accuracy the exact figures. Both sides grossly exaggerated those of their opponents, while minimising their own, and at the same time it was, as we have already seen, to the interest of the colonels and captains to show a fictitious strength on their muster rolls. Again a very large number of men who fled from the field dispersed all over the country, many being arrested weeks after in the seaport towns. Of the 6,000 Brandenburgers, for instance, only 600 answered the roll call next day.

De Beaurain, who was the French official compiler, admits the French loss to have been from 7,000 to 8,000, and the "London Gazette" of August 17th (O.S.) puts that of the Allies at 214 officers killed, 296 wounded, 6,005 privates killed and prisoners, and 3,558 wounded, the loss of the French being estimated at from 18,000 to 20,000.

In addition, the French captured 80 guns, 9 pontoons, and a large number of colours and standards, losing, however, a great many colours and standards themselves.\*

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\* According to the statements of the London Gazette (10th Aug., O.S.) the Allies took 55 standards and colours and 400 prisoners, and according to another (17th Aug., O.S.), they took 25 standards and lost 43, took 19

1693. D'Auvergne gives a regimental roll of the casualties amongst the officers of the British infantry, but, unfortunately, he does not give the names of the subalterns. From this return it would appear that the 21 battalions of British infantry present at the battle lost 48 officers killed, 61 wounded, and 23 taken prisoners. At Laer the seven battalions engaged lost 16 officers killed, 23 wounded, and 23 taken prisoners. The officers of Churchill's Regiment were:—Killed: Captains Norwood and Parrey and two Ensigns. Wounded: Captain Salusbury, one Lieutenant, two Ensigns. Prisoners: Major Peyton, Captain Salusbury's Lieutenant, three Ensigns.

Macaulay.

The French were victorious; but they had bought their victory dear. . . . Neerwinden was a spectacle at which the oldest soldiers stood aghast. The streets were piled breast high with corpses. . . . The region, renowned in history as the battlefield during many years, of the most warlike nations of Europe, has only seen two more terrible days, the day of Malplaquet and the day of Waterloo. During many months the ground was strewn with skulls and bones of men and horses and with fragments of hats and shoes, saddles and holsters. The next summer the soil, fertilised by twenty thousand corpses, broke forth into millions of poppies. The traveller who, on the road from St. Tron to Tirelemont, saw that vast sheet of rich scarlet spreading from Landen to Neerwinden could hardly help fancying that the figurative prediction of the Hebrew prophet was literally accomplished, that the earth was disclosing her blood, and refusing to cover the slain.

After the battle the troops, who had retreated by Dormael and Leuwe, under Talmach, marched on and encamped at Diest, and those under William at Boutchem, near Tiremont. On arrival here the King at once sent an express to Wirtemberg to rejoin him with all his force.

The next day, 20th/30th July the King marched to

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colours and lost 18. D'Auvergne puts the number taken by the allies at 37 standards and 19 colours, and points out that proportionately they took far more than the French, as they were greatly outnumbered, and moreover the Brandenburgers and Hanoverian regiments carried a colour for each company, whereas the French only carried 3 colours per battalion.

Louvain, and the following day he camped between Malines and Eppenheim. On the 24th (O.S.) he was rejoined by General Talmach, Bellasyse, and Churchill, with the infantry who had retreated by Diest, and on the 2nd/12th August the whole army effected a junction with Wirtemberg's force at Wommel. 1693.

Luxembourg remained the night of the battle in the neighbourhood of Landen, retiring the following day to Warem, where he remained for a fortnight, having sent orders to Boufflers to rejoin him at once.

The French commander was severely blamed for not following up his victory, but he was in no position to do so. His troops were shaken and disorganised by the battle, he had no reserves, his transport train was completely broken and the country in front of him was bare of supplies of any kind, whereas William had strong garrisons to draw upon, and might be at any moment reinforced by Wirtemberg with 20,000 men. Moreover, the French rear would have been exposed to attack from the garrisons of Charleroi, Liège, and Maestricht, that of Liège alone consisting of 20,000.

Under the circumstances he decided to confine himself to operations against the Meuse fortresses, and on the 5th/15th August, with a view to attacking Charleroi, he marched to Boneffe, arriving at Nivelles on the 8th/18th.

On the 5th/15th King William reviewed the whole of his army, which, according to d'Auvergne, "appeared in very good condition, and stronger than it had hitherto been in this campaign." On the 7th/17th the allied army marched to Hal, where great sickness broke out among the troops, and on the 10th/20th Churchill's Regiment, which had suffered so severely at Laer, was ordered into garrison at Malines.

As has been the case, it is to be feared, in more recent times, the language of the British soldier at this period was not remarkable for refinement, and recent events had not tended to improve it,\* so much so that on the 25th August (N.S.) the King found it necessary to issue an order on the

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\* "Our armies swore terribly in Flanders,"—Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*.

1693. subject, calling on the officers first to set the example "by abstaining themselves from all oaths and execrations."

W.O. Mis. O.  
Bk. (Dutch)  
No. 7.

By this time the fugitives, who had dispersed all over the country after the battle, had mostly been brought back again, and we find a record of a Court-martial (26th August) held for the trial of 28 men of various regiments for being found in Rotterdam after the battle of Landen. Of these 3 were acquitted and 4 pardoned, among the latter being the only man belonging to Churchill's Regiment, John Bates, he "being a recruit for the 3rd Dragoons and drafted against his will."

d'Auvergne.

D'Auvergne relates that "thirty of the English and Scots Brigades, besides that of the Guards who had deserted to Holland after Landen, and were handed over by the Magistrates of Rotterdam and other seaports, were sentenced to death. The King pardoned 24 of them, the other six, selected by lot, were executed at the head of their brigades 5th September. Six of the Brigade of Guards were condemned, three being selected for pardon and the other three hanged at the head of their regiments the 6th."

On the 1st/11th September Luxembourg, having received reinforcements and siege materials, invested Charleroi, which, after a stout resistance, capitulated on the 1st/11th October, William finding it hopeless to attempt its relief.

W.O. Mis. O.  
Bk. (Dutch)  
No. 7.

On the 13th September 900 recruits arrived at the camp, 300 for the Guards, the other 600, who had been drafted from regiments at home, being ordered to be divided by lot among the regiments which had suffered most at Landen. Of these 130 were assigned to Churchill's Regiment, which would tend to show how severely the regiment had suffered. Finding that little or nothing could be done for the rest of the season, William handed over the command of the army to the Elector of Bavaria on the 5th October (N.S.), and proceeded to Breda. Towards the end of the month both armies moved into winter quarters.

Ibid.

As was usual, a large number of officers had already proceeded to England on leave or for recruiting purposes, their names being published in an order dated 23rd September (O.S.), the masters of the packet boats being

directed to grant them free passages on production of their 1693.  
certificates of leave, properly signed.

Those of Churchill's Regiment "permitted to go to England, or otherwise to be absent from their commands during the winter months," were :

Captain Salusbury	Captain Harrison
Captain Headley	Lieut. Abington
Lieut. Pallesten	Lieut. Pallfrey
Ens. St. Quentin	Ens. Morgan
Ens. Pope	

The English and Scotch regiments were distributed for the winter into the various garrisons as under :—

Ghent .....	The Foot Guards (2 Bns.) The Coldstream Guards. Selwyn (2nd Queen's). Fusiliers (7th Royal Fusiliers).	d'Auvergne.
Bruges .....	Scots Guards. Royal Regiment (2 Bns.) (Royal Scots). Bath's (10th). Tidcombe's (14th). Castleton's. Graham's. O'Farrell's (21st). Mackay's. Leven's (25th).	
Malines .....	Churchill's (Buffs). Trelawney's (4th King's Own). Erle's (19th). Dutch Guards.	
Dendermonde	Collingwood's. Stanley's (16th).	
Ostend .....	Lauder's. Fergusson's. Argyll's (26th Cameronians).	

1694.

## CHAPTER XVI.

1694.

Dalton. During the past year only one regiment of dragoons (now the 8th Hussars) and three regiments of foot (one Irish and two Scotch) had been added to the strength of the British Army, but during the winter of 1693-4 William, who had returned to England, succeeded in obtaining the sanction of Parliament to the formation of 10 more regiments of horse and dragoons, and 15 of foot, but it was evidently found advisable to raise only six regiments of horse and dragoons and 11 of foot,\* the additional establishment voted being utilised to increase the strength of existing regiments.

R.U.S.I.  
MSS. The establishment of Churchill's Regiment remained at 13 companies, 44 commissioned officers, 104 non-commissioned officers, 780 privates, 89 servants, the sum voted for the maintenance of the regiment being £16,145 3s. 4d.

Luttrell. On the 20th February the regiment lost its lieutenant-colonel, Charles Mainwaring or Mannering, who died in England from the effects of an apoplectic stroke. "He was a good officer, and sent for out of Flanders to be preferred." He was succeeded in the lieutenant-colonelcy by Major Henry Peyton.

During the winter considerable reinforcements had been dispatched from England to Flanders, though several regiments which had taken part in the late campaign had been sent home.

It was not, however, until May that active steps were taken towards renewing the struggle, the spot chosen for the concentration of the allied army being Bethlehem, near Louvain.

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\* English : 3 of Horse, 2 of Dragoons, 4 of Infantry. Scotch : 1 of Dragoons, 3 of Infantry. Irish : 4 of Infantry. Of all these only Gibson's (afterwards 28th and 1st Bn. Gloucestershire Regiment) is now in existence.



On the 17th/27th May Bellasyse was ordered to march with the garrisons of Nieupoort, Ostend, and Bruges, and on the 21st/31st he marched through Ghent with 19 battalions of British troops, and was there joined by six more British regiments and seven of Danes, eight more British regiments, under Sir David Collier, remaining to escort the artillery and train, which were not yet ready.

1694.

On the 24th May/3rd June, King William arrived at the camp and took up his quarters at the Cloister of Terbank. At the camp he found 36 battalions of Dutch infantry, besides the regiments of Churchill, Trelawney and Erle which had arrived from Malines.

On the 31st May/10th June the King reviewed all the troops which had arrived, in presence of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, and on the 3rd/13th June the army marched from Bethlehem and Terbank by Louvain, Parck, and the Bois de Merdal, and encamped between Tirlemont and Meldert, where they were joined the following day by Collier's Brigade and also by 10 battalions from the garrisons of Maestricht, Liège, and Hasselt.

The Allies now had in the field an army of some 32,000 horse and dragoons, and 57,000 infantry, with 130 pieces of artillery. Besides these there were 7,000 men encamped at Ghent, watching the line of the Scheldt, and the garrisons of the Meuse fortresses, which were very strong, that of Liège alone amounting to 24,000 men.

The British contingent serving in the campaign was as follows:—

## HORSE.

General: The Earl of Portland.  
 Major-Generals: The Duke of Ormond.  
                     The Earl of Colchester.  
                     The Earl of Scarborough.

<i>Brigadier.</i>	<i>Regiment.</i>	<i>Squadrons.</i>
Leveson ...	{ Leveson's (2nd Dg. Gds.) ...	2
	{ Wood's (3rd Dg. Gds.) ...	2
	{ Wyndham's (6th Dg. Gds.) ...	2
	{ Galway's ...	2

1694.

<i>Brigadier.</i>	<i>Regiment.</i>	<i>Squadrons.</i>
Lumley ...	{ Lumley's (1st Dg. Gds.) ...	2
	{ Langston's (4th Dg. Gds.) ...	2
	{ Coy's (5th Dg. Gds.) ...	2
	{ Duke of Leinster's (7th Dg. Gds.) ...	2
L'Etang ...	{ Life Guards ...	4
	{ Horse Grenadiers ...	1
	{ Dutch Life Guards ...	?
Total Squadrons of Horse ...		21

## DRAGOONS.

<i>Brigadier.</i>	<i>Regiment.</i>	<i>Squadrons.</i>
Matthews...	{ Matthews' (1st Royal Dgns.) ...	4
	{ Livingstone's (Scots Greys)...	4
	{ Fairfax's (3rd Hussars) ...	4
Wynne ...	{ Essex's (4th Hussars) ...	4
	{ Wynne's (5th Lancers) ...	3
	{ Cunningham's (6th Dgns.) ...	4
	{ Eppinger's ...	5
Total Squadrons of Dragoons...		28

## INFANTRY.

## Major-Generals :

Churchill.

Sir H. Bellasyse.

Ramsay.

<i>Brigadier.</i>	<i>Regiment.</i>	<i>Battalions.</i>
Maj.-Gen. Chas. Churchill.	{ 1st Foot Guards ...	2
	{ Coldstream Guards ...	1
	{ Scots Guards ...	2
	{ Dutch Guards... ...	2
Erle ...	{ Royal Regiment (1st Bn.) ...	1
	{ Selwyn's (Queen's) ...	1
	{ Churchill's (Buffs) ...	1
	{ Trelawney's (4th Royal Lancaster)...	1
	{ Fitzpatrick's (Royal Fusiliers) ...	1
	{ Brewer's (12th Suffolk) ...	1
	{ Erle's (19th Yorkshire) ...	1

<i>Brigadier.</i>	<i>Regiment.</i>	<i>Battalions.</i>	1694.
Stuart ...	Granville's (10th Lincolnshire) ...	1	
	Tidcome's (14th W. Yorkshire) ...	1	
	Lesley's (15th E. Yorkshire) ...	1	
	St. George's (17th Leicestershire) ...	1	
	Castleton's ... ..	1	
	Lauder's ... ..	1	
	Lloyd's (5th Northumberland Fus.)	1	
	Stanley's (16th Bedfordshire) ...	1	
	Hamilton's (18th Royal Irish) ...	1	
	Ingoldsby's (23rd R. Welsh Fus.) ...	1	
O'Farrel...	Tiffin's (27th R. Inniskilling Fus.) ...	1	
	Collingwood's... ..	1	
	O'Farrel's ... ..	1	
	Maitland's (25th K.O.S. Borderers)	1	
	Ferguson's (26th Cameronians) ...	1	
	Buchan's ... ..	1	
On Command	Mackay's ... ..	1	
	Graham's ... ..	1	
	Royal Regt. (2nd Bn.) ... ..	1	
	Argyle's ... ..	1	
	Strathnaver's ... ..	1	
	Geo. Hamilton's ... ..	1	
Total battalions of foot		...	35

The total strength of the contingent amounted to about 6,600 horse and dragoons, 21,000 foot, and some 2,400 artillery and train, with 60 guns and 6 mortars.

The French during the past winter had been unable to make the vast preparations for the coming campaign that they had in previous years. Exhausted by a long series of wars, the treasury was empty, there was not enough money to pay the men already serving, let alone the question of raising more, or of providing adequate supplies and siege and transport trains.

During the winter and spring the large bodies of troops quartered between the Sambre and the Meuse had pretty well exhausted the supply depôts, and another factor which very seriously crippled both armies was that the unfortunate

1694. farmers, sick of cultivating the soil year after year, only to see their crops swept away by the foraging parties of both sides, had sown no corn, and had already cut the grass for fear of losing it. In fact, "the Boors had left the country so bare that they boasted of starving both armies into a peace."

d'Auvergne.

On the news of the forward movement of the Allies, Luxembourg at once crossed the Sambre and concentrated on the 4th June about Gemblours, little more than a day's march from the allied camp.

Walton.

The French army in the field this year consisted of some 22,500 horse, 6,700 dragoons, and 55,300 foot, in all about 84,500 men. Unlike in previous years, their numbers compared unfavourably with those of the Allies, for the capture of Mons, Charleroi, Namur and Huy had entailed their being garrisoned, and this had had to be done at the expense of the field army, Namur alone absorbing 10,000 to 15,000 men.

The chief design of the French for the coming campaign was the capture of Liège, and on the 8th/18th June Luxembourg marched to Boneffe, and two days later to St. Trond, Bouffiers advancing across the Meuse to Warem, thus placing themselves between Liège and the Allies, who had taken up a position from Tirlemont to Rosebeck. The country was extremely difficult and unsuited for offensive movements on the part of either army, and the opposing forces remained watching each other for the rest of the month, during which time nearly 5,000 deserters from the French came into the allied camp, driven to do so from want of pay and food. Luxembourg now found that Liège was too strong to be besieged in face of the allied army, for, in addition to the place itself, which held a garrison of 9,000 men, a strong entrenched camp had been constructed, contiguous to the fortifications, which was occupied by 15,000 men, and without a second army, he was not in a position to undertake siege operations on such a large scale as would have been necessary.

On the 1st July (O.S.), therefore, Luxembourg marched towards Tongres as if intending to besiege Maestricht.

William, having no fears as to the safety of that fortress, remained where he was until the 13th/23rd, when he made a long march in six columns to the banks of the Mehaigne, the first column consisting of the Guards under Churchill, and Erle's Brigade. The army marched by Tirlemont and Judoigne, and encamped in the evening in the neighbourhood of Ramillies. 1694.

Here he not only threatened Luxembourg's communications with Huy and Namur, but he had placed himself between the French army and the French frontier lines on the Scheldt and Lys, and was in a position to march on these and break into French territory. To place himself on the lines without bringing the Allies to battle, it now became necessary for Luxembourg to cross the Sambre, thereby increasing the start William had already gained.

Both armies sent their heavy baggage to the rear, and on the 8th/18th of August William made a forced march to Sombref, losing a number of men from the heat and exhaustion, and being compelled to halt the following day to rest his troops.

Luxembourg, who had met William's move to Ramillies by taking up a position at Vignamont to cover Huy, struck camp the same day as the Allies, and on the 10th/20th crossed the Sambre at the confluence of the Orneau. Here he broke his force up into 9 or 10 different columns, each following different routes, but moving in conjunction with each other. By this plan he materially accelerated the rate of marching of the army.

William, who had resumed his march on the 10th/20th, reached Ath on the 12th/22nd and Leuze on the 13th/23rd, and that same evening sent forward General Tettau with 5,000 men, made up of detachments of 60 men from each battalion, to prepare bridges over the Scheldt at Hauterive.

Meanwhile Luxembourg had made a marvellous march under the most adverse circumstances. The moment the Allies moved from Ramillies, a force of 6,000 horse and 4,000 dragoons, each having a foot soldier behind him, London was despatched under Villeroy, to reinforce the 14,000 Gazette. troops under the Marquis de la Valette, who was ordered to

1694. march from Courtrai and post himself at Pont d'Espierre, the point where the French lines terminated on the Scheldt.

l'Auvergne. The main body of the French, having crossed the Sambre, pushed on, on the 11th/21st, in terrible weather, through most difficult country, and recrossed the Sambre at la Bussière, already a long march, but Luxembourg considered it necessary to reach Mons that night. The infantry were therefore ordered to throw aside their packs and march with nothing but their arms; the baggage was ordered to be left behind, and wagons were impressed from the surrounding country, to bring on the knapsacks and the men who were too weary to march. The Prince de Conti made the men a stirring speech, and caused 400 pistoles worth of brandy to be distributed among the infantry.

They then set out again, the men being plied with brandy at every halt, and before morning the exhausted army struggled into Mons, bivouacking where they halted.

The Dauphin meanwhile, had pushed on to Mons the previous evening, with the mounted troops, and on the evening of the 13th/23rd they reached Tournai. During the day the wearied infantry rested, with the exception of the Guards, who were sent on by water in barges, but in the evening the march was resumed, and continued throughout that night and the following day with brief halts for rest and the distribution of stimulants. On the evening of the 14th/24th they reached Tournai.

Meanwhile, when on the morning of the 14th Tettau advanced to the Scheldt he found himself confronted by la Valette and Villeroy, and the French Guards, who effectually prevented his throwing bridges across the stream. That morning the Duke of Wirtemberg, with seven brigades of horse and two of foot, had crossed the Scheldt at Oudenarde, with a view of attacking Villeroy in rear, while William marched to force the passage at Hauterive. The right wing of the allied army arrived at the river bank about noon, in a violent storm, but it was too late. Not only was Villeroy by this time well entrenched on the far side, but he had been reinforced by

the Dauphin. Baffled in the attempt to break through the French lines, the allied army marched the following morning along the banks of the Scheldt towards Oudenarde, camping between Escanaffe and Melde, their left being opposite that of the French army, which had now come up, and was encamped between Hauterive and Avelghem, on the far side of the river. 1694.

In five and a half days they had marched through a most difficult country, covering a distance of about 120 miles, during which time the Allies had scarcely covered 80. Luxembourg is said to have looked upon his achievement as a greater victory than the battle of Neerwinden, but it cost him dear, for quite 3,000 men perished on the march, and his cavalry was almost entirely ruined by it.

"The French army might have been followed by the d'Auvergne. scent which they left behind of dead men and horses, which were to be found all along the road it went."

The two armies were now within cannon shot of each other, and firing went on both on the 15th and the 16th without much damage being done.

Fearing that the French would make a move against the Duke of Wirtemberg, who was posted on the heights of Peterghem, beyond Oudenarde, the King ordered four brigades (Erle's, Stuart's, and two foreign ones), together with the 2nd Battalion of the Scots Guards, to leave their tents standing and march immediately to reinforce the Duke. The enemy, anticipating an attempt to surround them, thereupon fell back on Courtrai, and William then marched through Oudenarde, camping half-way between the Scheldt and the Lys. Luxembourg now fell back across the Lys, and on the 18th/25th took up a position between Courtrai and Moorslede, La Valette occupying the lines between the Scheldt and the Lys, and Villeroy those from the Lys to Ypres, 15,000 men being sent to Furnes.

William was only too anxious to detain the French north of the Scheldt, and crossed the Lys on the 26th August/5th September, encamping at Rousselaer on the 29th August 8th September, thereby threatening Furnes and Knocke (Quenoque). To still further lead to the belief that these

1694. places were his objective, he caused the troops to build huts. During all this time active preparations had been made to besiege Huy, and a portion of the allied army had been detached to join the troops sent from Maestricht and Liège for that purpose.

On the 5th/15th September the town was invested, the troops from the main army arriving on the following day. The garrison made but a feeble resistance, and capitulated on the 17th/27th.

d'Auvergne. During the march from Sombreffe to Nivelles on the 10th (O.S.) of the previous month a scoundrel was caught in one of the ammunition wagons with a lighted match, in the act of attempting to cause an explosion. He was tried by Court-martial the following day, and the sentence was carried into effect at Rousselaer on the 1st/11th September. The unhappy wretch "was burnt alive after he had first his right hand cut off, and flung into the fire ; he was put to the torture to confess his ruin."

Ibid. On the 11th/21st September the King reviewed the infantry of his army. "His Majesty rid round every battalion of the army, to take a more special and exact review of them, and his aide-de-camps took an account of the depth and number of the files to compute the strength of each battalion. The Body of the Infantry appeared generally to be in very good order, the Regiments very full, and in better condition than they have been at this time of the year since the beginning of the war."

Ibid. On the 20th/30th September William left the army to proceed to England, going, however, by Liège, Maestricht, and the Hague. As far as Deynse he was accompanied by an escort consisting of 80 men from every battalion of the army, under the Prince of Anhalt. The detachment of the King's forces was commanded by Colonel Titcomb, Lieutenant Colonels Peyton\* and Corbit, and Major Sabine.

On the 6th/16th the army began to move into winter quarters, the British infantry being stationed at Ghent, Bruges, Malines, Dendermond, Ostend, Dixmuyde, Deynse,

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\* Of Churchill's Regiment.



and Damme. The cavalry were quartered at Breda, the Hague, Bois-le-Duc, Ghent, and its neighbourhood. 1694.

Churchill's Regiment, together with Trelawney's, Granville's, and Erle's, were stationed at Malines, Major-General Churchill being in command of the garrison.

On the 13th/23rd October a list was issued at the Hague of the officers of "Foot who may be permitted to go to England or Scotland for raising Recruits or otherwise to be absent from their commands during the Winter Quarters." Mis. Order  
Bk., No. 7,  
p. 161.

Those of Major-General Churchill's Regiment were:—

Captains Hetley, Meoles, Moore, and Lloyd.

Lieutenants Palphery, Scott, and Pallaster.

Ensigns Ascough, Biggs, and Wivell.

Of the above, Lieutenant Palphery (or Palfrey) appears to have got himself into serious trouble during the winter, for he was reported for "committing great disorder in raising recruits for Major-General Churchill's Regiment," and ordered to repair to Whitehall to answer the charge against him. A certain Sergeant Andrews, and the post-master at Bury, were ordered to report on the matter. There is, however, no further record of what took place. W.O. Entry  
Bk., C.M. 1  
p. 125.

In November there was, according to Luttrell, "a great mutiny" at Malines "betwixt the English troops quartered there, and the inhabitants, in which two of the English officers were killed by the mob."

A reward of 200 crowns failed to secure the arrest of the murderers, which so enraged the English "that they killed two of the burghers in the night, and at length came to such a hight, that the Duke of Holstein-Ploen was forced to come thither, and caused the four English regiments that were there to march out, to prevent further bloodshed."

Whether the regiments in question, one of which was Churchill's, were removed to other winter quarters or returned subsequently, when matters had quieted down, does not transpire.

During the early summer of 1694 an expedition was sent from England to the French coast, the force consisting of a battalion of Foot Guards, de Rada's (6th), Stewart's (9th),

1694. Hastings' (13th), Erle's (19th), Venner's (24th), Curtis', Collier's, Rowe's, and Coote's Regiments, under the command of General Talmach. An attempt on Brest on the 6th June ended in complete failure, due in a great measure, it was alleged (not, it is to be feared, without foundation), to information given to the enemy by Marlborough.

The troops re-embarked with difficulty, having lost some seven hundred men killed and wounded, amongst whom was their commander, General Talmach, who died of his wounds a few days later.



## CHAPTER XVII.

1695.

During the winter the French army and nation suffered an irreparable loss by the death in January of the duc de Luxembourg, who was succeeded in the command by the Maréchal Villeroy, a general of far inferior ability.

As in the previous year, the French were considerably hampered in their preparations for resuming the struggle by want of funds, but the Allies, profiting by past experience, spared no endeavour to place in the field as large a force as they could get together at the earliest date possible.

Throughout the winter the French had had a body of 20,000 navvies actively employed in extending and strengthening the lines of entrenchment and fortification, which have already been referred to in previous chapters, and which marked the French frontier. These, alternating with the natural features, which lent themselves to the purpose, now extended from Namur, through Charleroi, Mons, Condé, Espièrre, Courtrai, Ypres, Knocke (Quenoque) and Furnes, to Dunkirk. Throughout this distance, in addition to entrenchments, there was a chain of forts and redoubts.

How far this continuous line of defence was a source of strength however, is a matter of considerable doubt. Early in the year the allies endeavoured to put a stop to works in progress, and in April 35,000 men, consisting of detachments of 500 men from every battalion quartered in Flanders, together with the Brigade of Guards, were placed under the command of the Elector of Bavaria. A camp was directed to be formed between Ghent and Deynse, and a detachment was sent towards Bruges and Dixmuyde.

However, it was found impracticable to stop the enemy's works, and at the end of the month the troops were ordered back to their winter quarters.

1695. William landed in Holland from England on the 14th/24th May, and forthwith vigorous preparations were commenced for renewing the struggle. The King's objective for the coming campaign was the re-capture of Namur, but he kept his intentions absolutely secret, and by a series of skilfully carried out preliminary operations, succeeded in completely misleading the French as to his intentions.

The main army of the Allies, some 53,000 strong (11,000 horse and 42,000 foot), under the Prince de Vaudemont\* and the Duke of Wirtemberg, and of which William himself assumed supreme command, assembled at Marienkirk, near Ghent, moving out to Arseel, Wouterghem, and Deynse on the Lys on the 17th/27th May.

Another army, under the Elector of Bavaria, assembled at Asch and Ninove, not far from Brussels, and consisted of about 15,000 horse and 20,000 foot.

Besides these a force of 1,100 horse and 11,400 infantry, under General Ellenberg, were stationed about Dixmuyde. The Brandenburg contingent, 16,000 strong, and some 4,000 Liègeois, were assembling near Liège.

Altogether the Allies had in the field between 120,000 and 125,000 men.

As regards the French, they were in three bodies. One under Villeroy, within the lines near Menin, a second under Boufflers, between the Lys and the Scheldt, and the third, near Furnes, commanded by the Marquis de Montal. Including the garrison of Namur, they mustered some 100,000 men.

Hamilton.

The British troops serving with the Allies were distributed as follows:—

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\* Charles Henry of Lorraine, Prince of Vaudemont.

LIST OF THE BRITISH CONTINGENT AT ARSEEL,  
MAY 30TH, 1695.

1695.

## CAVALRY.

Lieutenant-Generals :

M. D'Auverquerque.

The D. of Ormond.

Major-Generals :

Earl Rivers.

Eppinger.

<i>Brigade.</i>	<i>Regiments.</i>	<i>Squadrons.</i>
L'Etang ...	{ Life Guards ... ..	5
	{ Horse Granadeers ... ..	1
Lumley ...	{ Lumley (1st Dg. Gds.) ... ..	3
	{ Langston (4th Dg. Gds.) ... ..	2
	{ Wyndham (6th Dg. Gds.) ... ..	2
	{ Schomberg (7th Dg. Gds.) ... ..	2
Coy ...	{ Wood (2nd Dg. Gds.) ... ..	2
	{ Coy (3rd Dg. Gds.) ... ..	2
	{ Leveson (5th Dg. Gds.) ... ..	2
	{ Galway's Horse ... ..	3
Matthews...	{ Eppinger ... ..	5
	{ Levingston ... ..	4
	{ Mirmont ... ..	1
Total Squadrons		34

## Foot.

General. D. of Wirtemberg.

Lieutenant-Generals :

Count Nassau.

Count Noyelles.

Sir H. Bellasyse.

Major-Generals :

Churchill.

La Melonière.

Ramsay.

<i>Brigade.</i>	<i>Regiments.</i>	<i>Battalions.</i>
{	1st Foot Guards ... ..	2
	2nd Foot Guards ... ..	1
	3rd Foot Guards ... ..	2
	Dutch Guards (on the English Estab-	
	lishment) ... ..	2

1695.	<i>Brigade.</i>	<i>Regiments.</i>	<i>Battalions.</i>
Erle	...	{ Hamilton (Royal Regt.) ...	1
		{ Selwyn (Queen's) ...	1
		{ Churchill (Bufs) ...	1
		{ Trelawney (4th) ...	1
		{ Stanley (16th) ...	1
		{ Erle (19th) ...	1
Fitzpatrick	...	{ Fairfax (5th) ...	1
		{ Fitzpatrick (Fusiliers) ...	1
		{ Fred Hamilton (18th) ...	1
		{ Ingoldsby (23rd) ...	1
		{ Collingwood ...	1
		{ La Melonière ...	1
Collier	...	{ Hamilton (Royal Regt.) ...	1
		{ Columbine (Rada) 6th ...	1
		{ Granville (10th) ...	1
		{ Seymour ...	1
		{ Saunderson ...	1
		{ Collier ...	1
O'Farrell	...	{ O'Farrell (21st) ...	1
		{ Lauder ...	1
		{ Mackay ...	1
		{ Marton ...	1
		{ Strathnaver ...	1
		{ Geo. Hamilton ...	1

31

With Major-General Ellenberg's force at Dixmuyde:

<i>Cavalry Regiments.</i>	<i>Squadrons.</i>
Mathews' Dragoons -	4
Lloyd, Queen's Dragoons -	2
<i>Infantry Regiments.</i>	<i>Battalions.</i>
Brewer (12th) -	1
Tidcomb (14th) -	1
Leslie (15th) -	1
St. George (17th) -	1
Maitland (25th) -	1
Ferguson (26th) -	1
Tiffeny (27th) -	1
Graham -	1
Lorne -	1
Buchan -	1
Belcastel -	1

On the 27th May (O.S.) King William joined the army at Arseel, and inspected the troops on the two following days, when he found them "well recruited and extreamly fine."

Auxiliary  
Expeditions,  
Vol. 1.

On the 2nd June the army advanced to Rousselaer, and the following day to Becklaer, near Ypres, the King's object being, by threatening the North-Western portion of their lines, to draw the French as far away from Namur as possible. In this he succeeded. By the 6th/16th June Villeroy, with the main body of the French army was at Ypres, from whence he detached 10,000 men to reinforce Boufflers at Pont d'Espierre. De Montal was between Ypres and Knocke, the only field force south of the Scheldt being a flying column under the Marquis d'Harcourt, observing the Brandenburg and Liège contingents, which had now been strongly reinforced by cavalry from the main allied army.

On the 8th/18th June Major-General Churchill was detached with eight battalions, some artillery and a pontoon train, to join Ellenberg's force near Dixmuyde, the whole being placed under the command of the Duke of Wirtemberg, who was to threaten Knocke. The eight battalions under Churchill were:—One battalion Dutch Guards, Churchill's, Granville's, Ingoldsby's, and three foreign regiments, the whole of the Duke of Wirtemberg's command being divided into four brigades, two of English, commanded by Colonel Tiffeny and Sir James Lesley who acted as brigadiers, the third of Danes and the regiments of Auer and Belcastel, and the fourth of Dutch under General Bernstorff.

d'Auvergne.

Churchill's column arrived before Knocke on the 9th/19th, and the same evening the Duke of Wirtemberg ordered an attack on some retrenchments and houses near the canal of Loo, which were occupied by the enemy.

The operations against Knocke, as has already been explained, were only intended to draw off the attention of the French from the main army and were not intended to be pushed home, but the present assault was necessary in order to secure the safety of Wirtemberg's right flank.

1695. The attacking force was commanded by Colonel Tiffeny, and the position was carried after a sharp fight, the assailants losing some 400 men killed and wounded, Tiffeny's and Ferguson's Regiments suffering most severely..

Major-General Churchill, who appears to have accompanied the force, either as a volunteer or as a spectator, had a musket ball through the crown of his hat.

After this affair nothing of importance occurred, the enemy, however, keeping up a heavy fire at night to prevent any trenches being opened.

On the 17th/27th the King broke up the camp at Becklaer and marched back to Rousselaer, where he handed over the command of the main army to the Prince de Vaudemont and proceeded with a small escort to superintend the investment of Namur, ordering the Elector's army at Dieghem to march at once, to take part in the same.

Immense preparations for the intended siege had been made at Maestricht, and the investment was carried out with great skill.

The Earl of Athlone marched with the cavalry on Charleroi, thus misleading the French as to his intentions. Then, doubling back along the Sambre, he closed on Namur on the north, the Elector meanwhile marching by Ninove, Halle, Genappe and Mazy, across the Sambre to Malonne, between that stream and the Meuse, where he arrived on the 23rd. The Brandenburg contingent drew in on the south side of the Meuse the same day, but, unfortunately they were too late to prevent Boufflers throwing himself into the town for on the news of the Allied movements towards the Sambre he had hurried off with seven regiments of dragoons, some artillery and sappers, and making forced marches, by Solre and Phillippeville, he arrived in Namur on the night of the 22nd. The King arrived in camp the same day, and on the 23rd the investment was completed.

On the 17th Wirtemberg received orders to withdraw his forces from Knocke to Dixmuyde. His losses before



Knocke according to d'Auvergne, amounted to 587 men killed and wounded, besides officers. Those of Tiffeny's Brigade, comprised of the regiments of Churchill, Granville, Ingoldsby, Maitland, Ferguson, Tiffeny, Lorne and Buchan, were: 3 officers killed, 32 wounded, 337 soldiers killed and wounded. 1695. d'Auvergne.

Lesley's Brigade, made up of the regiments of Brewer, Tidcomb, Courthop, Lesley, and Graham, had 20 soldiers killed and wounded.

The two foreign brigades lost 2 officers killed, 3 wounded, and 230 soldiers killed and wounded. The Dutch and Danish Guards did duty on the Duke of Wirtemberg, and did not "rolle with the rest." As usual, the *regimental* losses are not specified, nor are the names of the officers given. Ibid.

On the departure of the King from Rousselaer the Prince de Vaudemont withdrew on the 20th with the army to Grammen on the Lys, where he remained.

On the following day, by order of the King, Major-General Ramsay and Brigadier-General Fitzpatrick marched to join the forces before Namur, with 14 battalions.\*

The same day the Duke of Wirtemberg rejoined Vaudemont with Major-General Churchill and the eight battalions he had taken with him. Eleven more battalions,† together with the King's Dragoons and a regiment of horse which had been with the Duke before Knocke, also rejoined on that and the following days, eight battalions‡ and the Queen's Dragoons, under General Ellenberg, being left in garrison at Dixmuyde.

On the 22nd Tidcomb's, Stanley's, and Maitland's Regiments marched for Namur, being followed on the 24th

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\*Among them were: 1st Bn. 1st Foot Guards, 1st Bn. Scots Guards, 1st Bn. Royal Regiment, Selwyn's (2nd) Columbine's (6th) Fusiliers (7th), Stanley's (16th), Seymour's, Collingwood's, Lauder's, and Saunderson's Regiments.

†Tidcombe (14th), Courthorpe (17th), Maitland (25th), Ferguson (26th), Tiffeny (27th), Buchan (25th) and five foreign regiments.

‡Brewer (12th), Lesley (15th), Graham, Lorne, and four foreign regiments.

1695. by Lord Cutts with 10 battalions, among them the 2nd Battalion 1st Guards, the Coldstream Guards, Trelawney's, Ingoldsby's, and Mackay's Regiments. Mackay's and one foreign regiment were however sent back to Vaudemont, and two foreign regiments dropped at Ath.

When the army withdrew on the 18th from Becklaer to Rousselaer, Villeroy advanced across the Lys to Harlebeck, and thence to Pottes beyond the Scheldt, the fact of the presence of Vaudemont on the Lys effectually preventing his moving to the relief of Namur. He therefore decided to attack and crush Vaudemont.

Vaudemont, whose force only numbered about 36,000 men, barely half that of the French, was in no position to give battle, and sent off his baggage, *viâ* Deynse, to Ghent, and on the evening of the 3rd July withdrew from his camp, throwing his right back on to the high ground about Arseel, and entrenching his front.

His right rested on Arseel and his left at the junction of the Lys and the Mandel, which covered his left flank. The front of the position was covered by woods, streams, and ravines.

Villeroy marched off from Pottes at 10 o'clock that night, and, making a forced march of 24 miles, arrived in front of the Allied position about 9 o'clock the following morning. Owing to inefficient scouting, the Allies were only aware of the French advance when they were close upon them.

Villeroy, on the evening of the 3rd/13th July, felt so sure of an overwhelming victory on the following day, that he wrote to King Louis, announcing the impending annihilation of Vaudemont's army within 24 hours, but he was doomed to disappointment, thanks to the poltroonery of the Duc du Maine,\* to whom the execution of his plans were entrusted.

St. Simon.

De Montal and the Duke of Berwick had been sent with

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\*Natural son of Louis XIV. by Madame de Montespan. Grand master of the Realm.

"Orthodox in belief, correct in morals, insinuating in address, a hypocrite, a mischief maker, and a coward."—*Macaulay*.

a strong force of cavalry to turn the right flank of the Allies, the infantry being extended along their front. Villeroi then sent repeated orders to the Duc du Maine to commence the attack, but the latter first wished to reconnoitre, then to confess himself. Five or six times the orders were repeated. With tears in their eyes, his generals urged him to advance, but in vain! He stammered and stuttered and called for his confessor, but nothing could prevail on him to advance.

1695.

St. Simon.  
Macaulay.

Meanwhile, Vaudemont made the most of his opportunity. Perceiving the critical position that he was in, but that a hurried retreat would infallibly lead to disaster, he caused the working parties to continue to improve the defences. His guns on the left opened a heavy fire, and a number of houses in front of the position were set alight. The rest of his artillery was then gradually withdrawn and despatched to Deynse. A portion of the infantry and cavalry of his right wing was now withdrawn to the right rear to check de Montal's threatening attack on his flank.

Vaudemont and the Duke of Wirtemberg "and other generals, kept to the retrenchments till all was marched off; forming with themselves, domesticks and attendants, a little body of horse, still to impose upon the enemy and followed the army as soon as t'was all got off." d'Auvergne.

Meanwhile the whole of the mounted troops of the centre, under d'Auverquerque, marched off direct for Ghent, while the infantry, with pikes and colours trailed, moved on Deynse. Finally the cavalry and infantry of the left were withdrawn.

So quietly and secretly was the evacuation of the position carried out that the outposts in front of Arseel were unaware of what had happened until they received the order to retire.

As soon as Villeroi became aware of what had happened, the French troops were pushed on in hot pursuit, but hedgerow after hedgerow was held by the infantry of the rear guard. Trumpets and bugles were sounded in all directions as if the army were drawing up for battle, thereby compelling the pursuing force to halt and form for attack,

1695. causing delay after delay, and soon nightfall put an end to the pursuit.

The retreat was carried on during the night, via Deynse and Nevel, and at 6 o'clock the next morning de Vaudemont's army encamped safely under the walls of Ghent. Baffled and disgusted, Villeroy returned to his camp between Rosebeck and Rousselaer.

During this retreat an extremely unpleasant and ridiculous adventure befel Major-General Churchill and some of the officers accompanying him. A halt for the night had been ordered at Nevel, but was countermanded by the Prince de Vaudemont, who considered it more prudent to push on.

d'Auvergne.

"Whilst the army was upon the halt at Nevel, Major-General Churchill, being just by the house where he had his quarters last spring. . . . went in to rest himself, and ordered a Sergeant and 12 men of the next regiment for a guard upon it; but as the army marched on, the Regiment did not send to call off the Sergeant and his twelve men, and the whole regiment and army march'd without their knowledge; they still expected to have found the army by them the next morning; Major-General Churchill being fatigu'd went to sleep; Lieut.-Colonel Godolphin of Sir Bevil Granville's Regiment was with him and Major Negus of the Major-Generals Regiment and Captain Lloyd his Aide-de-Camp.\* The next morning very early as they were getting up they found the army was marched on and the Centries gave notice that a French party was just upon them. They call'd in the Sergeant and six men (the rest being dispers'd centries) into the house. It proved that it was no party but maroders of the Army who came to plunder the country. The six soldiers being got into the house, and the doors shut up, fir'd upon the French which made them retreat. In the meantime the Major-General made all haste to endeavour to make his escape; and being got out of the house, the French Maroders had rally'd with their camarades to force the house; so he fell in the hands

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\*Probably Captain W. Lloyd, also of Churchill's Regiment.

of two of them, who plunder'd him, took his gold, his watch, his coat and cravat; but being jealous of one another, they were for dividing immediately the spoil; and so they spoke to the Major-General to set down by a hedge and that if he offered to stir, they were so many about the house that they would certainly shoot him. They got on the other side of the hedge to share that which they would not trust with one another. Whilst they were busie at this work the Major-General seeing nobody to observe him, slipp'd to the other side of another hedge hard by, and so having two hedges between him and them, he got out of their sight. He pass'd by one of their centries who took him for one of the French Army, and asked him which way the Army march'd and to which the Major-General answered accordingly, and so made his escape, and got to our army at Mary Kirk, having marched most on foot in his boots. As for Lieutenant-Colonel Godolphin, Major Negus, and Captain Lloyd, which were still in the house, they had not so good fortune; but the house was soon invironed. The Maroders came with a drum to make them believe they had an officer with them; and so these gentlemen expecting good treatment from an Officer yielded themselves prisoners of war; but as soon as the door was open, the mob of soldiers got in, and fell on plundering. There was a great deal of baggage in the house, as saddles and furniture for horses, and in the barn several good horses. Those that got in first minded only the plunder; others followed who finding no other booty stripp'd Colonel Godolphin naked, and had him away prisoner in this condition; Major Negus and Captain Lloyd were not treated quite so ill, having some of their cloaths left them. But they were all caried prisoners to the Marechal de Villeroy, who made some excuses for their ill treatment and was himself very civil to them. He gave them immediately their liberty; and desired they should stay no longer but to refresh themselves. He invited them to dinner the next day and so sent them back without nsom."

1695.

d'Auvergne.

old the lines of canals from Nieuport to Ostend,



1695. Bruges, and Ghent, and to secure the country thence to Brussels, was now Vaudemont's object, and on the arrival of the army at Ghent on the 5th/15th June Sir Henry Bellasyse was detached on the 6th with 12 battalions of foot and two regiments of dragoons to march to Nieuport. This force being considered insufficient for the security of that place, the Duke of Wirtemberg followed him on the 7th with 12 more battalions and all the remaining dragoons of the army. Major-Generals Churchill and Mirmont, and Brigadiers Erle and Haxhausen accompanied this force, the two detachments encamping close to Nieuport on the 8th/18th and 9/19th respectively.

d'Auvergne.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to trace the movements of Churchill's Regiment during this part of the campaign. D'Auvergne, who is the principal authority for the movements of the British forces during the war, makes no particular mention of the regiment at this time, and, as the regiments composing the various detachments which had already been made appear to have been taken indiscriminately from different brigades, the table given at the commencement of this chapter is no safe guide, but as Major-General Churchill the Colonel, as well as Brigadier Erle, in whose brigade the regiment originally was, both accompanied the Duke of Wirtemberg's force, it is not improbable that the regiment also took part in this expedition.

On the 11th/21st Wirtemberg, having placed a garrison in Nieuport, moved close to Ostend, camping next day at Placendal, to be nearer Vaudemont, and here he remained for some time watching Villeroy, at the same time hampering the French by opening the sluices and flooding the country in the vicinity of Nieuport.

We must now turn our attention briefly to the operations at Namur. Ramsay's column, which had been detached from Vaudemont's army on the 21st June/1st July, arrived at Temploux, close to Namur, on the 28th June/8th July, followed three days later by Lord Cutts with two battalions of the Guards, also detached from Vaudemont's force. The same day the trenches were opened,

and on the 3rd/13th July fire was opened on the town and the French works on the Bauge. On the evening of the 8th/18th the whole of the works on the Bauge heights, with the exception of one redoubt, were stormed and taken by the English and Dutch troops, under Major-General Ramsay, Lord Cutts, and Brigadier Fitzpatrick, the Dutch being commanded by Generals Salisch and Frisheim. 1695.

The losses were heavy, the British losing 24 officers killed, 34 wounded, and 4 prisoners. The 1st Foot Guards alone lost 283 men and the Coldstreams 165. Walton.

The siege was pushed with vigour, and on the evening of the 17th/27th a further assault was made on the defences of the town by the British troops under Ramsay, resulting in the capture after desperate fighting, of the works from the Meuse to beyond the bastion St. Nicholas. The Dutch also succeeded in effecting a lodgement. Further to the right the Elector of Bavaria, profiting by the confusion, effected the passage of the Sambre at la Balance, getting within the grand entrenchment which extended from the Sambre to the Meuse.

The losses were again very heavy, the British regiments losing 16 officers killed and 37 wounded. d'Auvergne.

By the 23rd July/2nd August breaches had been effected in the St. Nicholas bastion and the demi-bastion near the Meuse, and that night further lodgements were effected by the British and Dutch troops, after fierce fighting.

Further resistance being hopeless, the town north of the Sambre surrendered the following day, the defenders withdrawing across the river into the Castle, in the fork between the Sambre and the Meuse.

Meanwhile Villeroy, unable to effect anything against Vaudemont, sent Monsieur de Montal with 13,000 men to lay siege to Dixmuyde, which, it will be remembered, was garrisoned by four British regiments (Brewer's (12th), Lesley's (15th), Graham's, and Lorne's), three Dutch and one Danish, besides Lloyd's (Queen's) Dragoons, altogether about 5,000 strong, all under the command of Major-General Ellenberg, a Danish officer who had risen from the ranks and who enjoyed a high reputation. Although the d'Auvergne.

1695. place was not a strong one, it was well supplied with provisions and munitions, and should have been capable of making a stout defence. The French opened a comparatively harmless fire on the 16th, but Ellenberg appears to have completely lost his nerve, and on the morning of the 17th he called a council of the commanding officers, declared the place untenable, and proposed to capitulate. After some discussion, and despite the violent protests of Major Doncaster who commanded Lorne's Regiment, and Major Brereton who was in command of Lloyd's Dragoons, the shameful proposition was carried by a majority, negotiations were opened with the enemy, and the following morning Dixmuyde was surrendered, the garrison being marched off to France as prisoners of war. The fury of the men at this humiliating capitulation was extreme. Numbers smashed their muskets and in Lorne's Regiment they tore the colours to pieces to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

On the 19th/29th July Villeroy marched to Arseel, detaching a force to attack Deynse, which was garrisoned by Brigadier O'Farrel's Regiment and a foreign battalion, the brigadier himself being in command. Like Ellenberg, he appears to have completely lost his nerve, and surrendered the place without firing a shot.

On the advance of Villeroy to Arseel, Vaudemont detached Brigadier Collier with eight battalions to hold the passage across the Bruges canal, near Ghent, and Wirtemberg, on the 19th, leaving Bellasyse at Placendal, marched to Bruges to cover that place.

The French were now practically masters of the whole country up to the canal, but although Vaudemont's force was reduced by the numerous detachments he had been compelled to make to 16 or 17 battalions, the enemy made no attempt to molest him or to force the passages of the canal, but withdrew to the neighbourhood of Nevel on the Lys, where they remained some five or six days, plundering and devastating, and illtreating the inhabitants.

Villeroy now formed the design of advancing on Brussels and bombarding it, thinking thereby to compel



William to raise the siege of Namur, but Vaudemont, getting wind of his adversary's intentions, at once recalled Collier, and withdrawing the dragoons and eight battalions from Wirtemberg's force, marched on the 26th July/6th August to Dendermond, having with him 26 battalions and 48 squadrons. Villeroy camped near the Scheldt the same day, leaving de Montal, with 10,000 men, to guard the lines. 1695.

On the 28th July/7th August Vaudemont arrived and camped at Dieghem, where he was joined on the 1st/11th August by the Duke of Wirtemberg with 12 battalions, who had followed him, having provided for the security of the garrisons by inundations and reinforcements.

On the same day Villeroy, who had marched by Renaix and Enghien, arrived at Halle, and on the 2nd/12th he encamped near Anderlecht, close to Brussels.

Here he found himself baffled in his intentions on that city, for Vaudemont had inundated the front of the town from the Senne to Fort Monterey, and thrown up entrenchments thence to Villevorde. The Earl of Athlone, moreover, arrived at Waterloo on the 31st/10th with 30 battalions (10 of which joined Vaudemont the following day) from Namur in readiness to reinforce Vaudemont if attacked, and William himself, having handed over the conduct of the siege to the Elector of Bavaria, was bringing up more reinforcements. Under the circumstances, Villeroy had to content himself with a bombardment of the town, which Vaudemont was powerless to prevent. Walton.

On the night of the 3rd/13th a terrific fire was opened on the defenceless city, and was kept up with more or less intensity until the 6th/16th (Parker says five days). The damage to property and the loss of life caused by the act of savage vandalism was frightful. At last, on the 7th, Villeroy marched back to Halle and Enghien, and thence to Soignes, where he halted for some days to await orders from Paris, and reinforcements which he expected from the Rhine.

As soon as the French fell back from Brussels, Vaudemont effected a junction with Athlone at Waterloo

1695. and Genappe, whence they marched to join the covering army before Namur, arriving at Mazy-Temploux on the 10th/20th August.

Meanwhile the siege operations against the Castle of Namur were carried on with great energy, and on the 19th/29th it was decided to storm the place.

Villeroy, having received reinforcements from the Rhine, advanced towards Namur, camping on the 16th/26th on the plains of Fleurus, between St. Amand and Sombref, moving on the 18th/28th to Gemblours, where he made every symptom of remaining, at all events, for a short time.

The covering army, on Villeroy's advance, commenced entrenching themselves in the neighbourhood of St. Denis. The French force now consisted of some 119 battalions and 235 squadrons, the Allies having 97 battalions and 237 squadrons to oppose Villeroy, 30 battalions were besieging the castle, besides which six more occupied the town of Namur. On Villeroy's move towards Namur, Bellasyse, with his ten battalions, marched to Brussels, and thence to a position to cover that city and the town of Louvain, being joined by two brigades of horse, under Count Tilly.

On the night of the 18th/28th Villeroy marched with great secrecy to attack the allied camp, arriving at dawn at the edge of the dense woods which covered the front of their position.

All that night and the following day the Allies stood to their arms expecting the attack, but the few approaches to the position through the woods had been so prepared, and the position generally was so strong that, on reconnoitring, Villeroy found a successful attack would be impossible, and on the 20th/30th he marched towards Perwez to attempt the passage of the Mehaigne at that place, but he was anticipated by William.

That day, at noon, the assault on the Castle commenced, and by 5 o'clock, after a desperate struggle, the Allies had successfully established themselves in the enemy's works.

As before, the lion's share of the fighting was borne by the British troops, those engaged being four battalions

and 700 Grenadiers from the different regiments with the army.\* Their losses were 29 officers and 475 men killed, 55 officers and 790 men wounded. 1695.

On the 22nd/1st September Boufflers opened negotiations, and after some delay undertook to surrender before that date. This offer was accepted, and on the morning of the 26th August/5th September the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, but of the 13,000 defenders who had commenced the siege less than 5,000 remained. The losses of the besiegers amounted to about 9,000.

On the surrender of Dixmuyde and Deynse the French had been guilty of a gross violation of the terms of capitulation, the garrisons being despatched to France as prisoners of war, and William now determined to retaliate. Boufflers on marching out, was therefore placed under arrest, and detained as a prisoner until such time as the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be sent back.

Villeroy, on the news of the result of the assault of the 20th, marched back to Sombref, and thence by Montigny (near Charleroi) across the Sambre, on the 25th August/4th September to Gerpennes, re-crossing, however, on the 28th August/7th September, to the neighbourhood of Mons and Binche.

After the surrender of Namur the allied army marched on the 29th August/8th September, viâ Sombref and Nivelles, to Halle and Lembeck, where they encamped on the 21st/10th, Villeroy arriving the same day in the neighbourhood of Ath.

On the 3rd/13th September King William reviewed the army at Halle, leaving the field the next day for Loo.

On the 11th/21st Villeroy moved to Leuze and the Allies the following day to St. Quentin-Lenneck.

By the 19th/29th the fortifications of Namur were repaired, and the Allies commenced to move into winter quarters, Churchill's Regiment being garrisoned at Ghent with three battalions of Guards, the Fusiliers, Colling-

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\*St. George's (17th), F. Hamilton's (18th Royal Irish), Mackay's and Buchan's, were the four battalions.

1695. wood's, Frederick Hamilton's (18th), the artillery train, and eight foreign battalions.

Bellasyse who as we have seen, had marched to cover Brussels and Louvain, returned with his 10 battalions to Ghent on the Allies moving on Halle, and remained there until the troops moved into winter quarters. It is not unlikely, therefore, that Churchill's was one of Bellasyse's 10 battalions.

On the 1st/11th October Villeroy crossed the Scheldt and moved to a position between the Lys and the Mendel, detaching a force towards Furnes. The Duke of Wirtemberg, fearing a threat on Nieuport, thereupon called out 125 men from each of the British regiments in the garrisons, together with the artillery train from Ghent and other troops, making up a force of 10,000 men, which encamped near Nieuport.

Finding, however, that the French were only constructing works about Furnes and Knocke, he broke up the camp, and returned into winter quarters on the 22nd October/2nd November.

About the commencement of October the late garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse having been released by the French, began to arrive at Ghent. The superior officers and the officers commanding regiments were forthwith placed under arrest, and a Court-martial was convened, under the presidency of Sir Henry Bellasyse, for their trial. The Court assembled in Ghent, at the Sign of the Golden Apple, on the 9th/19th October, the proceedings lasting until the 25th (O.S.). The findings and sentences were approved and confirmed by King William without modification, and carried into effect.

Major-General Ellenberg was condemned to be beheaded, Brigadier O'Farrel to be broke with infamy and imprisoned during His Majesty's pleasure, three colonels were sentenced to be broke, and others to be suspended. Ellenberg was beheaded at Ghent on the 28th November (O.S.).

For the first time since the accession of King William, it is now possible to give an official list of the officers of the

regiment, the following being taken from the manuscript "Flanders Army List" of this year (Add. M.S., 17,918) in the British Museum. 165

There are one or two slight differences in the dates of commissions as given here and in the various Entry Books.

THE REGT OF FOOT COMMANDED BY MAJR. GENL. CHURCHILL.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>
Coll. Cha. Churchill	Capt. Lt. Rich. Harwood Sept. 14, 93	Fred. la Penotier 13 Oct. 93
Lieut. Coll. Peyton 1 Jan. 1693/4	Alex. Scrimson 5 Jan. 89	Evan Ascough 5 Apr. 90
Major Negus 28 Feb. 1693/4	Dorre Vesey 3 Mar 94/5	Hen. Sairclair 1 Jan. 89
Rich. Bolton 31 Dec. 1688	Tho. Dymond 5 Jan. 90/1	Barn. Bowtell 31 Dec. 88
John Hetley 31 Dec. 1688	Walt. Sequinton 7 May 94	Cha. Churchill Hu. Montgomery 14 Sept. 93
John Meoles 1 May 1689	Nat Gittens 1 Aug 89	Mat. Biggs 7 Mar. 94
Rich. Moore 1 Sept. 1689	Tho. Pyne 7 June 94	Jas. Bolton 23 Sept. 93
Oliver Luke 1 Feb. 1689/90	Rich. Abington 1 Apr. 90	John Melvill 2nd Lt. May 92
Henr. Harrison 1 Jan. 1690/1	Hugh Scott 20 May 89	Hen. Gibbs 5 July 94
Cha. Salisbury 6 Aug. 92	Walt. Palester 14 Sept. 93	Tho. Pope 1 Jan. 92/3
Will. Lloyd 14 Sept. 1693	Robt. Collingwood 1 Mar. 89	Darse Wivill 7 May 94
Rog. Gough 14 Sept. 1693	Wm. Kenney 24 Oct. 94	Tho. Manering 9 Jan. 89
Jos. Churchill 1 March 1693/4	John Preston 14 Sept. 93	
Chaplain	John Harris	31 Dec. 88
Adjutant	John Greirson	14 Sept. 93
Quarter Master	Owen Evans	14 Sept. 93
Chirurgeon	John Smallbones	31 Dec. 88
Mate	Alex Arthur	

1696-97.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1696-1697.

During the winter preparations were made by the French to carry the war into England. Ten thousand men were assembled at Calais early in February in readiness to embark, under the command of Boufflers, who had been recalled from Flanders for that purpose. This force, which was supposed in England to be intended for Flanders, was to have been accompanied by James II., and was intended to act in support of a Jacobite rising which had been planned in England. But Louis XIV. would not allow the expedition to set out until such time as the insurrection should be in active progress. The Jacobites on the other hand declined to take any overt action until French troops should actually land in England. A plot was also hatched to waylay and assassinate King William on his return from hunting, but the whole conspiracy was, fortunately, discovered. The English fleet put to sea, and dispersed the French transports, and 20 battalions\* were hastily recalled from Flanders, arriving in England, under the Duke of Wirtemberg, on the 9th March.

On the voyage some of the transports, unfortunately, became separated from the convoy, and were cut off by French privateers, 10 companies of Erle's (19th) and Bellasis' (22nd) Regiments being made prisoners. By the time the force arrived in England all danger of invasion had passed over, and 10 of the regiments were sent back forthwith to Flanders, the remainder† being disembarked.

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\* Seven battalions of Guards (including 2 of Dutch Guards) and the regiments of Selwyn, Trelawny, Columbine, the Fusiliers, Granville, Tidcombe, Erle, Bellasis, Frederick Hamilton, Tiffin, and Mackay, and two foreign regiments.

† 2nd Bn. 1st Foot Guards, 2nd Bn. Scots Guards, and the regiments of Selwyn, Trelawny, Columbine, Granville, Tidcombe, Mackay, together with the remains of Erle's and Bellasis'.

As a precautionary measure, on the departure of Wirtemberg, troops were despatched from various garrisons to reinforce the allied frontiers, but Churchill's Regiment does not appear to have been disturbed. On the 6th of March a raid was made on Givet, from Namur, which succeeded in destroying an immense quantity of forage accumulated there by the French in anticipation of the coming campaign. 1696-9

Early in May the opposing armies began to assemble, William who arrived in Holland on the 7th of that month, resuming command of the Allies. As in the previous year, the latter were divided into two corps, the Flanders Army, commanded by the Prince de Vaudemont, which assembled in the neighbourhood of Ghent, and the Brabant army, of which the King intended to assume personal command, rendezvousing near Brussels.

As we have seen, the allied army was weakened to the extent of 10 battalions, retained in England, whereas the French on the contrary, received a considerable accession to their strength in the shape of the troops which had been withdrawn from the Duchy of Savoy, on the conclusion of peace with that state.

Their main army, consisting of 85 battalions and 110 squadrons, under Villeroy, assembled part near Mons, and part within the lines between Courtrai and the Scheldt. Boufflers, with the army of the Meuse, 85 battalions and 107 squadrons about Charleroi, Gerpinnes, and Ham-sur-Hure. In addition there were four flying columns in the field. Two towards the sea, one in Luxembourg, and one about Dinant. Altogether the French had in the field some 120,000 men, a force so superior in numbers to that which the Allies could bring against it that a defensive campaign was the only course open to the latter. Corps of observation were detached to Tirlemont and Affieghem, near Alost.

On the 9th/19th May Villeroy advanced along the Lys from Courtrai to Deynse, Boufflers at the same time moving forward to Fleurus, whereupon the force at Tirlemont fell back to Parck camp, near Louvain, under the

1696-97. Prince of Nassau-Sarbruck, to await the arrival of the Brandenburg, Cologne, and Liège contingents.

On the news of Villeroy's advance to the vicinity of Deynse Major-General Ramsay was ordered to march immediately with the garrisons of Bruges and all the available troops in the neighbourhood to Bellem on the Grand Canal, between Bruges and Ghent, at which place there is an easy ford. Leaving How's Regiment (15th) to garrison Bruges, 13 battalions encamped forthwith at Bellem, being joined on the 11th/21st by the 1st Battalion of the Scots Guards, Tiffeny's, and two foreign regiments, the Duke of Wirtemberg assuming the command.

The 25 battalions at Affleghem, under the Comte de Noyelles, at the same time drew back, camping along the canal between Ghent and Bellem. The following day two battalions of the Royal Regiment, Seymour's, Fairfax's, Bridges', and Saunderson's, were detached to Marykirk, followed by the Scots Guards, Tiffin's, and a foreign regiment. Vaudemont's main army was encamped under the walls of Ghent, regiments being distributed to secure passages across the canals. Ten battalions of foot and Lumley's Dragoons (3rd Dragoon Guards) were stationed at and about Nieuport, under General Fagel.

On the 14th/24th the foot regiments which had been in garrison in Ghent, among them Churchill's, marched out to join the Prince de Vaudemont.

Along the canals, the troops assisted by peasant labour, were actively employed throwing up breastworks and earthworks. On the 27th May/6th June the King arrived in camp, taking over command, and spent the next three days in reviewing the troops and inspecting the dispositions made by Vaudemont, in which he made some modifications.

During all this time Villeroy had remained at Deynse merely foraging and raiding the country. In Brabant, Nassau-Sarbruck, on being joined by the Brandenburg, Cologne and Liège contingents, advanced from Parck Camp to Wavre, and Boufflers fell back to Charleroi.

On the 1st/11th June William, having completed his dispositions in Flanders, set out for Wavre, where the army



of Brabant was concentrating, ordering four English and four foreign regiments of horse and dragoons and ten battalions of English and eight of foreign foot, under the Duke of Wirtemberg, to march and join the same.

The English regiments serving in the campaign in Flanders and Brabant in 1696 were:—

## HORSE AND DRAGOONS.

<i>Brigade.</i>	<i>Regiment.</i>	<i>Squadrons.</i>
Home ...	{ Life Guards ... ..	4*
	{ Horse Granadeers ... ..	1*
	{ Wood (3rd Dg. Gds.) ... ..	2*
	{ Windham (6th Dg. Gds.) ... ..	2*
Lumley ...	{ Portland ... ..	2*
	{ Lumley (1st Dg. Gds.) ... ..	3
	{ Langston (4th Dg. Gds.) ... ..	2
Coy ...	{ Shomberg (7th Dg. Gds.) ... ..	2
	{ Leveson (2nd Dg. Gds.) ... ..	2
	{ Coy (5th Dg. Gds.) ... ..	2
Cunningham	{ Galloway ... ..	3
	{ Rochefort's Horse ... ..	2†
	{ Lloyd's (3rd Hussars) ... ..	4†
	{ „ (7th „ „) ... ..	—
Matthews..	{ Matthews' (1st Royal Dgs.) ... ..	4
	{ Essex ... ..	4
	{ Levington ... ..	4
	{ Rosse ... ..	4

## FOOT.

<i>Brigade.</i>	<i>Regiment.</i>	<i>Battalions.</i>
Guards ...	{ 1st Foot Guards ... ..	1
	{ 2nd Foot Guards ... ..	1
	{ Scots Guards ... ..	1
Selwyn ...	{ Royal Regt. (1st Royals) ... ..	1
	{ Churchill (Bufs) ... ..	1
	{ Fairfax (5th) ... ..	1
	{ Bridges (17th) ... ..	1
	{ Fred Hamilton (18th) ... ..	1

\* Joined the Army of Brabant. † Under Fagel at Nieupoort.

1696-97.	<i>Brigade.</i>	<i>Regiment.</i>	<i>Battalions.</i>
	Orkney ...	{ Royal Regt. (1st Royals) ... Brewer (12th) ... Howe (15th) ... Collingwood ...	{ ... ... ... ... 1 1 1 1
	Tiffin ...	{ Tiffin (27th) ... David Collier ... Saunderson ... La Melonière ...	{ ... ... ... ... 1 1 1 1
	Maitland...	{ Maitland (25th) ... Walter Collier ... Buchan ... Geo. Hamilton ...	{ ... ... ... ... 1 1 1 1
	Ingoldsby	{ Ingoldsby (23rd) ... Ferguson (26th) ... Marton ... Danish Guards ...	{ ... ... ... ... 1* 1* 1* 1*
	Fitzpatrick	{ Fusiliers (7th) ... Webb (8th) ... Stanley (16th) ... Mackay (21st) ... Seymour ...	{ ... ... ... ... ... 1* 1* 1* 1* 1*
	Lander ...	{ Lander ... Strathnaver ... Lorne ...	{ ... ... ... ... 1† 1† 1†

The detaching of the force under the Duke of Wirtemberg involved re-arranging the dispositions of Vaudemont's troops. Anhalt's brigade was brought in, from between Sas-van-Ghent and the Scheldt, to reinforce the troops at Marykirk, and encamped in a line between that place and Wondelghem, with the regiments of Churchill and Fred Hamilton and some Danes.

Auvergne " This was a very irregular camp, for the country behind the canals supply'd the army with dry forage the whole campaign, therefore we were obliged to camp so as to do the country the least damage possible, especially now that

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\* Joined the Army of Brabant. † With Fagel at Nieuport.

the corn was upon the ground, some regiments camping here and others there, according as they found ground where there was no corn." 1696-97.

On the 9th/19th June William advanced from Wavre with a force of 52 battalions and 150 squadrons to Conroy, half-way between Wavre and Gemblours, hoping to tempt Boufflers, who was considerably stronger, to give battle, but he withdrew beyond the Sambre. By the 27th June 7th July, having been reinforced by German contingents, which brought his army up to 69 battalions and 193 squadrons, William advanced to Gemblours, where he awaited the Landgrave of Hesse, who, with 15,000 men, was on his way to join him.

The junction was effected on the 15th/25th July, when the King advanced towards the Sambre, with the intention of crossing that stream and bringing Boufflers to battle on the plains at St. Gerard. But he found the passages of the Sambre and the defiles of the woods of Malogne so strongly held that to have forced a passage would have been an impossibility. He therefore on the 16th/26th fell back to Nivelles and thence to Soignies, hoping to entice Boufflers to follow him, but Boufflers was not to be drawn into a general action, and marched to Thille-le-Chateau, crossing the Sambre the next day at la Bussière and advancing to Condé, on William moving to Ath.

Here the King endeavoured to arrange for an attack on Dunkirk, but the difficulties in the way proved insurmountable, and he remained at Ath until the 14th/24th August, when he marched his army to the neighbourhood of Grammont, where it remained for some five weeks, he himself however, leaving it on the 17th/27th August.

Meanwhile Vaudemont and Villeroy were still in their old positions, Vaudemont being in too strong a position to be attacked, and having nothing to gain by attacking Villeroy. On the 10th/20th August, however, the French commander quitted his camp and marched towards Bruges, taking up a position parallel to the canal, close to Thielt. Vaudemont met this move by marching on the 12th/22nd to the ferry of Aeltre, half-way between

1696-97. Ghent and Bruges. On the 20th/30th, fearing an attack on that place, he shifted his camp still nearer to Bruges, the infantry being posted at Steinbrugge. On the 30th August/9th September Villeroy made a feint of marching to Tourout, hoping thereby to induce Vaudemont to advance across the canal to cover Bruges, leaving the passes exposed, but Vaudemont would not take the bait, and gave orders to throw up an entrenchment to cover Bruges, 60 men per battalion being detached to work at this by day and 120 by night, so as to expedite matters. The main body of the French being still near Thielt, Vaudemont now decided to cross to the front of Bruges, leaving Ghent to be covered by the Elector of Bavaria with the army at Grammont.

The cavalry were charged with the duty of securing the passes, and Maitland's Brigade was sent to a position on the Ostend Canal, to cover Placendael from any attack from Tourout.

On the morning of the 31st August/10th September the retrenchment was in a "position of defence," and on the same day the French, moving on Tourout, the allied foot occupied the retrenchments, 22 battalions being in first line and 16 in second, the line extending from near the Ostend Canal on the right to St. Michael on the left. The retrenchments were actively worked at, strengthened and extended on the right.

On the evening of the 2nd/12th September de Vaudemont's force was strongly reinforced by the arrival by water from Ghent of the Duke of Wirtemberg with Fitzpatrick's and Ingoldsby's Brigades (10 battalions) and all the English general officers who had been serving with the army of Brabant. Counting Fagel's command at Nieuport and Maitland's Brigade near Placendael, this brought Vaudemont's army up to 62 battalions, 49 of which were before Bruges. The enemy's force was estimated at 160 battalions.

Strenuous efforts were made to carry on the strengthening of the defences, clearing the front, erecting batteries etc., and so impressed were the burghers by the energy and good will of the working parties that on the 9th/19th "the

Magistrates of Bruges presented the soldiers with 400 barrels of beer for an acknowledgment of the pains they had taken in making the works so necessary for the security of their town." 1696-97. d'Auvergne.

The same day the dyke of the Ostend canal was breached, so as to flood the country and hinder the enemy's foraging parties.

On the 21st September/1st October another great demonstration was made by the French with the object of enticing the Allies from their entrenchments, the main French army being held in readiness to advance to the attack, at a moment's notice, but the Allies declined to be drawn into the trap.

The King had already returned to England, and the army of Brabant had broken up, but the armies of Flanders still kept the field, until the 4th/14th October, when both sides began to move into winter quarters, the French falling back, owing to want of supplies, into cantonments along the Lys.

Churchill's Regiment was stationed for the winter at Ghent, together with the 1st Battalions of the 1st and 2nd Foot Guards, Seymour's, the Fusiliers, Webb's, Stanley's, Collingwood's, Fred Hamilton's, La Melonière's, Marton's, Nassau's, the Danish Guards, and Prince Charles' Regiment.

In the early spring of 1697, King William having expressed his wish to have the whole of the British troops under his immediate command in Brabant during the coming campaign, a general change of quarters took place. The English regiments from Ghent were cantoned between Brussels and Halle, and those from Bruges about Brussels and Malines. According to Cannon, Churchill's Regiment marched to Louvain. 1697.

To cover the works which were being strengthened and constructed between Ostend, Bruges and Ghent, a force was assembled under the Elector of Bavaria at Deynse about April 6th/16th, the main army rendezvousing about the 12th/22nd at Bois-Seigneur-Isaac, near Waterloo (Genappe).

The French forces were distributed as follows: Villeroi,

1697. with 60,000 men, at Tournai ; Boufflers with 56,000 men, on the Meuse ; and Catinat at Courtrai, with 40,000.

By the 28th April/8th May, the whole of the Brabant army had assembled at Bois-Seigneur-Isaac, 75 squadrons of horse, 26 of dragoons, and 64 battalions of foot.

On the 5th/15th May Ath was invested by the French under Catinat from Courtrai and a force from Mons, Villeroi taking up a position near Lessines five days later, to cover the siege. Boufflers at the same time advanced to Roeulx.

On the 13th/23rd the Elector of Bavaria left Deynse and marched through Ghent to Dendermonde, where he crossed the Scheldt the following day.

On the same day Vaudemont advanced with the main body from Bois-Seigneur-Isaac to Halle, where the King joined it and took over the command.

On the 16th/26th the two armies effected a junction at St. Quentin-Lenneck, where they were joined by the Brandenburg, Cologne, and Liège contingents. William's army now consisted of some 20,000 horse and 38,500 foot. The Elector had about 46,000 effectives, besides which there were 10 battalions under Fagel at Deynse.

But Villeroi had a considerably stronger body at his disposition without counting the besieging force, and William perceived the chances of being able to raise the siege were very remote.

Peace negotiations had been proceeding for some time at Ryswick, and a reverse at this time would have been very prejudicial to the Allies. The King therefore decided to abandon Ath to its fate and to fall back. The Elector marched back with his army to Deynse and Nivelles, and the army of Brabant withdrew to Bois-Seigneur-Isaac on 21st/31st May. On the 26th May/3rd June Ath capitulated with the honours of war.

William was now in a dilemma. He could not move from the neighbourhood of Genappe to cover Brussels, which lay open to the country, without exposing Namur. Neither could he call the Elector to his assistance without laying bare the north-western fortresses. Under the



circumstances his only course was to remain where he was, in readiness to anticipate any movement of the French. 1697.

The French designs were to march suddenly on Brussels, seizing the capital and Villevorde, thus cutting the allied line of defence in two.

As soon as Ath fell preparations were made to carry this plan into effect, and on the 12th/22nd June Villeroy moved to Enghien-Grammont and Boufflers to Steinkirk-Enghien, in readiness to march on Brussels, which was about equi-distant from the opposing armies.

All depended now on which got the first start. Fortunately for William, his scouts were on the alert. He received news of the French movements the same afternoon, and took instant action. Only one road, and that little better than a defile, led through the forest of Soignies to Brussels. Three brigades marched off that evening and the rest of the army followed at intervals, throughout a wild, stormy night, the King leaving in his coach at midnight.

Before ten o'clock next morning the leading troops had passed through Brussels, and were taking up their position at Anderlecht. When a little later Villeroy and Boufflers arrived on the heights beyond, they found themselves foiled. By five o'clock that evening the whole of William's infantry had come up.

The position chosen for the defence of Brussels extended from the village of Laeken on the right to between the Flanders and Anderlecht gates on the left. Steps were immediately taken to throw up entrenchments and to fortify the position, 50 men per battalion being told off for that purpose, the working parties being subsequently increased to 80 men per battalion.

Villeroy and Boufflers now moved to St. Quentin-Lenneck and Halle respectively, but on the 18th/28th June scarcity of forage compelled them to fall back. Negotiations were slowly proceeding at this time, and neither side was desirous of interrupting them by active operations.

It was not, however, until midnight on the 10th/20th September that peace was signed at Ryswick.

Immediate steps were taken for the return home of the

1697. British troops, which, pending embarkation, were quartered in Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, and Nieuport.

Marching  
Order  
Book 12, p. 1. Churchill's Regiment embarked at Ostend, and arrived at Gravesend about the 16th November, half the regiment marching to Greenwich and Deptford, the other half remaining at Crayford and Dartford.

On the 20th November the regiment was ordered to march forthwith to Southwark, and thence :

Ibid, p. 11.	2 Companies to Longborow (? Loughborough).
	1       "       Melton Mowbray.
	1       "       Waltham.
	1       "       Ashby.
	3       "       Leicester.
	1       "       Nuneaton and Hinckley.
	1       "       Polesworth & Atherton.
	2       "       Harborough.
	1       "       Lutterworth.

Ibid, p. 95. By the 23rd December all the troops expected from Flanders had arrived in England.

On the 7th January the company at Polesworth and Atherston was ordered to be distributed proportionately at Atherston, Twicross, and Bosworth.

Mis. Order  
Bk. 11, p. 3. As soon as peace had been concluded steps were taken by the King to reduce the strength of the army. Ten regiments were disbanded, and on the 25th November orders were issued to 26 regiments of foot (including Churchill's) to reduce their strength from 60 to 42 privates per company (servants included), with 2 sergeants, 3 corporals, and one drummer in each company, except in the Grenadier Company, in which 3 sergeants and 2 drummers were to be continued.

1697-8. The surplus arms were to be returned into store, and all the regiments in the army, except the Royal Fusiliers, were to have a proportionate number of pikemen in their ranks.

Ibid, p. 19.

1698. The regiment remained in its Leicestershire quarters a very short time, the two companies at Harborough proceeding to Carlisle and the companies at Waltham, Loughborough (2), Melton-Mowbray, and Atherstone to

Mis. Order  
Bk. 12, p. 193.



Berwick. These moves took place between the 21st 1698. February and 16th March.

The other six companies marched between the 7th and 21st March to Kingston-upon-Hull. Ibid, p. 214.

At this period the offence of counterfeiting and clipping coin prevailed to an enormous extent, despite the penalty of death which it entailed, and which as may be seen by a perusal of the chronicles of the period, was mercilessly inflicted on offenders of both sexes, batches of five and six culprits being executed at a time. The rough nature of the earlier coins, and the fact that debased and depreciated coins passed current, acted as an irresistible temptation to thousands of persons, and the army was by no means free from the crime. Frequent orders for suppressing it were issued both in the Low Countries and at home, with little success, and from the subjoined, Churchill's Regiment among others, would appear to have had a gang of these miscreants in its ranks :—

Whitehall,

7th March 1697/8

Sir,

Information being given upon oath according to the enclosed copy that divers Sergeants and soldiers of Major General Churchills Regiment are concerned in counterfeiting of guineas and other coigne, His Majesty is pleased to order that you cause the several persons of the Colonels Compa. Capt. Harrison's and Capt. Bright's mention'd in the said information together with the others of whom there may be a just suspicion to be immediately seized and their snapsacks, Pocketts and Quarters searched in the best manner for the discovery thereof, and that you there upon cause them to be sent under a proper guard to the County Gaol, in order to their Tryall, and of your proceedings therein you are to give me an acct by the first opportunity for His Majtys Information. Mis. Order Book 12, p. 45

I am yours etc

W.B.

To Major Negus or the Officer in Chief with the Comp of Major Genl Churchills Regt marching to Hull.

Sent by Express the 7th at night to the Postmaster at Nottingham.

1698. A similar letter was sent to the officer commanding the companies marching to Carlisle, ordering Francis Wilks and John Cook, private soldiers, to be arrested and sent to Penrith. There were also similar charges against a sergeant and others of Collingwood's Regiment.
- Mis. Order  
Bk. 12, p. 45.  
Ibid, p. 46.



1698.

## CHAPTER XIX.

1698-9-1700.

The King, as we have said, had already taken steps to reduce the strength of the standing army, but they were not drastic enough to satisfy Parliament.

The old clamour against the maintenance of a standing army was revived, and a motion was brought in in December that all forces raised since September, 1680, should be disbanded. To make matters worse, Parliament refused the sum necessary to wipe off the arrears of pay and subsistence money which had accumulated since 1692, and which amounted to over two millions and a quarter. The Government even failed to obtain the £400,000 required for the service of the army for the coming year, and had to accept fifty thousand less.

That discontent and insubordination became rife in the ranks is not surprising. Distress and want reigned on all sides, both amongst those still serving and those who had been turned adrift. The effect of disbanding such a large number of men was to flood the country with gangs of unemployed men, many of them ruffians and ne'er-do-well's by nature, and many others rendered desperate by the refusal of their just dues. Macaulay relates that in the spring the mail coaches were robbed daily. Aristocratic equipages were attacked even in Hyde Park. On Hounslow Heath a company of masked horsemen waylaid the great people who had been to pay their court to the King at Windsor, and succeeded in stopping thirty or forty coaches, riding off with a great booty in guineas, watches, and jewellery. On the Newmarket road, while the King and Court were at that place, a band of plunderers, thirty in number, squatted near Waltham Cross, under the shades of Epping Forest, and built themselves huts, from which they sallied forth, with sword and pistol in hand, to bid passengers stand.

1698. The civil power was helpless, and cavalry had to be employed to patrol the roads every evening.

In July Parliament was dissolved, and the King proceeded to Holland. The number of troops to be maintained had not been fixed by Parliament, and the amount of money voted only sufficed for 10,000 men, but William, trusting that the new Parliament would reconsider matters, left orders for 16,000 men to be retained in England. Consequently, on the 18th July, an order was issued reducing the establishment of certain regiments (among others Churchill's) to the following:—

Mis. Order  
Bk. 11, p. 68.

**Field and Staff Officers.**

Colonel

Lieutenant Colonel.

Major.

Chaplain.

Adjutant and Quarter Master in one person.

**One Company.**

Captain.

Lieutenant.

Ensign or 2nd Lieutenant.

2 Sergeants.

2 Corporals.

1 Drummer.

40 Private Soldiers.

Twelve companies more to consist of the like numbers with the addition only of one sergeant, one corporal, and a drummer to the company of Grenadiers.

This brought the authorised strength of the regiment down to 632 of all ranks.

A further order was issued on the 8th August directing that the adjutants and not the quartermasters were to be reduced.

When the new Parliament met in December William urged on it the necessity of liquidating the arrears outstanding\* and maintaining a force sufficient to uphold England's place among the nations of Europe.

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\* A return in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 10,123) shows that the arrears of pay due to the troops from the 1st April, 1692, to the 25th March,

A return of the army presented to the House showed a strength of 30,000 men, which were divided between England and Ireland, whereupon the House forthwith passed a peremptory-worded Act, fixing the total strength of the standing army, *all British subjects*, to be maintained in England at 7,000 men, and that in Ireland at 12,000, Ireland bearing the cost of the same. With the exception of those specially named by proclamation, all regiments were to be disbanded by 25th March.\* 1698.

To complicate matters, the Mutiny Act, which had expired in the previous April, was not re-enacted, leaving the military authorities powerless to enforce discipline.

William was intensely mortified at the result of his appeal to Parliament, particularly at having to part with his Dutch Guards, at whom the clause specifying that the troops to be maintained must be of British nationality was specially directed, though it also affected the regiments of French refugees in Ireland, and it was with considerable difficulty that the King was prevailed upon not to abdicate.

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1699 (from which date the new establishment was to take effect) amounted to £1,324,464, including £237,550 due to troops disbanded. To Churchill's Regiment alone was due £17,727, including £3,884 on account of Flanders subsistence, and £2,118 off reckonings.

\* British regiments disbanded after the Peace of Ryswick in the years 1697-8-9. Compiled from Dalton's "English Army Lists." :—

			Horse.	Dragoons.	Foot.
In England 1697-8-9	...	...	2	2	14
Scotland 1697-8	...	...	—	2	5
Ireland 1697-8	...	...	1	—	9
Holland 1697	...	...	—	—	2
Ireland (French Refugees)					
1699	...	...	1	1	3

The "Scots Brigade" (Lauder, Mackay, Ramsay) and three other Scotch Regiments (including the Cameronians which is the only regiment of the six now surviving) were taken into Dutch pay from December, 1697, two of them (Strathnaver's and Hamilton's) returning to Scotland in 1699 until 1701, when they reverted to the Dutch pay. The old "Scots Brigade" was finally disbanded by the Dutch in 1782, and out of it was raised the old 94th Regt., which, in its turn was disbanded in 1818.

1698. The force to be retained in England consisted of the following :—

B.M. Add.  
MSS. 9759,  
f. 27.

#### HORSE.

3 Troops of Guards.  
1 Troop of Horse Grenadiers.  
The Earl of Oxford's Regiment (Blues).  
Lumley's (1st D.G's.)  
Wood's (3rd D.G's.)  
Arran's (5th D.G's.)  
Windham's (6th D.G's.)  
Schombergs (7th D.G's.)  
Macclesfields.

#### DRAGOONS

Raby's (1st Dns.)  
Lloyd's (3rd Horse).  
Essex's (4th Hussars).

#### FOOT.

1st Regt of Foot Guards (28 Co's)  
2nd Regt of Foot Guards (14 Co's)  
Selwyn's (The Queen's) (10 Co's)  
Churchill's (The Buffs) (10 Co's)  
Trelawny's (The King's Own) (10 Co's)

Altogether 3,588 Horse and 3,412 Foot.

In Ireland the regiments retained were :—

#### HORSE.

Military Entry  
Book, Vol. 3,  
p. 374-386.

Harvey (2nd D.G's.)  
Langston (4th D.G's.)

#### DRAGOONS.

Ross (5th Lancers).  
Echerin (6th Dragoons).  
Conyngham (8th Hussars).

#### FOOT.

Orkney (2 Bns.) (The Royal Scots).  
Columbine (6th).  
Fairfax (5th).  
Webb (8th).  
Stewart (9th).  
Granville (10th).

Foot—(*continued*).

Hanmer	(11th).	1698.
Brewer	(12th).	
Jacob	(13th).	
Tidcomb	(14th).	
Howe	(15th).	
Stanley	(16th).	
Bridges	(17th).	
Fred Hamilton	(18th).	
Erle	(19th).	
Geo. Hamilton	(20th).	
Belasyse	(22nd)	
Ingoldsby	(23rd)	
Marq de Puizar	(24th).	
Tiffin	(27th).	

## IN SCOTLAND.

## HORSE.

1 Troop Guards (afterwards disbanded). Dalton.

## DRAGOONS.

Royal Regiment of Dragoons (Scots Greys).  
Jedburgh's Dragoons (7th Hussars).

## FOOT.

The Scots Guards.  
Colyear's.  
Scots Fusiliers (21st).  
Maitland's (25th).  
Geo. Hamilton's.  
Strathnavers.

The Regiment of Fusiliers (7th) (O'Hara) was in the History R.  
Channel Islands. Fus.

The order for reducing the strength of the regiments of 1699.  
foot to be retained ran as follows :—

The three youngest companies (the Company of Grenadiers only excepted) to be forthwith disbanded with the three youngest captains, 3 youngest Lieutenants and 3 youngest ensigns. The remaining 10 companies to consist of 2 Sergeants, 2 Corporals, 1 drummer and 36 privates, besides officers, and no more. The best men of the 3 said

1699. Co's to be kept and a like number of men less fit for service to be discharged from the other company's. 28th Feb 1698/9.

The officers disbanded were placed on half-pay at the following rates :—

R.U.S.I.	Captains 4/- per diem and for 3 servants -/4 each.
MSS.	Lieutenants 2/- „ 1 „
	Ensigns 1/6 „ 1 „

The captains in Churchill's Regiment affected by this order were Captains Joshua Churchill, William Bright, and Charles Churchill. Who the subalterns were does not appear, but among them were Lieutenant Grearson, the adjutant, and Lieutenants Bowtell and Palphery, all of whom were subsequently re-appointed to the regiment.

Luttrell. All disbanded officers placed on half-pay after the war were "to do duty in the standing regiments, by which they will be doubly officered." They also appear to have been restored to the establishment as vacancies occurred.

Captain Joshua Churchill was re-appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Captain Goff, who was killed in a duel with Captain Bright in January, 1700, and the other two captains were re-appointed to the command of companies on the augmentation of the regiment in February, 1702.

W.O. Estab.  
Bk. No. 4. In addition to one captain, one lieutenant, and one ensign per company the officers were, according to the Establishment Book, Colonel, Lieut.-Colonel, Major, Chaplain, Chirurgeon, and Mate, Adjutant or Quartermaster, and a Drum-Major (at 1/6 per diem). This is the first time the latter personage appears to have had a recognised position in the regiment.

On the 2nd March, before the order for reduction could be carried into effect, a re-distribution of the regiment was ordered, two companies from Hull being directed to either march or proceed by sea, as opportunity should offer, to Tilbury, one to Landguard Fort, and two from Berwick to Sheerness.



The move was carried out by sea, orders being issued on **1699.**  
the 25th March modifying the distribution of the companies  
in question, one being landed at Harwich and the other four  
at Gravesend for Chatham and Rochester.

The companies which were disbanded appear to have  
been three of those quartered in the North of England. **1700.**

In April, 1700, the establishments of the three line regi- **W.O. Estab.**  
ments in England were increased to 50 private soldiers per **Bk., No. 8.**  
company.

Little or nothing of interest appears to have occurred  
affecting the regiment during the ensuing two years beyond  
the duel between Captains Bright and Goff, which is  
referred to by Luttrell as follows:—

“Tuesday, 17th Dec. Sunday morning a quarrel hap’ned **Luttrell’s**  
between Captain Goffe and Captain Bright, who fought in **Diary.**  
Durrham yard; the first was killed on the spot; the other  
dangerously wounded and committed to the gate house;  
Goffe’s company is given by Major General Churchill, to  
Captain Joseph (sic) Churchill,\* who was one of the three  
reduced out of the said regiment.”

Discontent was still rampant in the army, and Parliament  
was overwhelmed with petitions for the redress of  
grievances, real and fictitious, and after vainly trying to set  
matters right, and making them worse than ever, a  
commission was appointed in 1700 to inquire into the debt  
due to the army.

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\*Joshua Churchill.

1702.

## CHAPTER XX.

## 1702—THE CADIZ-VIGO EXPEDITION.

Since the peace of Ryswick the political horizon on the Continent had been by no means clear. Intrigues focussed round the question of the succession to the Crown of Spain. There was no heir to the throne and no prospect of one, and the King, Charles II., feeble in mind and body, was in a precarious state of health.

The complications which would inevitably occur at his death had been foreseen by King William, and treaties had been entered into in 1698 and in 1700, to which the Emperor of Germany, the King of France, and William, representing both England and the United Provinces, were parties, by which the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor of Germany, was recognised as the successor to the Spanish throne.

Charles, however, on his death bed on the 31st October, 1700, nominated as his successor Philip, Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin, and grandson of Louis XIV.

The French King, in direct violation of the treaties, accepted the crown on behalf of his grandson, who was thereupon duly proclaimed King of Spain, and proceeded to his new dominions, in February, 1701, being received in Madrid with enthusiasm.

The Emperor of Germany at once entered a protest, and Louis XIV. forthwith prepared for war. King William, however, was powerless for the moment, to do more than defer his recognition of Philip V., for both the English Parliament and the States General were firmly opposed to hostilities. But Louis XIV., foreseeing that this state of affairs could not last, determined to be beforehand. He suddenly threw a large force into Spanish Flanders and seized the frontier towns of Nieuport, Oudenarde, Ath, Mons, Charleroi, and Namur, which were garrisoned,

according to treaty, by Dutch troops. These he declined to evacuate until the States General should recognise Philip as King of Spain. Powerless to resist, the Dutch had to comply, the English Parliament being too occupied with its own quarrels to care about interfering in what was going on on the Continent.

1702.

But Louis, notwithstanding, continued pouring troops into the Spanish Netherlands, and the Dutch Government, thoroughly alarmed, appealed to England for the help which, by the treaty of 1677, she was bound to afford.

Parliament was at last aroused, and in June a force of 10,000 men was voted for an expedition to support the claim of the Archduke Charles to the throne of Spain.

The command of the force was entrusted to the Duke of Marlborough, who since 1698 had been restored to favour, and the expedition sailed for Holland on the 28th June.\*

The King at the last moment decided to accompany it himself, and a battalion of the Guards was ordered to proceed to Holland to attend on him, Churchill's Regiment being chosen to remain in England in its place, and Stewart's Regiment (9th Foot) was in addition brought over from Ireland.

Parliament, still intensely suspicious, treated this as an attempt to increase the standing army without its consent, and William had to exercise considerable tact in order to allay its fears.

The troops composing the expedition, having landed in Holland, marched to Breda, where they remained until September. To replace the battalions withdrawn from Ireland for the expedition and three regiments which had to be sent to the West Indies, orders for raising 10,000 recruits in England were given, and four new regiments were also raised, two of which, Lord Charlemont's and

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\*The following regiments went to Flanders in 1701:—1st Bn. First Foot Guards, Orkney's (Royal Scots), Webb's (8th), Stewart's (9th), Lord North and Grey's (10th), Barrimore's (13th), Howe's (15th), E. of Derby's (16th), Sir M. Bridge's (17th), F. Hamilton's (18th), Rowe's (21st), Ingoldsby's (23rd), Duke of Marlborough's (24th), Ferguson's (26th), Earl of Huntingdon's (33rd). Hamilton's Hist. Gren. Gds.

1702. Lord Dougal's, are now the 1st Battalion Royal Sussex (35th) and 2nd Battalion Worcestershire (36th) Regiments.

Nevertheless, the feelings of the English people remained very lukewarm until the death of James II. on the 16th September, when Louis XIV. at once recognised and proclaimed James' son as King of England, under the title of James III.\* This was a flagrant breach of the Treaty of Ryswick, by which Louis had recognised William as King of England and had bound himself to do nothing which could, directly or indirectly, disturb the existing order of things.

The temper of the nation was at last aroused. A treaty to oppose the French was entered into by Austria, England, and Holland, and war became inevitable. But it was now too late in the season to take the field that year, and William returned to England early in November, having, however, negotiated the formation of a Grand Alliance against France and Spain, to which England, Holland, the German Empire, Prussia, and Sweden were parties. On the King's arrival in England he was besieged with loyal deputations from all parts of the country, and taking advantage of the public feeling, he dissolved Parliament, rightly anticipating that a new one would grant all his requirements and ratify the treaty with Austria and Holland, by which he had pledged England to furnish a contingent of 40,000 troops towards an allied army, eighteen thousand of whom were to be of British nationality.

All the regiments on the establishment were directed to be brought up to war strength, and orders were given for five regiments of horse, three of dragoons, and six more battalions of foot to be sent to strengthen the troops already in the Low Countries, and nine new regiments of foot were ordered to be raised.†

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\*The Old Pretender. At the time of his birth (1688), it will be remembered it was alleged he was really the son of Colonel Sir Theophilus and Lady Oglethorpe.

† These became subsequently the regiments numbered from 29 to 34 and 37 to 39 inclusively.

On February 9th Churchill's Regiment was ordered to be recruited up to a strength of 12 companies (two additional companies), each of 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, 2 drummers, and 60 privates, the increase to the establishment amounting to a total of 258 non-commissioned officers and men. 1702.  
W.O. Mis.  
Entry Bk. 11,  
p. 18, et. seq.

The above were ordered to be raised by the 1st May, but as a matter of fact the two additional companies embarked at Hull, where they appear to have been raised 21 days before that date.

On the 20th March the grenadier company was ordered a further increase of 10 men.

The officers appointed to the newly-raised companies were Captains Chas. Churchill,\* Wm. Bright, Lieutenants J. Grearson and Geo. Palphry, and Ensigns Thos. Mannering and Thos. White, their commissions bearing date 12th February, 1702. Whether the four subalterns were those placed on half-pay after the Treaty of Ryswick, or whether they were transferred from other companies (which would have involved issuing them fresh commissions) is not clear, but they all had served in the regiment previously to 1697 (vide commission list in appendix). Ibid 28.  
Treasury  
Papers,  
Vol. 84, p. 147

During the winter William III., who had always been an invalid, and whose indomitable pluck alone had enabled him to undergo the strain and exhaustion of the numerous campaigns and engagements he had taken part in, broke down entirely in health. Whilst out riding at Hampton Court on the 20th February his horse came down with him, the King breaking his collar bone. In his feeble state the shock was fatal, and William gradually sank, expiring on the 8th March (O.S.). He was succeeded by the Princess Anne, daughter of James II., the Princess with whom an intrigue had cost the Earl of Mulgrave the colonelcy of the regiment in 1682, and wife of Prince George of Denmark, "Est-il-possible," the present honorary colonel of Churchill's Regiment.

Besides the force sent to the Low Countries a joint

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\*Natural son of Lieut.-General Charles Churchill, Colonel of the Regiment.

1702. English and Dutch expedition had been planned during the winter with the object to obtain possession of the fortress and harbour of Cadiz, which might serve as a base for future operations in Spain.

The arrangements for this were actively carried on after the death of the King, in conjunction with those for despatching reinforcements to the Low Countries.

On May the 5th the Mutiny Act, which had been in abeyance, was re-introduced, restoring to the officers the means of maintaining discipline, and on the 15th of the month war was formally declared against France.

Marching  
Order Bk. 10,  
p. 489, et seq.

Churchill's Regiment was originally intended to proceed to Holland, and orders were issued on the 28th March for the company of the regiment stationed at Carlisle, the two at Berwick, and all those at Hull, to embark at the latter place for Goree (Goeree), on the Dutch coast, but on the 6th April this order was countermanded, and they were directed to embark in "frigots" for Portsmouth, where they would receive further orders.

Ibid.

On the 25th April directions were given for the seven companies on arrival at Spithead to disembark in the Isle of Wight and march, four companies to Newport, two to Yarmouth, and one to Cows (sic), there to remain until further orders. The remaining five companies from Landguard Fort (one), Tilbury (two), and Sheerness (two) were ordered on the 4th May to embark for Portsmouth.

Transport, however, for the companies at Tilbury and Sheerness appears to have been lacking, for on the 29th May they were ordered to march to Portsmouth, viâ Horsham and East Grinstead, but this order was cancelled the following day, and they were again directed to proceed by sea, being recalled if they had already commenced the march.

Meanwhile the force to compose the expedition was gradually being collected and organised at Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight. The fleet was to consist of 30 British men-of-war, 20 Dutch ships, and about 110 transports, store and fire ships, under the command of Admiral Sir George Rooke, with Sir Stafford Fairborne as Rear-Admiral.

The command of the troops was given to the Duke of Ormond, with Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Bellasis (Belasyse), Major-Generals Sir Chas. O'Hara and Lord Portmore, Sir David Colyear (or Collier) as divisional generals, and Brigadier-Generals Seymour, Matthews, and Gustavus Hamilton as brigadiers. 1702.

The Dutch troops were commanded by Major-General Baron Sparr and Brigadier-General Pallandt.

The following return shows the regiments composing the British force and the nominal strength thereof:—

Abstract of the forces intended to be put on board the Har. MSS  
Fleets:— 7025, f. 1.

	Officers.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers and Hautboys.	Servants.	Effective Men.	Total.
Queen's Dragns (3rd Hussars) ... ..	25	5	15	22	23	185	275
Guards (1st) (3 cos) and Coldstreams (5 cos) ... ..	35	30	30	20	40	600	755
Bellasis' (2nd Ft) ...	41	25	36	24	50	658	834
Churchill's (3rd) ...	41	25	36	24	50	658	834
Seymour's (4th) ...	41	25	36	24	50	658	834
Colenbine's (6th) ...	40	24	36	24	50	550	724
Fuziliers (3 cos with 5 cos of Villiers) (7th and 31st) ... ..	50	31	36	21	62	633	833
Erle's (19th) .. ...	40	24	36	24	50	550	724
Gustavus Hamilton's	40	24	36	24	50	550	724
Donegall's (35th) ...	40	24	36	24	50	550	724
Charlemont's (36th)...	40	24	36	24	50	550	724
Fox's (32nd) ... ..	41	25	36	24	50	658	834
Shannon's ... ..	41	25	36	24	50	658	834
	515	311	441	303	625	7458	9653

In addition to the above there were engineers and train numbering 312, with 20 heavy guns, 16 mortars, and 10 field pieces. The whole force was organised in four divisions—three British and one Dutch.

On the 2nd June all the available men, mustering nearly

1702. 9,000, were reviewed at St. Heliers in the Isle of Wight, preparatory to embarkation, by Prince George of Denmark, the Queen's Consort, but from the subjoined return the Expeditionary Force evidently was still very considerably under its proper complement.

Har. MSS.  
7025, f. 15.

Abstract of the full complement of the Corporalls and private soldiers of the Regiments that are to serve on board the Fleete. Also ye number of such as appeared at ye Review and what were deficient. The 2nd June 1702 :

Regiments.	Full complement.	Appeared at the Review	Deficient.
Detachment of Dragoons ...	200	188	12
Detachment of the Guards ...	630	589	41
Lieut. Genl. Bellasys' Regiment ...	694	593	101
Lieut. Genl. Churchill's 8 Companies ...	464	386	78
Colonel Colenbine's ...	586	511	75
Royal Regiment of Fusiliers ...	379	308	71
Brigadier Hamilton's ...	586	542	44
Earl of Donegall's ...	586	528	58
Lord Charlemont ...	586	527	59
Colonel Fox's Marines ...	694	566	128
Lord Shannon's 9 Comps Marines	522	378	144
	5,927	5,116	811

The following regiments and Companies did not appear at the Review :—

Brigadier Seymour's Regiment ...	694
Major Generall Earle's ...	586
Lieut. Genl. Churchill 4 Companies	230
Lord Shannon 3 Companys ...	172
Colonel Villiers 5 Companys ...	290

Total of English Rank and File 7,899

The Ducht Forces.

Torcy 8 Companys ...	424	380	44
St. Amad 8 Companys ...	704	624	80
Brigadier Paland Regimt. ...	624	576	28
Swansbelt ...	984	844	140
	2,736	2,424	312



The Regiments and Companys  
following did not appear at the Review :—

1702.

	Full com- plement.	Appeared at the Review.
Lindeboune in Holland ...	624	
Torcy 4 Compas in Holland ...	212	
St. Amand 4 Compas cruising ...	352	
<hr/>		
Total of ye Ducht .....	3,924	7,540
Totall of ye English ...	7,899	
<hr/>		
Totall if Compleat ...	11,823	

On the 5th June orders were given that the fleet was to S. P. Dom., sail as soon as the wind was fair, and that none were to be Sec. Letter allowed to go ashore again without permission from the Bk. Lords of the Council.

The embarkation commenced on the 14th June, the ships dropping down from Spithead to St. Helens roads off the Isle of Wight on the 19th in readiness to avail themselves of the first fair wind. It was not however, until the 2nd/12th July that the fleet and transports, 160 ships in all, put to sea, being joined off Plymouth by five sail, with two regiments and the five companies of Villiers' Regiment. London Gazette.

The embarkation returns of the various regiments composing the Expeditionary Force have been preserved, and that of Churchill's Regiment is interesting, for, though it is incomplete as regards the rank and file, it gives a complete nominal roll of all the officers of the regiment both present and absent, with the exception of the quartermaster and adjutant,\* and is apparently the first one now extant since that of 1695.

It is noteworthy also that, although the title of the regiment had been "His Royal Highness, Prince George of Denmark's Regiment" ever since 1689, it was rarely, if ever, referred to in any documents, either official or otherwise, but as "Churchill's Regiment," until Queen Anne came to the throne, after which both titles were used, indiscriminately, Churchill being, however, the real colonel

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\*These appointments had been abolished in 1698.

1702. of the regiment, the Prince's connection with it being merely honorary.

Har. MSS.  
7025, f. 20.

Docket. "An accott of ye Prince George of Denmarks Regiment Churchill."

His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmarks Regmt.

			Sergeants.	Corporals	Drummers.	Sentinals.
		Lt. Gn. Churchill ...				
Sovereigne	...	Capt. Lt. Rich: Har-				
		wood ...	2	3	2	49
		Ensg: Math: Bigg ...				
ditto		Capt. Henry Harrison	3	3	2	49
		Lt. Hugh Scott ...				
		Lt. Theo: Vesey ...				
Northumberland		Capt. John Hetley ...	2	3	2	46
		Lt. John Preston				
		Ensg: Williams Her-				
		rington ...				
ditto	...	Capt. Joshua Churc-				
		hill ...	2	3	2	44
		Lt. William Kenny				
		Ensg: Darcey Wivell				
Boyne	...	Capt. Oliver Luke ...	2	3	2	48
		Lt. Richard Abington				
		Ensy Richard Bolton				
ditto		Capt. John Slaughter	2	3	2	42
		Lt. Bernaby Bowtell,				
		sick in London .....				
		Ensg: Peter Grant ...				
Sovereigne	...	Howell Evans Sur-				
		geons Mate ...				
Cumberland	...	Lt. Coll. Hen: Peyton				
		Lt. Alex Scrimpsour				
		Ensg: Tho: Pope ...				

Cumberland	...	Major Francis Negus John Melvill... .. Ensg: Richard Har- wood ... ..	1702.
Yarmouth	...	Capt. John Meoles ... Lt. Nath Gettins ... Ensg: Hugh Mont- gomery ... ..	
ditto	...	Capt. Wm. Lloyd absent by the leave of Lt. G. Churchill Lt. Thos: Pyne ... Ensg: Henry Gibbs	
Oxford	...	Capt. Wm. Bright ... Lt. George Palphry Ensg: Chidley absent by Lt. G: Church- hill's leave ...	
ditto	...	Capt. Cha: Churchill Lt. John Grierson ... Ensg: Tho: White ...	
Cumberland	...	John Smallbones Surgeon John Harris Chaplain absent by Lt. G: Churchill's leave. ...	

With reference to the above, although his name is shown in the return, Lieutenant-General Churchill did not accompany the expedition.

The Duke of Ormond's instructions were to reduce and take the town and island of Cadiz, and, in case of failure, or it being found impracticable, to attack Vigo, Ponte Vedra, Corunna, or any other place belonging to Spain or France. <sup>Davis.</sup>

On the voyage the fleet was joined by Admiral Fairborne with a squadron which had sailed from Spithead previously, and by Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt with some frigates from Lisbon.\*

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\*A distinguished politician and successful soldier. He had been Viceroy of

1702.

Parnell,  
War of  
Succession.

On the 10th/23rd August the fleet anchored outside the Bay of Bulls, about two leagues from Cadiz.

"The Bay of Cadiz runs in a direction about north-west and south-west. On the north and east it is bounded by Spain, and on the south-west by the narrow island of Leon, at the inner end of which is a causeway connecting it to the mainland, and at the outer end the compact town and fortress of Cadiz. Between the town and the head of the bay are two promontories or puntals, one on each side, by which the inner portion of the bay is converted into a harbour with a narrow entrance. Outside . . . . lay the town of Port St. Mary (somewhat inland), Fort Santa Catalina, the coast town of Rota, and the bay of Bulls, which was altogether outside the bay of Cadiz."

The garrison of Cadiz consisted of 9 regiments of foot and 1,000 horse, besides local militia. The fortifications were fairly good, and a chain boom, behind which were 7 men-of-war and 8 galleys, defended the entrance of the harbour.

Ibid.

On the morning of the 14th/24th the Duke of Ormond sent two officers to reconnoitre the outer side of the Isle of Leon and to select a good landing place. They reported that there were three bays "very proper to make a descent in."

A Council of War was held, and the Duke of Ormond strongly favoured an immediate landing in one of the bays, in order to assault the land front, while the garrison was in a state of unpreparedness. This course was energetically opposed, however, by Rooke, who declared that the fleet could offer no support to the attacking force beyond covering the landing; that if it came on to blow the ships must put to sea, and moreover, that the garrison of the fortress was very strong.

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Catalonia, and was extremely popular with the Spaniards. He had been actively engaged in pushing the claims of the Archduke Charles to the Spanish throne, and his great knowledge of Spain and his popularity there had enabled him to advise the English, the Emperor and the Hague Government on the best plan of conducting a campaign in the Peninsula, and it was by his advice the expedition to Cadiz had been undertaken, and which he now came to join as a soldier.

Unfortunately Ormond, receiving little or no support from his subordinate generals, gave way to Rooke's counter-proposal, which was to anchor in the Bay of Bulls, where the troops should effect a landing, and then attack Santa Catalina and Port St. Mary. Having captured these, the commanders could then further consider their course of action. 1702

In the meantime negotiations had been opened with a view to induce Don Felix Vallaro and other Spanish chiefs in the city to forsake their allegiance to Philip V., and to join the cause of the Allies, but these overtures were scornfully rejected.

That afternoon (14th/24th) the fleet anchored in the Bay of Bulls, about three miles from the shore.

At daylight on the 16th/26th the troops began to disembark between Santa Catalina and Rota with the object of capturing the latter town.

The order of embarkation for the attack was as follows :

The Grenadier companies from each regiment, forming a brigade about 1,200 strong, under Colonel the Earl of Donegal and Brigadier Pallandt, supported by :— Annals of  
Queen A

*First line of boats.*

The Guards, Bellasis, Seymour, Churchill, and Torcey's Regiments.

*Second line of boats.*

Columbine, Hurd, Erle, Hamilton, Fox, and two battalions of Swanbelt's Regiment.

*Third line of boats.*

Donegal, Charlemont, Shannon, two battalions of St. Amand's Regiment, and the Pioneers.

The landing was effected between Rota and Santa Catalina with great difficulty, owing to the heavy surf. Nearly thirty boats were swamped, twenty men were drowned, and a large number of arms were lost.\*

The van of the Grenadiers, some 80 strong, under

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\*Churchill's Regiment lost 54 firearms (Tres. Prs. 84, p. 147).

1702. Colonel Pearce, of the Guards, had barely had time to reload their soaked muskets before they were furiously charged by a party of 60 Spanish Horse, led by Don Felix Vallaro, the officer whom it had been attempted to seduce from his duty. A steady volley repulsed the Spaniards, leaving their gallant leader dead on the field.

The landing was then completed without much resistance, the gunners of Santa Catalina and of an adjoining battery being too much occupied by two men-of-war which had been sent in to engage the fort, to cause the troops much harm, and the latter only lost five men.

The whole army then advanced on Rota, bivouacking about two miles from the town, which surrendered on the following morning without waiting to be summoned.

A wharf here enabled the dragoons and the heavy artillery and supplies to be landed, and on the 21st/31st August Ormond advanced to Port St. Mary, leaving a garrison of 300 men in Rota. With the exception of a slight skirmish with the Spanish horse, the town, which was found deserted by its inhabitants, was occupied without resistance.

Being particularly anxious to conciliate the people of the country, the Duke had issued stringent orders against plundering and marauding, but, unfortunately, the citizens, although fleeing themselves, had left behind them all their goods and quantities of food and wine, and the officers quickly found it was not in their power to prevent their famished and thirsty men from helping themselves and breaking into the unoccupied houses in search of refreshment. From this they naturally took to plundering. Nothing escaped them. The churches were ransacked and the convent was broken into. To help them carry off their loot the assistance of the sailors of the fleet was sought, and these rapidly became worse plunderers than the soldiers. What could not be moved was smashed and destroyed.

Many of the officers were little better than their men, and a disgraceful scramble took place among them for their share; "nay, some of them went so far as to think themselves entitled, by their eminent stations, to engross the

greater part of the booty, for which purpose they set guards on the avenues of Port St. Mary and stopped all the meaner sort that were carrying goods to the fleet, with which they stored their own magazines, and which they afterwards retailed for ready money." 1702

Among those of high rank who thought it judicious to share the profits of crimes which they were unable or unwilling to prevent, was Sir Henry Bellasis, the second-in-command of the whole army. Parnell.

The damage done to the city, one of the best built, best furnished, and wealthiest in all Spain, was computed at three millions sterling. Many influential Spaniards who had previously contemplated taking sides with the Allies were now so enraged and disgusted that they kept away.

Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt, whose "express object it was to conciliate the Andalusians," was so disgusted that he at once sent a letter complaining of the action of the troops, and reflecting severely on the conduct of Sir Henry Bellasis. Davis.

On the 22nd August/1st September Fort Santa Catalina surrendered after a brief bombardment on the previous day, and two days later it was decided by a council that the fleet should attack the French ships behind the boom, if Ormond could first capture the fort on the Matagorda Point.

Next day therefore, the troops advanced towards that fort, encamping at Santa Vittoria, and on the 29th August/8th September a force of 2,400 English and Dutch, under Baron Sparr, with a small train, advanced before the Matagorda and opened trenches. The Matagorda Puntal and the point opposite were strongly guarded, the fort on the first named mounting 12 guns and the other 24. The French now sunk three ships between them, thus closing the mouth of the harbour, whereupon Rooke pointed out that under the circumstances the capture of the fort would be of no consequence, and advised that the troops should move to the head of the bay so as to cut off the escape of the townspeople from the bombardment to which he proposed to subject the town. But Ormond persisted in the enterprise.

1702. On the 3rd/13th, having constructed two batteries, the besiegers opened fire, which was vigorously returned, not only by the fort but by the French men-of-war and the galleys behind the boom.

Three days later the batteries, which had been badly constructed in marshy ground, began to subside, and the approaches became impassable from mud.

Finding the impossibility of carrying out the attack, Ormond withdrew Sparr's force, which returned to Santa Vittoria on the 7th/17th September, having suffered a loss during the seven days of 65 men killed and wounded. Rooke was now anxious to bombard Cadiz, but after much wrangling and quarrelling among the various generals it was decided to withdraw. On the 13th/23rd, therefore, Ormond broke up his camp and fell back to Rota, Fort Santa Catalina being blown up next day.

Annals of  
Queen Anne.

The 14th/24th and 15th/25th were spent in shipping off part of the forces, and on the 16th/26th overnight, orders were given that the boats of the fleet should take off the remainder of the army, the junior regiment embarking first.

The rearguard was composed of English grenadiers, under Colonel Fox of the Marines, Lieutenant-Colonel Pearce of the Guards, and Major Negus of Churchill's Regiment. The Spaniards attempted to molest the retreat, but the embarkation was effected with a loss of only five killed and five wounded.

A council of war was held on board the fleet the same day. Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt strongly advised wintering in some Spanish port, whence a blow could be struck early in the following spring. The Prince was strongly upheld in this view by the Duke of Ormond and the Dutch generals, but Rooke and his admirals were unanimously against it, and were supported by Bellasis and O'Hara, who throughout had thwarted Ormond. The majority prevailed, and on the 19th/29th the expedition set sail for England, Prince George returning in disgust to Lisbon.

On the 25th September/5th October, in compliance with



instructions previously received, a squadron, with four of the regiments,\* was detached to the West Indies, Churchill's Regiment furnishing a draft of 60 men to reinforce Charlemont's Regiment, one of the four. 1702.

Treasury  
Papers, 84,  
p. 147.

About this time a French squadron, under Admiral Chateau-Renaud,† convoying Spanish galleons from the West Indies, was known to be making for one of the Atlantic seaports of France or Spain, and a fleet, under Sir Cloudesly Shovell, sailed on the 24th September/4th October to intercept it. But Chateau-Renaud had already arrived at Vigo with 15 sail of the line and 17 galleons.

Fortunately the squadron detached for the West Indies put into Lagos, on the Portuguese coast, on the 22nd September/2nd October, for water, and here they ascertained the news. A ship was hurriedly despatched to endeavour to communicate the intelligence to Admiral Rooke, and succeeded in coming up with him. Rooke at once decided to attempt to cut out the French and Spanish ships, and altered his course for Vigo.

"The French Admiral had brought the galleons into the Parnell. Redondilla, or inner harbour, and across its mouth had laid a strong boom, formed of chains, ships' yards and topmasts, bound together. Behind this he had drawn up his squadron, consisting of sixteen French and three Spanish sail of the line. On the north side the entrance was defended by a battery of twenty gunes; and on the south by one of forty, in rear of which there was a tower forming a keep."

Having previously sent in a frigate to reconnoitre, the English fleet, on the evening of the 11th/22nd, sailed up Vigo Bay under cover of a fog, and was not perceived until nearly abreast of the town, when the batteries opened fire. No notice was taken of this, however, and the ships passed up the bay to within three or four miles of Redondella, where they anchored.

It was resolved that the "troops should land and assault the south battery and tower, and when these were captured

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\*Erle's, Gustavus Hamilton's, Donegal's, and Charlemont's.

†Often spelt Chateau-Renault.

1702. the ships would stand in, burst the boom, and attack Chateau-Renaud. Next morning, pursuant to this resolution, his Grace the Duke of Ormond landed with great diligence and expedition, with about 2,000 men,\* on the south side of the river, without any opposition, and ordered the grenadiers to march, under the command of the Lord Viscount Shannon, directly to the Fort that guards the entrance of the Harbour where the boom lay, which he performed with great gallantry. There appeared about 8,000 Foot between the Fort and the Hills; but upon our men's advancing, they retired after a little skirmish with the grenadiers, who likewise pushed a party of the Enemy and followed them to the Fort, and possessed themselves of the lower battery; whereupon Lieutenant-General Churchill's Regiment came upon the left, and took post there with them. After the Batteries were taken, the enemy retired into an old Castle or Stone Tower, and there fired upon our men for some little time; but opening the gate, and intending to make a Salley, as the officers who are prisoners say, the Grenadiers forced into the Castle and possessed themselves of it. In this Fort were 300 French Marines and 50 Spaniards and 40 guns."

London  
Gazette.

"At 9 o'clock in the morning, as soon as the Land Forces

Har. MSS. \* "The English and Dutch Granadiers to land first, commanded by the Lord  
7,025, f. 74-5. Shannon, Lieut.-Col. Pearce, and a Dutch Major. The rest of the forces were divided into three Brigades.

*First Brigade.*

The Battalion of Guards.  
Churchill (Bufs) ... Duke of Ormond.  
Columbine (6th) ... Brigadier Hamilton.  
Fox (Marines) (32nd).

*Second Brigade.*

Bellasis (2nd Queen's).  
Seymour (4th) ... Lord Portmore.  
O'Hara (7th and 31st)... Brigadier Lloyd.  
Shannon.

*Third Brigade.*

Dutch troops ... Baron Sparr.  
Brigadier Pallandt.

The bulk of the fighting was done, however, by the Grenadier Companies and Churchill's Regiment."

were landed, the Admiral made a signal to weigh; which was accordingly done, the Line formed and the Squadron pushing their passage in upon the enemy, but when the van was got within cannon shot of the batteries, it fell calm, so that they were forced to come to an anchor again; but about 2 o'clock, a gale coming up the ships next the enemy cut their cables, the rest weighed and running in upon the enemy received all their fire, till the ships were got the length of the Boom; Vice Admiral Hopson in the *Torbay* broke through at once, but the rest of the division and Vice Admiral Vandergoes and his Division who went in abreast to give greater weight to the Boom, stuck and were obliged to cut their way through." 1702.

"The attack was made with great resolution and bravery, and the good conduct of the Forces contributed much to the success, having contrived the Attack of the Fort just as the ships upon their coming to the Boom poured in their Broad-sides upon them, which obliged them in half a quarter of an hour to yield at Discretion."

Chateau-Renaud, seeing all was lost, set fire to his flag-ship, signalling to his captains to do likewise.

The result of the action was six men-of-war taken and brought away, seven sunk or run ashore, and eight burnt. Thirteen Spanish galleons were captured with cargoes valued at about £1,000,000, chiefly, however, in merchandise, the bulk of the treasure which had been on board having been landed and taken inland before the action commenced.

The loss sustained in this affair by the troops was:—

2 Officers and 30 men killed.

4 Officers and about 50 men wounded.

Over 400 of the French and Spaniards were taken prisoners, amongst them a Spanish admiral and two French commodores, Admiral Chateau-Renaud escaping. Davis.

The loss among the crews of the Allied ships was small, the principal loss being 115 killed and drowned on board the *Torbay*.

1702. A very interesting account of the operations is given in a letter from Captain Churchill\* to his brother, which is here reproduced.

Carlisle MSS. A Copy of Captain Churchills Letter to his Brother :—

Dr B.

From on board the Northumberland near Vigo

October 15th 1702.

I thought to have been with you in England 'ere this, but am glad of the occasion that has hindered it, I am just come on board to write this, that you might know as soon as any what a glorious action wee have done upon the French and Spaniards in the Harbour. I shall be as short as possible, the ship saileing this evening, wth the joyful news. Take it as follows, after we left Cadiz without doeing anything extraordinary but plundering, we busk'd abt the sea in our way to England abt 3 weeks, in wch time we had the good fortune to have advice that Count Chateaurenau wth 18 men of warr and the Spanish flota was put into this place upon wch our Admiralls resolved to know the truth of it, and Sunday last in the afternoon we came into the Harbour before Vego (sic) and found ye men of warr and ye galleons gone abt 4 miles further up the River, and had made a strong Bom (sic) cross it, at each end of the Boom was a ffort wth good Battery's of Brass cannon, joining to ye fort on ye right was a Battery of 25 pieces of cannon of 48 pounders. It was resolved to attack them all ye next morn Admiral Hopson was to lead the men of warr appointed for that service, and the Army was to land abt two miles on the side of the Battery of ye 25 pieces of 48 pounders, accordingly abt 10 o'clock Monday morning ye 12th of this Instant we

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\*There were two Captains Churchill in the regiment at this time, Charles Churchill, natural son of Lieut.-Gen. Charles Churchill, the colonel of the regiment, and Joshua Churchill, the son of William Churchill, Esq., of Dorchester. A copy of this letter (apparently made at the time) is preserved among the MSS. of the Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard, and was kindly entrusted to me to copy, by Mr. Jno. Duthie. It bears no signature, and is merely docketed "A copy of Captain Churchill's letter to his brother," but as it is dated from the Northumberland, it was presumably written by Capt. Joshua Churchill (*vide* embarcation return). H.R.K.

landed. My Ld Shannon with the Grenadiers first, ye Guards, 7 Companys of ours, Seymours and Columbines, next and 4 Regimts more afterwards, we made in all abt 5,000 men. The seamen that carryed me ashore had the good fortune to drop me into the sea, and I have lain on the ground ever since, without changing my clotzs (sic). It has cured me of a mighty cold I had in my head, but has left another in my Limbs, but considering of everything I am mighty well & wonderfully well pleased. But to the Buisness. 5 Companys of the Grenadiers as soon as we landed marched up the Hill to come on the back of the Fort on the right hand of the Boom, the rest of the Army marched along the side of the Hill wch was very Rocky and troublesome in our March: 3 of our Companys were detached to attack the Battery of 25 pieces of cannon, Majr Negus commanded us and I Marcht wth him in the front, wee had the good fortune to succeed, the enemy running away making little opposition so that we possessed ourselves of the Battery wch would have gall'd our ships in their coming in; we immediately planted our Colours on the Batterys that or ffeet might see what we had done, & looking through the Works we saw or ffeet sailing to the Boom, and Admiral Hopson to his immortal honour did very handsomely, of wch I was an eye witness, they fired on him very warmly but he fired not a shot till he was abreast of the fforts, and then he plyed them very vigorously, at the same time the 5 Companys of Grenadiers came on the back of ye ffort & our 7 Companys flank'd ym so that they surrendered at discretion, besides what we killed we took 12 officers & 400 & odd private soldiers most French. We lost some men & two officers of the Guards, & Coll Pearce of ye Guards had part of his Thigh shot off with a Cannon ball but 'tis hoped he will recover; I can say to you wthout vanity that our people did very handsomely, for we took ye ffort & Battery with a hundred less men than they had in it. As to the fleet they broke the Bom & Admll Hopson led them in, and made himself towards Monsr Cheauterenaue (sic) ye ffrench Admll but they seeing of us so resolute, sett their ships on ffire. It was the most glorious sight I ever saw & they continued burning all that day and night. Of 15 men of war most large ships, we shall bring home 6 or 7 very good ships, the rest are utterly consumed, We have likewise taken and burnt their gallions 19 in number & we hope very little of their plate taken out. \*

\*It is interesting to note that attempts are being made at the present time

1702.

The Duke of Ormond is at Redondella wth all the army, besides the garrison. I hope he'l (sic) make a good hand out thereto, & that all will be laid fairly before the Queen & Parliament. The Duke was well satisfied with our behaviour & told Majr Negus he would acquaint the Prince wth it.

I believe we shall embark in 2 or 3 days but it will be 8 or 10 days before we shall leave this place, the French ships being to be a little fitted & some of our ships must be watered. I should have told you before ( but I am a little whimsical wanting sleep) that the D. of O. landed with the Guards & marchd on ffoot to the ffort & did what became his Quality and Character & that evening marcht away to Redondella. The Majr would have written this acct but had no paper or pen at the ffort where he has the command, but would have you carry it to the Lieut. Genll. And let his father know the reason he has not writ to him."

The Duke of Ormond occupied Redondella, at the head of the harbour, the evening of the action, and was anxious to attack and capture Vigo, provided Rooke would leave him sufficient ships and provisions to hold the place for the winter, but the admiral threw insuperable difficulties in his way and the force was therefore, compelled to re-embark.

Sir Cloudesley Shovell having arrived with his fleet, Rooke left him to complete the destruction of the French ships that had been run ashore and the demolition of the batteries, and to bring home the captured ships and galleons. He himself sailed with the troops on the 17th/7th October.

Har. MSS.  
7025, f. 5.

Marching O.  
Bk. 11, p. 42.

Only two companies of Churchill's Regiment, those on board the Sovereign, appear to have returned with Rooke, the remainder returning with Sir Cloudesley Shovell in the Orford, Berwick, Northumberland, Sterling Castle, and Eagle. Rooke's squadron arrived in the Downs on the 7th November, and the two companies on board the Sovereign landed at Chatham and were quartered at Rochester and Strood.

Sir Cloudesley Shovell arrived off the Isle of Wight on

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(1904) to recover the treasure from the remains of the ships sunk on this occasion.—H.R.K.

the 10th, but his fleet had encountered heavy weather at the mouth of the Channel, and the last of his ships did not arrive at Portsmouth till the 16th November. 1702.  
London  
Gazette.

On that day the six companies of Churchill's Regiment which were on board the fleet, together with four which had already been landed in the Isle of Wight, were ordered to come round in H.M.S. Shrewsbury, Torbay, Dorsetshire, and Lancaster to Chatham, where they were to disembark. Marching O.  
Bk. 11, p. 51.

When landed the whole regiment was to march in detachments of four companies each, on successive days, to Canterbury, whence three companies were to proceed to Dover Castle and one to Sandwich. Ibid, p. 67.

Almost before they could have settled in their new quarters, however, the regiment was ordered (18th December) to march:—

4 Companies to Ipswich.

1	„	Woodbridge.
1	„	Stow & Needham.
1	„	Landguard Fort.
3	„	Colchester.
2	„	Halstead, Cogshall & Braintree.

The success of the raid on Vigo did much to redeem the failure of the unfortunate attempt on Cadiz, and Admiral Rooke and the Duke of Ormond were received with public rejoicings.

Sir Henry Bellasis and Sir Charles O'Hara, however, were placed on their trial before a Court-martial to answer for their share in the disgraceful proceedings at Port St. Mary. The former was sentenced to be dismissed the service, Sir Charles O'Hara getting off with a severe censure.

The sum realised by the sale of the booty captured at Redondella was far less than its estimated value, and the amount distributed among the officers and men of the forces engaged, after all deductions, only came to £5,270 os. od., of which the share of Churchill's Regiment amounted to £561 10s. od.

Commanding officers of regiments were directed to Har. MSS.  
7025.

1702. "take care that the money be equally divided amongst the officers and soldiers, in proportion according to their pay, viz., for every sixpence in their several pays, to be allowed one share."

The following is a list of the officers of the regiment at the end of the year, copied from the MS. Army List for 1702, now in the Records Office :—

*His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark's Regt. of Foot.*

Colonel	Charles Churchill	26 Nov., 1688
Lt.-Col.	Henry Peyton	26 Febr., 1693/4
Major	Francis Negus	26 Febr., 1693/
Captain	John Hetley	31 Decem., 1688
Captain	John Meoles	20 May, 1689
Captain	— —	— —
Captain	William Lloyd	14 Septemr., 1693
Captain	Charles Churchill	1 Septemr., 1697
Captain	John Sloughter	
Captain	John Chivers	
Captain	Richard Harwood	
Captain	Henry Harrison	
Captain	Richard Abbingdon	
Lieut.	— —	
Lieut.	John Melvill	1 May, 1692
Lieut.	John Preston	14 Septemr., 1693
Lieut.	Thomas Pyne	
Lieut.	William Biggs	
Lieut.	Hugh Scott	29 May, 1689
Lieut.	— —	
Lieut.	John Scott	
Lieut.	Thomas White	
Lieut.	William Kenny	24 Octr., 1694
Lieut.	John Grearson	1 Sept., 1697
Lieut.	Nathaniel Gittings	1 Aug., 1685
Ensign	Richard Harwood	28 April, 1697
Ensign	Gregory Beak	
Ensign	John Chudleigh	18 May, 1702
Ensign	Thomas Smith	



Ensign	Hugh Montgomery	14 Septemr., 1693	1702.
Ensign	James Bolton	14 Septemr., 1693	
Ensign	— Bathurst		
Ensign	Peter Grant	1 Oct., 1697	
Ensign	— Wilson		
Ensign	Robert Melvill		
Chaplain	John Sanby		
Adjutant	— —		
Quarter Master	Owen Evans	14 Sept., 1693	
Chirurgeon	John Smalbones	30 Novembr., 1688	



1702-03.

## CHAPTER XXI.

1702-1703.

To better understand subsequent events, it will be advisable to glance briefly at the course of affairs on the Continent during 1702.

Marlborough, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces, arrived at the Hague in the middle of May, and at once found himself beset with difficulties and obstacles engendered by the jealousies, suspicions, and conflicting interests of the different parties to the Alliance, and by the dissatisfaction of the various generals who aspired to the command-in-chief, at seeing themselves set aside in favour of the Englishman. Not only were Marlborough's schemes and his proposals for the organisation of the Allied Forces thwarted and found fault with, often out of a pure spirit of opposition, but his plans for the coming campaign were also objected to, partly from timidity, partly from self interest, and frequently from downright contrariness.

The general plan of operations was as follows:—A German army on the Upper Rhine was to threaten Eastern France, a second army, of Prussians and Dutch, was to lay siege to Kaiserwerth. The main army, 35,000 strong, under the Earl of Athlone, was to hold the frontier of Holland from the Rhine to the Meuse, at the same time covering the siege of Kaiserwerth. A fourth army, collected near the mouth of the Scheldt, threatened the country round Bruges.

To the latter was opposed a French force, and on the Upper Rhine Tallard was detached with 13,000 men to interrupt the siege of Kaiserwerth. The main French army, 60,000 strong, nominally commanded by the Duke of Burgundy, but in reality by Boufflers, was in the neighbourhood of Liège, and was destined to operate on the Meuse.

Kaiserwerth, after a siege of nearly two months, was 1702-03.  
 assaulted, and the outworks were carried with severe loss on the 9th June, the place capitulating on the 15th of the month. Meanwhile Athlone was encamped with 25,000 men near Cleve, in advance of the fortresses of Grave, Nimeguen, and Fort Schenk, watching Boufflers, who was at Uden and Xanten, some 20 miles distant. Finding it impracticable to relieve Kaiserwerth, the latter, on the 10th June, made a sudden dash to cut Athlone off from Nimeguen, which was without a garrison and in a ruinous state of defence, and it was only by a precipitate march, accompanied by a running fight, that the Allies were able to forestall the French design. Boufflers, foiled in his object, now proceeded to ravage the district of Cleve, but the narrow escape of Nimeguen had spread terror and consternation in the United Provinces, and Athlone withdrew across the Waal.

At last, on the 21st June/2nd July, Marlborough was able to set out from the Hague, accompanied, however, by two Dutch deputies, whose mission, though civilians, was practically to dry nurse him, and in whose power it lay to set a veto on any schemes he might propose.

Throughout the long war, now commencing, except during the 1704 campaign, the baneful influence of these irresponsible delegates was exercised, as will be seen, and in conjunction with the petty jealousies of the various allied commanders as often as not rendered null the most brilliant strokes of genius of the British Commander-in-Chief.\*

On arrival at Nimeguen Marlborough concentrated 60,000 men, 12,000 being British troops,† and advancing across the Waal, marched to Ober-Hasselt, opposite Grave, and encamped there, about six miles from the French

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\*To such an extent were Marlborough's plans systematically and persistently opposed throughout the war by the Dutch delegates at Head-Quarters, *Histoire de Marlborough*, that a French historian has had no hesitation in attributing their conduct to deliberate treachery.

†Seven regiments of horse and dragoons, fourteen battalions of foot, and fifty-six guns.

1702-03. camp. But, thanks to obstruction, he was delayed here until the 15th/26th July, when he moved to the left bank of the Meuse, and in five marches arrived at Hannut, threatening Brabant. This move caused Boufflers to fall back hurriedly towards the Demer, calling Tallard from the Rhine to join him. On the 22nd July/2nd August the French army, exhausted and worn out by forced marches, was encamped in an extremely unfavourable position at Lonovur, and lay practically at Marlborough's mercy, but the Dutch deputies forbade an attack, and the French were enabled to cross the Demer at Diest unmolested, thus, as they themselves admitted, escaping almost certain destruction.

Marlborough now made preparations to lay siege to Venloo. On the 11th/22nd August a second opportunity was afforded him of crushing the French army, but the deliberate refusals of the Dutch General Opdam to carry out his orders to attack prevented anything being done. Marlborough then proposed attacking Boufflers the following day, but the deputies insisted on further delay, and the French army got away during the night.

Venloo was invested on the 18th/29th August, and eighteen days later was carried by assault, the British troops, under Cutts, behaving with reckless gallantry.

Stevenswaert, Maeseyk, and Ruremond now fell into the hands of the Allies in rapid succession. Boufflers, anxious for the safety of Cologne and Bonn, despatched Tallard back to the Rhine, remaining himself in the vicinity of Tongres. At this place he was midway between the fortified lines connecting the Geete and Mehaigne, and the town of Liège. From here Marlborough determined to dislodge him. The French commander, becoming anxious about Liège, resolved to post himself at that place, and on the 1st/12th October marched to take up his position there. He was, however, anticipated by Marlborough, and on arrival in front of the town found the Allied army drawn up on the very ground he had intended occupying. But again the Dutch deputies interfered to prevent Marlborough throwing himself on the enemy, and during the night they

made good their retreat to within the lines at Landen. 1702-03.

The town of Liège, which was unfortified, at once capitulated to the Allies, and on 12th/23rd October the citadel was stormed and taken, the British troops again figuring conspicuously in the assault.

The capture of Liège brought the campaign to an end for the year, and Marlborough set out with the Dutch deputies for the Hague, accompanied by a small escort. The party, however, was surrounded and overpowered by a band of French marauders and taken prisoners. The deputies, who had French passes, were released, but Marlborough had none. Fortunately his servant slipped an old one into his hand made out in his brother Charles Churchill's name, which Marlborough presented to his captors. The latter, not recognising him, and thinking more of plunder than anything else, let him go, and he reached the Hague in safety, whence he proceeded to England.

Notwithstanding the obstruction he had met with, and the way in which his plans had been thwarted, the results of Marlborough's first campaign were eminently satisfactory, and a Dukedom was conferred upon him by a grateful Queen.

On the Upper Rhine, however, matters had not been so satisfactory for the allied cause. The Elector of Bavaria had thrown in his lot with the French, seizing the important post of Ulm on the Danube, and opened communications with the French on the Rhine. Here Villars had defeated Prince Louis of Baden and had cleared the passes through the Black Forest. Further north Tallard had possessed himself of Treves and Trarbach.

In the early spring of 1703 it was decided to reinforce the British contingent on the Continent by four regiments of foot, Portmore's (now the Queen's), Churchill's, Stanhope's (16th), and Meredith's (37th) being selected for the purpose. 1703.

On the 5th March Lord Portmore and General Churchill were called upon to report on how soon their regiments would be ready to embark for Holland, and the Commis-  
W.O. Com.  
Letter Book,  
No. 132, p. 28.

1703. sioners of Transport were directed to provide transport for the two regiments, each numbering 600 officers and men, 30 horses and 30 servants.

The pay of the troops was still disgracefully in arrear, and what little they did get was paid in the shape of tallies, which could only be cashed at a ruinous discount.\* Moreover, every opportunity was seized to disallow on the slightest pretext the necessary expenses incurred on behalf of the regiments. The extent to which these abuses were carried, and the serious state of affairs created by them, may be seen from the accompanying memorials from Lieutenant-General Churchill on the subject:—

Treasury  
Papers 82,  
p. 24.

To the Rt. Hon. Sidney Lort Godolphin Lord High  
Treasurer of England.

The Memorial of Lt. General Churchill.

There being ordered into my Lord Ranelaghs hands Tallys on the surplusage of Malt for clearing His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmarks Regiment of Foot under my command to the 24th October 1702 and the said Tallys bearing a great discount the soldiers being ready to mutiny for want of their pay and just now ordered to Holland. It is humbly submitted to your Lordships consideration the necessity of paying the same in ready money rather than in those Tallys.†

Ibid 147, 84.

Memoriall of Levtt Genll Churchill for his Royal Higness (sic) Prince of Denmarks Regemt.

Represents in order to their embarking for Holland.

That ye pay of ye said Regemt from ye 24th June last to ye 24th October wch now lyes in Tallies in Ld Ranelaghs hands may be issued to em in mony.

That ye cleareings from ye 24 October to ye 24th December last may be alsoe paid them in mony wth out wch they will not be able to goe out of their Quarters.

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\*Exchequer Tallies or Bills were certificates of indebtedness on the part of the Exchequer, and were virtually a Government paper based on the security of the Revenue, or the various branches thereof, such as the Malt Tax. These could only be cashed at a very heavy discount, the loss falling on the bearer.

†Undated but the context shows when it was written.

That ye Respitt of ye 2 additional Companeyes Raised last yeare may be taken off from ye 1st of March 1701-2 to ye 24th June 1702 in consideration of their haveing be embarked on Ship board at Hull 21 days before ye time expired for their Raising, and of their haveing reced a draught from Portsmouth in May last wch did compleat them and for wch men they are charged 40 gs each.

1703.

That ye Respits for ye whole Regemt from 25th October may be taken off in consideration of 60 men sent to ye West Indies by Ordre of his Grace ye Duke of Ormond to recruit the Ld Charlemonts Regemt, and to enable 'em to recruite ym they lost by sickness at sea, and by desertion since landed upon ye Report of ye Regemt being orderd' for Hollond.

That orders may be given to ye paymastr General to repay ye £295 10s. od. being ye cost of ye cloathing of ye above sd 60 men wch were entirely new.

That 114 firearmes be ordered 'em in lieu of 60 sent to the West Indies and 54 lost be ye oversetting of boats in ye late expedition.

That ye Duke of Marlborough promised the above Respitts should be taken off.

*Docket.* Memor Lev't Genl Churchill March 10th 1702/3.

To Mr. Pauncefoot to morr morn with an acct of what Tallys on ye dutys are in my Ld Ranlaghs hands and how much thereof for the officers clearings and how much for the sea pay to ye men.

Lett a copy of this be referred to Mr. Blathwaite and Mr. Low.

On the 27th March orders were issued for the companies *Marching O.* of Churchill's Regiment to march from their different *Bk., No. 11,* quarters to Harwich to embark for Holland. At Harwich *P. 215.* they were to be picked up by a convoy from the Thames with Portmore's Regiment, stores and clothing for the troops in Holland.

From the 5th of April the establishments of the four *W.O. Common* regiments despatched to Holland was fixed as under, but *Letter Bk. 132,* the warrant confirming the increase was not issued until 1st *P. 37-40.* August:—

1703.	Field & Staff Officers.	per diem	per annum.
	Colonel, as Colonel ... ..	12 0	219 0 0
	Lieutenant - Colonel, as Lieu- tenant-Colonel ... ..	7 0	127 15 0
	Major, as Major ... ..	5 0	91 5 0
	Chaplain ... ..	6 8	121 13 4
	Adjutant ... ..	4 0	73 0 0
	Quarter Master ... ..	4 0	73 0 0
	Chirurgeon 4s. and Mate 2s. 6d.	6 6	118 12 6
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		2 5 2	824 5 10

A Regt. of  
Foot consist-  
ing of 13  
companies of  
56 private  
men in each.  
In all with  
officers  
making 876  
men.

One company.			
Captain ... ..	8 0	146 0 0	
Lieutenant ... ..	4 0	73 0 0	
Ensign ... ..	3 0	54 15 0	
Three Sergeants, each 1s. 6d. ... ..	4 6	82 2 6	
Three Corporals, each 1s. ...	3 0	54 15 0	
Two Drummers, each 1s. ... ..	2 0	36 10 0	
Fifty six private men, each 8d. ... ..	1 17 4	681 6 8	
		<hr/>	<hr/>
	3 1 10	1,128 9 2	

The pay of eleven Companies  
more of the like numbers, and  
at the same rates as the Com-  
pany above mentioned ... 34 0 2 12,413 0 10

One Company of Grenadiers.			
Captain ... ..	8 0	146 0 0	
Two Lieutenants, each 4s. ...	8 0	146 0 0	
Three Sergeants, each 1s. 6d....	4 6	82 2 6	
Three Corporals, each 1s. ...	3 0	54 15 0	
Two Drummers, each 1s. ...	2 0	36 10 0	
Fifty six private men, each 8d.	1 17 4	681 6 8	
		<hr/>	<hr/>
	3 2 10	1,146 15 2	

Total for this regiment ... 42 10 0 15,512 10 0

The additional company provided for by this establish-  
ment was not raised before the regiment sailed, and, in fact,



did not leave England to join headquarters until the 1703.  
following year.

On the 10th/21st April the convoy, numbering some 80 <sup>Lond. Gaz.</sup>  
ships, with Portmore's and Churchill's Regiments on board,  
anchored in the Maes, and the regiment landed at William-  
stadt on the 12th/23rd and marched to join the army  
assembling near Maestricht.

The position of affairs at the time of the arrival of the  
regiment in Flanders was as follows :—

The French King "instead of confining the war to <sup>Alison's Life</sup>  
one of posts and sieges in Flanders and Italy . . . of Marl-  
resolved to throw the bulk of his forces into Bavaria and borough,  
operate against Austria from the heart of Germany, by <sup>p. 124.</sup>  
pouring down the valley of the Danube. The advanced  
post held there by the Elector of Bavaria in front, forming  
a salient angle, penetrating as it were into the imperial  
dominions and the menacing aspect of the Hungarian  
insurrection in rear, promised the most successful issue to  
this decisive operation. For this purpose Marshal Tallard,  
with the French army on the Upper Rhine, received orders  
to cross the Black Forest and advance into Swabia and  
unite with the Elector of Bavaria."

"Marshal Villeroy, with 40 battalions and 39 squadrons,  
was to break off from the army in Flanders and support  
the advance by a movement on the Moselle, so as to be in  
a condition to join the main army on the Danube, of which  
it would form, as it were, the left wing; while Vendome,  
with the army of Italy, was to penetrate into the Tyrol and  
advance by Innspruck on Salzburg. The united armies,  
which it was calculated, after deducting all the losses of the  
campaign, would muster 80,000 combatants, was then to  
move direct by Lintz and the valley of the Danube on  
Vienna, while a large detachment penetrated into Hungary  
to support the already formidable insurrection in that  
kingdom. The plan was grandly conceived; it extended  
from Verona to Brussels, and brought the forces over that  
vast extent, to converge to the decisive point in the valley  
of the Danube."

. . . . .

1703.

Alison's Life  
of Marl-  
borough,  
p. 126.

"But if the plan was ably conceived on the part of the French cabinet, it presented from the multiplicity of its combinations serious difficulties in execution, and it required to insure success a larger force than was at their disposal. . . Marlborough, by means of secret information which he obtained from the French headquarters, had got full intelligence of it, and its danger to the Allies if it succeeded struck him, as much as the chances of great advantage to them, if it could be baffled. Louis had contemplated offensive operations in the Low Countries as well as in other quarters; and Marshal Villeroy . . . even flattered himself he would be able to regain possession of the fortresses on the Meuse before the Allies were in a condition to take the field. He had under his immediate command 63 battalions and 101 squadrons, besides 40 battalions and 27 squadrons, under the Marquis Bedmar, who was stationed between Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges. These forces together were fully 55,000 infantry and 20,000 horse. Marlborough's battalions were less numerous, but they were stronger than those of the enemy; he had 59 battalions and 129 squadrons. With these, however, he meditated offensive operations of the most important kind. His design was to make a grand attack on Antwerp, and after taking it to reduce Ostend, which would have opened up a ready communication with England. . . . But he could not prevail on the States to adopt so vigorous a plan, and, by them, he was compelled, much against his will, to begin his operations with the siege of Bonn, a considerable fortified town on the Lower Rhine.

"Having been obliged to adopt this secondary plan of operations, Marlborough set about its execution with his usual vigour and activity. He landed at the Hague on the 17th March; and having completed his arrangements there, he set out for Bonn at the head of forty battalions and sixty squadrons, with one hundred guns, leaving Overkirk\* with

\*Sometimes spelt Auverquerque. "Old Athlone was dead and in his stead had risen up three new Generals. Overkirk who had few faults except mediocrity and age; Slangenberg who combined ability with a villainous temper, and Opdam who was alike cantankerous and incapable."—*Fortescue*.

the remainder of the army to form a corps of observation between Liege and Bonn." 1703.

Marlborough arrived in the vicinity of Bonn on the 20th April, but, thanks to the dilatoriness of the Dutch, it was not until the 3rd May that the trenches could be opened.

Meanwhile the British troops, under Lieutenant-Generals Lumley and Charles Churchill, and consisting of 7 regiments of cavalry, 14 battalions of infantry, and 40 guns,\* assembled at Aerschot, whence they marched for Ruremond on the Meuse, arriving at Maeseyck on the 26th April/7th May.

It was of great importance to the French to raise the siege of Bonn, and with this object in view Villeroy determined to suddenly threaten Maestricht and then turn on Liège and endeavour to carry that place before Marl-

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\*The British Troops serving in this campaign were as follows :—

Lumley's Horse (1st D.G.'s).  
 Wood's Horse (3rd D.G.'s).  
 Cadogan's Horse (5th D.G.'s).  
 Wyndham's Horse (6th D.G.'s).  
 Schomberg's Horse (7th D.G.'s).  
 Raby's Dragoons (1st Dns.).†  
 Teviot's Dragoons (2nd Dns).  
 Ross' Dragoons (5th Lancers).  
 1st Bn. 1st Guards.  
 Orkney's (2 Battalions), Royal Scots.  
 Portmore's (2nd Queen's).†  
 Churchill's (The Buffs).  
 Webb's (8th King's).  
 Stewart's (9th).†  
 North and Grey's (10th).  
 Stanhope's (11th).†  
 Barrimore's (13th).†  
 Howe's (15th).  
 Stanley's (16th).  
 Bridge's (17th).†  
 Fred. Hamilton's (18th Royal Irish).  
 Rowe's (21st).  
 Ingoldsby's (23rd) Royal Welsh Fus.  
 Marlborough's (24th).  
 Ferguson's (26th).  
 Huntingdon's (33rd).  
 Meredyth's (37th).

† Sent to Portugal at the end of the year.

1703. borough could arrive to its assistance. On the night of the 27th April/8th May the French army, 40,000 strong, which had been assembling in the vicinity of Diest, marched from Montenacher to Tongres, which was invested the following morning at 5 a.m. by 30,000 men.

The garrison consisted of only two battalions, the Earl of Portmore's Regiment (2nd Queen's) and the Dutch Regiment of Van Elst, but they defended the place with the utmost gallantry for 28 hours, when they were compelled to surrender at discretion.

Lumley and Churchill, who received information on the night of the 27th April/8th May that the French were on the move with the intention of getting between them and Maestricht, at once struck camp and made a forced night march of 35 miles, effecting a junction with Overkirk at Maestricht about noon the following day.

Overkirk thus reinforced, advanced a little way out of the town, taking up a position a little in front of it, which was further strengthened by earth works. Early on the morning of the 4th/15th Villeroy appeared on the high ground in front of the position and prepared to attack the Allies, but Overkirk, who had received intelligence of the surrender of Bonn on the previous afternoon, showed a bold front, and any movements made by the French were promptly anticipated. About 10 o'clock a general move was made to attack, but they halted on coming within cannon shot. The two armies then stood gazing at each other until 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when the French marshals, not liking the look of things, fell back on Tongres.

Milner.

"In this action or gasconade there was no mention of any loss on either side."

As soon as Bonn had capitulated Marlborough hastened to concentrate his forces at Maestricht with a view to carrying out his original plan of invading Brabant and West Flanders, and attacking Brabant, Antwerp, and Ostend. The operations against the latter place were entrusted to the celebrated engineer officer Cohorn, a Dutch force under Opdam being at the same time assembled in front of Bergen-op-Zoom to co-operate against

Antwerp. Marlborough meanwhile advanced on the 14th/25th May with his whole force from Maestricht, and for the next ten days kept Villeroy, whose numerical strength was inferior, occupied and in doubt as to whether his opponent's designs were laid against Antwerp in the east or Huy in the west. The French remained on the defensive, conforming their movements to Marlborough's and avoiding a general action, and gradually fell back on Huy, the Allies camping on the 25th May at Hannut. Marlborough now contemplated not only the capture of Antwerp but of Huy also. However, Cohorn, intent on filling his own pockets, instead of carrying out his instructions, obtained permission from the States General to make a raid into West Flanders for the purpose of levying contributions.\* 1703.

After a successful expedition, he fell back again across the Scheldt to Stabroeck, but the delay compelled Marlborough to alter his plans, and he decided to attack Antwerp forthwith.

On the morning of the 16th/25th June the Allies struck their camp at Hannut and repassed the Jecker, crossing the Demer at Hasselt on the 20th. The French, as soon as soon as they discovered what was happening, marched by Diest on Antwerp. The success of Marlborough's plans depended, unfortunately, on the co-operation of several distinct corps advancing from opposite directions. It was intended that Cohorn, from Stabroeck, and Spaar, from Hulst, should force the French lines to the north-west of Antwerp, Opdam advancing at the same time with 21 battalions and 16 squadrons from Bergen-op-Zoom on the north-east. Marlborough, with the main army, was to force the French lines to the south, between Antwerp and Leine, threatening the French field army, and in conjunction with Opdam, to close in, to besiege Antwerp. But the same day that Marlborough marched from Hannut, Cohorn and Spaar again raided into West Flanders, leaving Opdam's force en l'air, at Echeren, a little to the north of

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\*As Governor of West Flanders, Cohorn was entitled to one-tenth of all contributions.

1703. Antwerp. The raid was most successful, but the French seized the opportunity, and despite Marlborough's urgent warnings, Opdam allowed himself to be surprised and surrounded by a force of 30,000 men on the 19th/30th. Opdam himself fled to Breda with an escort of 30 men, leaving his force to its fate. Slangenberg, his second-in-command, succeeded in rallying the troops, and after a desperate struggle managed to cut his way into Fort Lillo, on the banks of the Scheldt, with a loss of 4,000 killed and wounded, 600 prisoners, and eight guns.

This disaster completely upset Marlborough's plans for the capture of Antwerp, but he nevertheless projected a fresh attack on the place.

His main army arrived at Bavin, near Turnhout, on the 26th June/6th July. Marlborough's views were that the French army, posted between Antwerp and Lièrre, with its back to the Scheldt, would inevitably be completely destroyed if successfully attacked, and, if to avoid this they evacuated their position, Antwerp would be left to the mercy of the Allies. The Dutch authorities so far fell in with the proposition that they promised to furnish 100 guns in aid of it. On the 11th/20th July, therefore, Marlborough, with 84 battalions and 145 squadrons, in all 64,000 men, advanced from Bavin in order of battle as far as Hoogstraeten, facing the camp to which the enemy had advanced the previous day. The French declined battle, however, and the two armies encamped, facing each other for the night.

The following morning the Allies again advanced in order of battle, Slangenberg with eight battalions, co-operating from Ekeren and Capelle, having marched there from Fort Lillo during the night. Villeroy having only 50,000 men, refused to be drawn into a battle, and burning his camp fell back into the lines and entrenchments covering the town. Marlborough, with 400 horse, pushed right up to the formidable works, and was eager to attack them. But the Dutch deputies vetoed all his propositions, and the Duke, seeing nothing could be done, fell back and encamped between Vlimmeren and Vorselar.

1703.

Finding all his projects thwarted and vetoed by the Dutch, Marlborough, much to their annoyance, at last gave orders to march back to the Meuse and to invest Huy. The Allies marched from Vlimmeren on the 23rd July/3rd August, crossing the Demer at Hasselt on the 25th July/5th August. Huy was invested on the 3rd/14th August, the garrison retiring into Castle and Forts Rouge, Picard and St. Joseph. On the 4th/15th the Duke's army encamped at Val-Notre-Dame, nine miles from Huy, for the purpose of covering the siege, which was commenced the following day by the Prince of Anhalt and Brigadier Hamilton with 24 battalions and 42 squadrons.\* A heavy siege train was brought up from Maestricht on the 9th/20th, and on the next day the bombardment commenced. The forts were abandoned that evening, and the whole efforts of the besiegers were directed against the Castle. On the afternoon of the 14th/25th the besiegers made their dispositions for assaulting the place, whereupon the Governor beat a parley. The terms offered by the besiegers, however, were rejected, and the assault recommenced the following morning, whereupon the garrison, 900 strong, surrendered on terms that they should remain prisoners of war until exchanged, man for man, for the two regiments taken at Tongres in the early part of the campaign.

During the 14 days' siege the garrison had lost over 200 killed and wounded, the Allied casualties during the same period amounting to not more than 60.

The day after Huy surrendered a council of war was held to consider the further conduct of the campaign. Marlborough was strongly in favour of attacking the French lines, and was warmly supported in his views by his own generals and most of those of the Allies. The Dutch, however, would not hear of this course, and instead insisted on the siege of Limburg.

Marlborough had to give way, and on the 25th August/5th September the Allied army, consisting of 80 battalions and 140 squadrons, left Val-Notre-Dame and encamped at

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\*There appears to be no record of the regiments composing this force.

1703. Hannut, less than two leagues from the French grand camp within their lines, which extended between the Mehaigne and Leuwe, their strength consisting of 74 battalions, 140 squadrons, and over 120 guns, and 24 mortars in position. The whole of the allied horse were set to make and collect fascines as if an assault were about to be made on the lines, and at the same time the Duke and several other generals advanced within cannon shot of the enemy for the purpose of reconnoitring his position. The French, expecting an immediate attack, at once manned the lines. The Duke then perceived that the position was too strong to be carried, and retired to camp. The following day the allied army fell back to St. Trond, to cover the attack on Limburg. The garrison of that place consisted of only four battalions, with 12 guns and 4 mortars, and it was invested a few days later, the regular siege commencing on the 10th/21st September, the besieging force consisting of 24 battalions and 39 squadrons, the Duke superintending the operations himself.

The town was abandoned on the 12/23rd, the defenders retiring into the Castle, and the trenches were opened against the latter the same evening.

The bombardment opened on the 14th/23rd. On preparations being made to assault on the 16th/27th, the garrison, 1,600 strong, capitulated, and were conducted to Namur the following day. Their losses had been but some 60 killed and wounded, those of the Allies amounting to about 100.

The besieging force rejoined the main army at the camp at St. Trond on 24th September/5th October, and shortly detached an equal number of horse, dragoons, and foot for service in Spain. The English regiments selected for this purpose were the Carabiniers, Raby's Dragoons, Sir Mathew Bridge's, and Lord Barrymore's Regiments, and were joined previous to embarkation by Portmore's and Stewart's Regiments. This force, consisting in all of one regiment of horse, two of dragoons, and eleven of foot, embarked on the 20th November, under General Schonberg, for Spithead, en route for Spain.



The Duke of Marlborough shortly after this left the army, proceeding to Dusseldorf and the Hague, and thence to England, where he arrived on the 19th/30th October. The allied army commenced moving towards their winter quarters on 12th/23rd October, the English troops, under Generals Lumley and Churchill, marching by themselves on 20th/31st for Falkenswaert, where they arrived on the 23rd October/3rd November. Two days later they dispersed to their various garrisons. 1703.

Thanks to the perversity, obstruction, and pusillanimity of the Dutch authorities, the campaign, though successful, had resulted very differently to what it would have done had Marlborough been allowed a free hand, and he was so disgusted and disheartened at the way he had been thwarted by the Dutch deputies that on his return to England he determined to resign his appointment as Commander-in-Chief, and it was only through the personal intervention of Queen Anne that he was induced to reconsider his intention.

Meanwhile in Germany the allied armies had suffered severe reverses. Villars crossing the Rhine at Strasburg, had pushed forward through the Black Forest and effected a junction with the Elector of Bavaria, the combined forces defeating the Imperialists with heavy loss at Hochstadt on the 20th September. Tallard had captured Alt-Brisach on the Upper Rhine, defeating the Prince of Hesse-Cassel at Spires and capturing Landau. Augsburg fell into the hands of the French in December, and Passau was occupied by the Bavarians in the following month. During the autumn Portugal had joined the Alliance, but this, as we have seen, involved detaching 7,000 of the best British troops in the Low Countries and despatching them to take part in the operations against Spain in the Peninsula, and fresh regiments had to be raised to replace them in the Low Countries.

1704.

## CHAPTER XXII.

1704.

Every effort was made in England throughout the winter to bring the regiments in the Low Countries up to their strength. Officers were sent home from each battalion to beat up recruits in all parts of the country, but military service was anything but popular, the ranks filled up but slowly, and drastic measures had to be adopted to obtain men. Insolvent debtors, from the debtors' prisons, were drafted into the army, and even the gaols afforded their quota of men.

Mis. O. Bk.  
18, p. 8.

The company ordered to be added to the establishment of Churchill's Regiment in 1703 does not appear to have been raised at the time, and on 1st March, 1704, a fresh order was issued directing an additional company to be raised for the regiment, by and under the command of Captain Richard Prater, to consist of 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, 2 drummers, and 60 private men, and on the 15th March the establishment of the remaining companies was raised from 55 to 60 private soldiers, and 10 additional men were added to the Grenadier company.

Mis. O. Bk.  
11.

Ibid.

Captain Prater's company proceeded about the 12th May from Kingston to the Tower, to embark with those of the recruits who had not already done so, but it arrived in the Netherlands too late to take part in the campaign of the year.

W.O. Com-  
mon Letter  
Book, 374.

Louis XIV.'s plans for the coming campaign were to follow up the French success of the previous year in Germany. Leaving Villeroy's army to hold the Low Countries in check, Tallard, with 45,000 men from the vicinity of Strasburg, was to cross the Rhine, push through Black Forest, and join the Elector of Bavaria at Ulm, where the latter had a combined force of some 45,000 Bavarians and French, the latter under Marsin, and in.

addition to hold Ratisbon, Augsburg, Passau, and Lintz. To oppose this move there was but a weak Imperial force, under Prince Louis of Baden, guarding the country from Lake Constance to Philipsburg, and once united, the combined armies would have the road to Vienna at their mercy. In addition, on the Moselle the French had 10,000 men, under the Count de Coignies, which would be available to reinforce either Villeroy or Tallard as might be required.

1704.

The course which the French would pursue was clearly foreseen by Marlborough, and he formed the bold design of carrying the war into the heart of Germany, leaving the defence of the Low Countries to the Dutch.

But it was hopeless to expect the consent of the latter, or indeed of the House of Commons, to a stroke which bordered on rashness, and the Duke matured his plans with the greatest secrecy, confiding his designs only to Prince Eugene of Savoy, the commander of the Imperial troops, who gave it his hearty support, and to one or two others whom he could implicitly trust.

Parliament was induced to sanction an addition of 10,000 men to the British contingent, raising it to 30,000 men, and the force under his immediate command to 50,000. Proceeding in January to Holland, he succeeded in inducing the States General to take 4,000 Wurtemberg troops into their pay, and to grant subsidies to the Margrave of Baden and the Elector Palatine. To further his designs without disclosing his real object, he proposed that the campaign should be opened by operations against France, on the Moselle with the British contingent and part of the foreign auxiliaries, leaving the Dutch troops and the remainder of the auxiliaries to act on the defensive in the Netherlands. This course he also pressed on the Queen and her ministers on his return to England.

In April Marlborough again set out for the Continent, accompanied by his brother, Lieutenant-General Charles Churchill (the colonel of George, Prince of Denmark's Regiment), who had been appointed to the chief command of the British contingent with the rank of general.

1704.

On his arrival in Holland the Duke still had his hands full, completing his preparations for the campaign and combatting the extreme dilatoriness of the various Allies.

With the greatest difficulty the Dutch authorities were persuaded to consent to his marching to the Moselle. Indeed, it was only on his threatening to proceed with the British troops alone that they gave way, and at last, on the 24th April/4th May, granted him the necessary powers to carry out his designs.\*

By taking no Dutch troops with him he rid himself of the baneful presence of the Dutch field-deputies, and the appointment of his brother to the command of the British contingent, with the rank of general, obviated the friction which might have arisen from the pretensions of some of the foreign commanders, and lastly Overkirk, between whom and Churchill differences had arisen relative to precedence, was detailed to command the Dutch and foreign troops left to guard the frontier and secure the conquests of the previous campaign.

Meanwhile, in the middle of March, the Dutch army had

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\*The British troops which took part in the campaign of 1704 were :

Lumley's Horse (1st Dragoon Guards).  
 Wood's Horse (3rd Dragoon Guards).  
 Cadogan's Horse (5th Dragoon Guards).  
 Wyndham's Horse (6th Dragoon Guards).  
 Schomberg's Horse (7th Dragoon Guards).  
 Lord J. Hay's Dragoons (2nd Dragoons).  
 Ross' Dragoons (5th Dragoons).  
 1st Bn. 1st Foot Guards.  
 Lord G. Hamilton, E. of Orkney's (2 Battalions).  
 Prince George of Denmark's (Churchill's) (The Buffs).  
 Webb's (8th).  
 Lord North and Grey's (10th).  
 Howe's (15th).  
 Stanley's (16th).  
 Hamilton's (18th).  
 Row's (21st).  
 Ingoldsby's (23rd).  
 Marlborough's (24th).  
 Ferguson's (26th).  
 Meredith's (37th).

Also 34 Guns, 4 Howitzers, and 21 pontoons.

been ordered to rendezvous at Maestricht with a view to an early campaign, and a force of 4,000 British troops, under Brigadier Ferguson, consisting of detachments from all the British regiments of foot in the Low Countries, except the Guards, was detailed to occupy Ruremonde and Maestricht in place of the Dutch garrisons, which were relieved respectively on the 14th/25th March and 21st March/1st April.

1704.

The Dutch army, which consisted of sixty battalions of foot, one hundred squadrons, and sixty-two guns, having assembled near Maestricht, remained in that neighbourhood, under the command of Overkirk, throughout the campaign.

At the end of April, all being ready, the British troops commenced to move out of their quarters, and on the 25th April/6th May they assembled at Hertogenbosh, and were inspected the following day by Marlborough. Two days after they set out, under General Charles Churchill, for their famous march into Germany.

On the 6th/17th May they crossed the Maas at Ruremonde, picking up the 900 British troops forming the garrison of that place, halting the next day at Bedburg, where they were rejoined by Brigadier Ferguson and the rest of the British troops from Maestricht, and on the 8th/19th the force was reviewed by the Duke of Marlborough.\*

The following day the march was resumed, but on the 10th/21st the Duke received urgent messages from Overkirk to the effect that Villeroy had crossed the Maas with 36 battalions and 45 squadrons, and was threatening Huy, and from Prince Louis, that Tallard was about to attack the lines of Stollhofen, which covered the entrance into Baden. Both parties implored him to come to their aid. But Marlborough, who was well aware that Villeroy's orders were to follow him to the Moselle, informed Overkirk that he had nothing to fear, and that he had

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\*37 Battalions and 92 Squadrons of whom 16,000 were British (*Coxe*). To these were to be united, in the course of the march, the troops of Prussia and Hesse quartered on the Rhine, and 11 Dutch Battalions stationed at Rothweil.

1704. better send him reinforcements. He then pushed forward with his mounted troops towards Coblenz, proceeding, however, on his way to inspect Bonn, with the object of confirming the French in the belief that he intended making it a base for operations on the Moselle.

The infantry and artillery, under General Churchill, continued their march by Meckenheim, Sinzig (12th/23rd May), and Andernach (14th/25th), arriving at Neuendorf, close to Coblenz on 15th/26th, the mounted troops crossing the Moselle and Rhine the same day at Coblenz.

When at Bonn, Marlborough received the information that Tallard had crossed the Rhine on the 1st/12th May near Brisach and had succeeded in pushing a reinforcement of 10,000 men, with considerable supplies, through the Black Forest to the Elector of Bavaria without molestation, resuming his former position near Stollhofen.\* He also learnt that Villeroy, with the best of his troops, was hastening towards Treves. This intelligence caused him to renew his appeal to the Dutch for reinforcements, and to hasten his march to the Danube.

On the 16th General Churchill's force marched from Neuendorf, and to the surprise of all ranks,† instead of turning west up the Moselle, as everyone expected, they crossed the river, passed through Coblenz, and over to the east bank of the Rhine by a bridge of boats, halting that night at Braubach, where they remained for the next two days in order to allow the artillery and train to push on through the difficult country towards Schwalbach. The Prussian and Hanoverian troops in the British pay now joined the column.

On the 18th/29th the Duke, with the horse, arrived at Castel, opposite Maintz, in the fork formed by the junction of the Maine and the Rhine, having on the previous day at

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\*This feat was thought a great deal of by the French, but it cost them dearly. According to de Quincey, Tallard pushed his men on so unmercifully along the bad roads and in bad weather, that of seventeen battalions only 1,500 men reached the Elector of Bavaria at Donaueschingen.

†Parker says that even General Churchill, Marlborough's own brother, was in ignorance of his real intentions until they arrived at Heidelberg.



1704.  
Schwalbach met General Bulow, the commander of the Lunenburg contingent. Here he received intelligence of the presence in Maintz of the Prince of Hesse and General Hompesch, who were there awaiting his orders. He also received a despatch from the States General informing him that a reinforcement of eight battalions and twenty-one squadrons was under orders to follow and join him with all speed.

On the 19th/30th Churchill's foot resumed their march from Braubach, overtaking and passing the artillery and camping at Millen. During the march they were exposed to a terrific hail storm, the stones, according to Milner, being each as large as a musket ball.

On the 22nd May/3rd June Churchill, with the foot, the artillery, and train encamped at Castel after an arduous two days' march viâ Kemel. The Duke and the horse meantime had crossed the Maine (19th/30th) and marched, viâ Zwingenberg and Weinheim, to Ladenburg, where the horse crossed the Neckar and encamped for two days.

During their halt at Castel the British troops had been inspected by the Elector and the various allied generals present, and their appearance, discipline, and excellent equipment, and the remarkably orderly manner in which the march had been conducted, excited universal surprise and admiration.

After a day's rest at Castel the infantry and artillery crossed the Maine and resumed their march, viâ Gross Gerau, Zwingenberg, and Weinheim, crossing the Neckar on the 28th May/8th June by a bridge of boats a little below Heidelberg, where they encamped.

Here, thanks to Marlborough, they found a large supply of shoes awaiting them. Throughout the march the Duke's forethought for the comfort of the troops and for the maintenance of discipline had been very great. Notwithstanding the rapidity of their march and the necessity of secrecy, the force was kept plentifully supplied with provisions of all sorts, and moreover, the Commander-in-Chief insisted that anything obtained from the inhabitants should be honestly paid for, and took care that the men

1704. should have the means wherewith to do so. Never before had the inhabitants of these war devastated regions received such treatment from either foe or friend, and it went far towards gaining their goodwill.

Parker in his journal says :—

Parker.

We frequently marched three, sometimes four days, successively, and halted a day. We generally began our march about 3 in the morning, proceeded about four leagues, or four and a half each day, and reached our ground about nine. As we marched through the countries of our allies, Commissaries were appointed to furnish us with all manner of necessaries for man and horse; these were brought to the ground before we arrived, and the soldiers had nothing to do but to pitch their tents, boil their kettles and lay down to rest. Surely never was such a march carried on with more order and regularity, and with less fatigue to man or horse.

At this time the Franco-Bavarian army, under the Elector of Bavaria, had moved from Ulm to Villengen to receive the reinforcements already referred to, and Prince Louis of Baden had concentrated his troops at Rietlingen, after an abortive attempt, which through dilatoriness and indecision, had failed to intercept the returning French convoy. So far Marlborough's movements had completely mystified the French commanders. At first everything pointed to a campaign on the Moselle, but after his departure from Coblenz the advance from Maintz to Manheim of the Hessian artillery, which had been in readiness to march to the Moselle, and the construction of a bridge across the Rhine at Philipsburg, seemed to indicate an attack on Landau or the invasion of Alsace. Tallard, therefore, re-crossed the Rhine at Kehl and took up a position on the Lauter, and Villeroy who had followed Marlborough from the Maas, sent back to Flanders for reinforcements. Further concealment of the Duke's intentions, however, became impossible after his departure with the horse from Ladenburg, from whence he marched on the 26th May/6th June, viâ Wisloch, Eppingen, and Gross Gartach, crossing the Neckar a second time at Laufen on the 9th June, and



arriving at Mondesheim the following day. Here he was met by Prince Eugene, whose personal acquaintance he made for the first time. On the 31st May/11th June the horse marched to Gross Heppach, where the Duke reviewed them in presence of the Prince. Their good order and fine appearance after so long and rapid a march, and the excellent condition of their clothing, accoutrements, and horses struck Eugene with admiration, and he was loud in his praise of their remarkable efficiency.

1704.

For the next three days the column halted in order to enable the infantry to close up, and during this time the two commanders conferred and elaborated their plans for the campaign, gaining the mutual esteem and the confidence in each other which contributed hereafter so materially to their success.

On the 2nd/13th June they were joined by Prince Louis, Margrave of Baden, who had detached a force to watch the passage of the Rhine.

Marlborough was most anxious to induce the Margrave to take command of the army on the Rhine, leaving Prince Eugene with him on the Danube, but the Margrave thought otherwise and claimed the privilege of choice, by right of rank and seniority. In fact, he went so far as to lay claim to the supreme command, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that a compromise was effected, by which Marlborough and Prince Louis were to assume the chief command on alternate days, the command on the Rhine devolving on Prince Eugene.

Meanwhile General Churchill, with the infantry and artillery, after a day's halt at Heidelberg, resumed their march on the 30th May/10th June by Wisloch, Steinfurth, and Stetten, at which latter place they were delayed for two days (2nd/13th and 3rd/14th June) owing to the badness of the weather, which stopped the baggage train. Here they had "first scarcity of beer, but plenty of wine."

Milner.

On the 3rd/14th the allied commanders separated, Prince Louis returning to his army on the Danube, Eugene proceeding to Philipsburg, and Marlborough rejoined his mounted troops, who had marched to Ebersbach, where he

1704. found the Prince of Hesse and Generals Bulow and Hompesch awaiting to inform him of the arrival in the neighbourhood of their respective corps.

On the 4th/15th Churchill resumed his march and encamped at Erlicheim, his artillery moving with the greatest difficulty over the bad roads. The following day they crossed the Neckar at Pinikheim, camping at Herberge Fort, and on the 6th/17th they pitched camp between Stuttgart and the Neckar. After a day's halt they proceeded by Esslingen (8th/9th), Wang. near Goppingen (10th/21st), and Sussen (12th/23rd).

Meanwhile Marlborough, with the horse, marched on 5th/16th to Gross Saxenheim, and thence on 10th/21st to a point between Launsheim and Urspring, where he was joined by the auxiliary troops of Lunenburg, Hanover, and Hesse. The next day he formed a junction with the army of Prince Louis of Baden, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Westerstetten, and on the 13th/24th the combined force advanced and encamped with their right at Elchingen, near the Danube, and their left at Langenau. Here they remained for three days, to enable Churchill's force to come up. Churchill's column had continued its march on the 13th/24th through the difficult mountain country, halting for the night at Eszling, and the following day reaching Lonze, in Swabia, the mountain road being so narrow and precipitous that at its widest part only three men could march abreast, and frequently the troops could only move in single file. For the artillery train this road was quite impracticable, and it had to be sent by a more circuitous way through a difficult gorge in the mountains.

Milner.

On the 15th/26th they reached Alta, close to Langenau, from whence the Duke and the Prince of Baden had marched that morning, encamping between Herbrechten and Giengen. Here Churchill's force joined them the following day, pitching their camp on the left of the line at Giengen. Six miles off, on the banks of the Danube, between Lauingen and Dillingen, lay the hostile army of the Elector of Bavaria. The relative strength of the two armies was as follows:—

Allies under the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Louis 1704.  
of Baden :—

96 Battalions of Infantry.

Milner.

202 Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons.

44 Field guns.

4 Howitzers.

24 pontoons.

Elector of Bavaria (including the garrison of Donauwert) :

88 Battalions of Infantry.

160 Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons.

90 Cannons.

40 Howitzers and Mortars.

30 pontoons.

Throughout these operations the Foot Guards, in Hamilton,  
conjunction with Prince George's Regiment (Churchill's), Hist. Gren.  
were especially appointed to furnish the duties at Gds.  
headquarters.

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1704.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## 1704—SCHELLENBERG.

The object of Marlborough's recent movements had been to obtain possession of the fortified town of Donauwert at the junction of the river Wernitz and the Danube, the possession of which place would give the Allies a bridge over the Danube and afford them a place of arms for the invasion of Bavaria, the road into which country it covered.

The northerly movements of the Allies during the past few days betrayed the Duke's intentions to the Elector of Bavaria, whose army, as we have seen, was encamped between Lauingen and Dillingen, in a formidable position, strongly entrenched, covered by inundations and with the Danube in rear. To secure the passage leading through Donauwert the Elector detached a force of 10,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry, under General Count d'Arco, to occupy the Schellenberg, a height on the north bank of the Danube, which completely commands the town. By these dispositions he hoped to be able to keep his adversaries in check until he could receive the expected reinforcements from France.

Marlborough at once brought all the influence he could to bear on Prince Louis to obtain his consent to an advance on Donauwert before it was too late, and on 19th/30th June the Allied Army struck camp at Giengen and marched to Lanthausen and Balmershofen, and the following day to Amerdingen and Onderingen. This movement, which took place in full sight of the enemy's lines, left no doubt in the mind of the Elector as to its object, and on the night of the 20th June/1st July he despatched a strong detachment of his best troops to reinforce Count d'Arco on the Schellenberg, where for some days already several thousand

pioneers had been throwing up strong entrenchments in connection with the works covering Donauwert. 1704.

The next day (21st June/2nd July) it fell to Marlborough's turn to assume the supreme command, and he foresaw that, unless he risked everything and at all hazards attacked the position forthwith, the ensuing day would be wasted by his colleague in vain deliberations and councils of war, during which time the enemy would have received reinforcements and have completed the defences. The Duke's resolve was daring, not to say rash. The Schellenberg was still a long day's march off, the roads were well nigh impassable, and to contemplate attacking the position at the end of the day with weary troops savoured of recklessness, but to those who suggested prudence Marlborough replied: "Either the enemy will escape or will have time to finish their works. In the latter case, the delay of every single hour will cost the loss of a thousand men." Cox.

After a consultation with Prince Louis he therefore at once proceeded to prepare for the morrow. Arrangements were made for the establishment of an hospital for the wounded at Nordlingen.

A picked force, consisting of 35 squadrons of horse and 130 men from each of the 45 battalions of the left wing of the army, together with three battalions of Imperial (Austrian) Grenadiers were detailed to form the van of the attack. Preceded by Quartermaster-General Cadogan with several squadrons of mounted troops to mark out a camp, by 400 pioneers to improve the roads, and by the pontoon train, the detachment marched off at three a.m. on the morning of the 2nd July, the infantry, some 5,850 strong, being under the command of Lieutenant-General Goor, with Major-Generals Luke and Pallant and Brigadier-Generals Ferguson and Berendsdorf. The 35 squadrons were commanded by Lieutenant-Generals Lumley and Hompesch.

The remainder of the army, under Prince Louis of Baden, followed at five a.m. in two columns, the object of the march being a height on the banks of the Wernitz, three

1704.

miles above Donauwert, between Wernizstein and Obermorgen. The artillery, also in two columns, followed by the baggage, was directed on Harburg, three miles further up the Wernitz, where it was to await orders without unharnessing the teams. The strictest orders were given that no baggage should be allowed to obstruct the line of march, under pain of being plundered, and in order that every fighting man should be available, "Her Majesty's battalion of Guards and Prince George's Regiment of foot" (which always attended in duty upon his Grace and General Churchill) were ordered to fall into the line of battle and take their posts there; and all Guards, both of horse and foot, were commanded to do the same."

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urnal.  
arlborough  
espatches.

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Prince George of Denmark's (Churchill's) Regiment, in compliance with this order, joined the brigade commanded by Major-General Withers (lieutenant-colonel of the First Guards), and which consisted of the battalion of Orkney's (1st Royal Scots), Churchill's (Buffs), Webb's (8th), and Meredyth's (37th) Regiments.

By eight o'clock Cadogan had arrived at Obermorgen on the river Wernitz, some four miles above Donauwert, and in sight of the Schellenberg. Here, having driven in the enemy's picquets, he proceeded to mark out a camp on the banks of the stream.

At nine o'clock Marlborough arrived on the spot, and taking Cadogan's escort, and accompanied by the officers who were to lead the attacking columns, he advanced to reconnoitre the enemy's position.

The Schellenberg is a conical hill situated on the north bank of the Danube, commanding that river and the town of Donauwert, which lays at its foot, at the junction of the Wernitz with the Danube. The top of the hill forms a level plateau about half a mile wide, from whence the ground falls gently in a northerly direction to a wide plain which was covered with woods, one of which, the Boschberg, extended nearly up to the north-west point of the plateau. From here the western slopes towards the Wernitz are

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\*Churchill's Regiment.



more precipitous, and a ravine or hollow way, formed by storm water, ran diagonally down to a little rivulet which, skirting the bottom of the hill, fell into the Wernitz at Donauwert. On the far side of the rivulet, on a slight elevation, lay the little village of Berg. On the spur of the hill, overlooking Donauwert, was an old fort. Commencing from the outworks of the town, a line of entrenchments nearly two miles long had been thrown up, extending almost to the point of the Boschberg, and thence round the summit of the hill and down to the Danube on the far side. On the north face, where the slopes were gentle and the woods in front afforded a screen, under cover of which an attacking force might assemble, and therefore the side on which an attack was most to be expected, the line of entrenchment was practically complete and was of a formidable nature, but the north-western face, where the approaches were more difficult and were flanked by the ramparts of Donauwert, was still unfinished. It ran from the point near the Boschberg, passing within 30 paces of the ravine already mentioned, and taking in the old fort. Within the entrenchments on the plateau the enemy was encamped in several lines. A battery was in position at the point near the Boschberg and two more were placed near the old fort. 1704.

On the approach of the Duke of Marlborough and his reconnoitring party the outposts occupying the village of Berg, after setting fire to the place, fell back, and the Duke was able to make a close inspection of the enemy's dispositions. On the far side of the Danube could be seen marked out the site of an encampment for a large force, the wings of which were already occupied by cavalry, showing that strong reinforcements of infantry might be expected to join the enemy at any moment, and confirming the Duke in his conviction of the urgency for immediate action. During the reconnaissance the Duke was joined by Prince Louis, and, with Generals Goor and Lumley, and other commanding officers, he quietly completed the survey of the position and made his plans for the attack, unmoved by the artillery fire directed on the party from various

1704. points in the enemy's lines. This done, they hurried back to meet the detachment, which, however, owing to the terrible state of the roads, did not succeed in covering the dozen miles from their bivouac to the Wernitz until noon.

After a short halt to rest the advanced troops, and to allow the main body to draw nearer, the detachment crossed the Wernitz by the bridge at Obermorgen at 3 p.m., the pontoon train being sent to throw bridges over the stream lower down. The mounted troops of the van were at the same time sent forward into the woods to cut fascines, which were to be brought to the infantry.

While these preparations were going on Marlborough received despatches from Prince Eugene informing him that Marshals Villeroy and Tallard were at Strasburg preparing to throw a large force through the Black Forest to reinforce the Elector of Bavaria.

Hare.  
Marlborough  
Despatches.

The Duke led the detachment in person to the Boschberg wood, intending at first to attack the north face of the entrenchments as well as the west, but this was found impracticable owing to the thickness of the woods. He therefore halted and drew up the force in four lines, "and then he commanded eight entire battalions more out of the army, under the command of Major General Withers\* and Benheim† to sustain the detachment, and in case the detachment could not sufficiently extend itself, or take up ground enough when they came to attack, these battalions were ordered to attack in front, which was done, to the right of the detachment. And Lieut. General Count Horn was ordered with eight battalions‡ more to sustain them. About four in the afternoon they all advanced to the bottom of the Schellenberg in order to make the attack, the enemy's canon playing upon them from their batteries

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\*Withers' Brigade: 1 Bn. Orkney's, Churchill's, Webb's, and Meredyth's Regts.

†Hamilton's History of the Grenadier Guards says Ferguson's Brigade, consisting of the 1st Foot Guards, a battalion of Orkney's (Orkney's Regt. had two battalions), and Ingoldsby's Regt. were in the front line.

‡Dutch.



all the while ; the infantry made a short halt to receive the fascines from the horse." 1704.

Up to this time Count d'Arco, the enemy's commander, had confined himself to hurrying on the defensive works, the troops being employed as well as the pioneers, the Count never for a moment anticipating that the Allies would venture to attack at the close of the day after a long, weary march.

He had sat down to dinner at Donauwert when he was recalled to the heights by the intelligence of the approach of the allied army, but he still considered their movements as preparatory to an attack on the following morning, and repeated his exhortations to press on the defences. At length the advance and development of the hostile columns and the opening of their artillery convinced him that an attack was imminent, and his troops were hurriedly called to arms. The force he had at his disposal is variously stated at from 7,000 to 18,000 men.\*

It was near six o'clock when Marlborough, without waiting for the rest of the army under Prince Louis, ordered General Goor to commence the attack. Accordingly, the detachment advanced up the rising ground in six lines (four of foot and two of horse), the English being on the left close to the wood.

The horse brought up the fascines they had collected, and every officer and soldier took one. The directions to the troops were to advance in close order without firing, until they could fling their fascines into the enemy's trenches.

The artillery, commanded by Colonel Blood, which, under the cover of the smoke of the burning houses, had taken up a position in the right rear, close to the village of Berg, had opened fire an hour previously. The assault now commenced, the front line, led by Brigadier-General

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\*De Quincey puts it at 14 Battalions of Bavarians and 6 of French, besides horse and dragoons, numbering altogether only some 7,000 men. Milner on the other hand gives the defending force as consisting of 16 Bavarian Battalions, 5 French, 4 Regiments of Cuirassiers, and 3 Squadrons of Dragoons, amounting in all to 18,000 men.

1704. Ferguson, being preceded by a forlorn hope of 50 Guardsmen, under Lord Mordaunt and Colonel Munden.

Under a galling frontal and flanking fire from the batteries on the hill and from the battlements of Donauwert the assailants pressed steadily on, but as they mounted the hill the enemy's round shot was changed to canister, and a storm of musketry spread havoc in their ranks. Lieutenant-General Goor fell dead, shot through the head, and many other officers with him, and for a moment the advancing lines wavered, but were quickly rallied by the gallant efforts of their leaders, and continued their advance as far as the ravine before mentioned, within 80 yards of the trenches. Into this, by an unfortunate mistake, they flung their fascines, and pushing on, advanced with the utmost gallantry to the edge of the enemy's ditches. But here they were brought to a standstill. Their fascines were used up, and they had no means of crossing. Taking advantage of the confusion into which the attackers were thrown, the Bavarian troops dashed out of their works, and a desperate hand to hand combat ensued.

Military  
Memoirs of  
the Irish  
3rd Brigade.

"The Bavarian guards sustained for a full hour the furious assault, the parties on each side plunging their bayonets into the bodies of their opponents . . . or dashing out their brains with the butt ends of their muskets. . . . No other struggle during the war was so bloody. Hell itself could hardly exhibit a scene more horrible. At last, when 800 dead bodies had filled up the fosse, a shout of triumph from the Bavarians proclaimed the repulse of the English and Imperial battalions, who retired behind a ravine, close to the entrenchments. Their heads and colours were visible from the mound of bodies in front of the works, from whence the Bavarians poured in among them showers of balls and grenades."

The withdrawal into the ravine was covered by the battalion of Foot Guards, which behaved with great gallantry. Marlborough and his officers, dismounting from their horses, exerted themselves in every direction to restore order in the ranks. Lumley and Wood brought up the first line of horse and dragoons, and animated the foot

so much by their splendid example that they rallied, and again advanced to the assault. But the defenders had been reinforced by the troops from the northern face of the works, and from the interval between the point of attack and the ramparts of the town, and for a second time the Bavarians rushed out of their trenches to meet their assailants, and again the hellish struggle was renewed. Both lines of horse had closed up into the fray, notwithstanding their heavy loss, and at length the Bavarians fell slowly back to their earthworks, but not a yard further could the stormers advance. The fight now became a musketry duel, and a storm of bullets rained on the assailants. At this critical moment fortunately, Prince Louis of Baden arrived on the scene with the remainder of the army. His leading troops having crossed the Wernitz by the pontoon bridges below Berg, advanced against the portion of the works, on the right of the English De Quincey. and Dutch, and between them and the town. 1704.

Marshal d'Arco had sent three French battalions and one Bavarian into the town, with orders to the commandant to post them in the covered way of the ramparts, from the point where the field works joined them.

Had these orders been carried out Prince Louis' troops would have been exposed to such a heavy flank and reverse fire that their advance would have been well nigh impossible, but whether from treachery, cowardice or misunderstanding, the orders had not been executed, and the Imperialists carried the trenches with but little resistance, most of their defenders having been withdrawn to reinforce the point already attacked, before d'Arco was aware of the situation. Hurriedly collecting a few squadrons, he gallantly charged their leading ranks, but a counter charge of Imperial cavalry drove his squadrons back, and the Imperial foot, wheeling to the left bore down on the flank of the defenders engaged with the British and Dutch.

Here the struggle had continued with increasing obstinacy, and Lumley ordered Hay's Dragoons (Scots Greys) to dismount and charge the enemy on foot. With

1704. their colonel at their head, the dragoons were advancing to obey the order, when the Bavarians broke and fled.

Marshal d'Arco then gave orders to retreat, partly by the bridge over the Danube below the town and partly into the town, but all was confusion, the bridge was broken down by rafts which had collided with it, and the Commandant refused to open the town gates. The rout and carnage which ensued was indescribable. Numbers were drowned attempting to cross the river, among others the Marshal's son, and d'Arco himself escaped with difficulty. Some of the enemy's troops on their right flank finding themselves cut off from the town and bridge, drew off through the woods towards Neuberg, and two French regiments succeeded in cutting their way into the town.

The Duke of Marlborough, who had exposed himself fearlessly throughout the action, entered the enemy's works at the head of the first squadrons and at once proceeded to rally and recall his infantry who were in hot pursuit of the fugitives, sending his mounted troops to complete the victory.

Scarcely had the conflict cleared before darkness set in with heavy rain. A considerable body of troops was left to hold the entrenchments, and the rest were withdrawn to the camp on the Wernitz, the Duke taking up his quarters at Obermorgen.

The losses of the Allies in this desperate conflict were very severe, particularly in officers.

Milner puts them at

Milner.

86 Officers and 1,329 men killed and

274 Officers and 3,599 men wounded.

Of these the British losses were

32 Officers and 420 men killed and

83 Officers and 1,001 men wounded.

Amongst the casualties there were no less than 8 general officers killed and 9 wounded, Prince Louis of Baden being himself slightly wounded in the foot.

Churchill's Regiment lost Ensigns Harrison and Caldicott and three men killed, and 37 men wounded.

Of Count d'Arco's force the losses are variously estimated, and it is claimed that of the whole body only 3,000 men rejoined the Elector, the rest being either killed, wounded, captured, dispersed, or having deserted. 1704.

Milner estimates their losses at over 5,000 killed, wounded, drowned, captured, and deserted, the enemy themselves admitting a loss of 504 killed, 1,406 wounded, and 4,000 prisoners.\* In addition, the Allies captured 15 cannon, 13 colours, and all the enemy's ammunition, tents and baggage, a quantity of warlike stores, and all Count d'Arco's plate and other rich booty, which was distributed among the victors.

The Elector, as soon as he heard the result of the battle, fearing for the safety of his communications with Bavaria, left his position between Dillingen and Lauingen and re-crossed the Danube, preparatory to retreating across the Lech. He sent orders that night to the garrison of Donauwert to set fire to the town and magazines, to destroy the bridges, and to join him, but the outskirts of the town were already in the hands of the Allies, and, fearing their retreat would be cut off, the garrison carried out the Elector's orders very hurriedly and imperfectly. Straw was thrown into all the houses, but at dawn they abandoned the town in great disorder, having only set fire to and partly damaged one or two of the magazines. The Allies, thereupon, occupied the town without opposition, rescuing a very large quantity of provisions, fodder, and ammunition which the enemy had not waited to destroy, and which proved of incalculable value to the victors, provisions being extremely scarce and difficult to obtain.

The day following the storming of the Schellenberg the allied army reformed and pitched camp regularly, on the rising ground between Uebermorgen and the north bank of the Danube, the dead being buried and the wounded sent off to Amerling.

The victory gained by the Duke of Marlborough

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\*De Quincey only admits a loss of 1,200 killed, 800 wounded, very few prisoners, and no loss of colours or standards.

1704. produced a profound sensation throughout Europe. In Vienna his services were acknowledged with transports of gratitude by all, from the Emperor downwards, Te Deums were sung, salutes were fired, and every tongue was lavish in praising the gallant conduct of the English troops and their commander, but the success of the action, so far from reducing the friction between Prince Louis of Baden and the Duke contributed to aggravate it. Though the plan of operations had been formed by Marlborough, and would never have been carried out by the Prince, the fact that Louis happened to have been the first of the two to enter the entrenchment was made the pretext by his partisans to acclaim him, and not the Duke, as the victorious commander, and every opportunity was seized upon, particularly in Holland, to depreciate Marlborough and his gallant countrymen.
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1704.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

1704.

On the 24th June/5th July the Allies, having recruited, struck camp at Obermorgen and crossed the Danube close to Donauwert, by means of pontoon bridges, camping that night in the vicinity of Mertingen. During the day a considerable portion of the enemy's pontoon train and a large quantity of stores, which they had abandoned in their hasty retreat, fell into the hands of the Allies. The following day was observed throughout the army as a day of thanksgiving for the late victory, Te Deums being sung in the camps and neighbouring towns.

On retiring across the river Lech, a stream of considerable volume, the enemy had taken the precaution of destroying the bridges, and on the 27th June/8th July Colonel Cadogan was detached to throw pontoon bridges for the whole army across the river, near Gunderkingen, the operation being covered by a force of 4,000 men and twelve guns. The bridging was effected without opposition, and that evening the covering force crossed and took post on the far bank.

The next day (28th June/9th July) the main army moved somewhat closer to the Lech, and the advanced party, under General Frieze, reinforced by 6,000 men, proceeded to surround the town of Rain, which was held by some 300 or 400 of the Elector's troops, whom D'Arco had left there on his hurried retreat through the place three days previously.

The same day the Bavarian garrison of Neuburg, on receipt of the news of the movements of the Allies, evacuated the place, retiring to Ingoldstadt, and 3,000 Imperial troops were at once detached from Prince Louis' army to occupy this important point.

By this time the Elector's army, abandoning the rest of

- 1704 Bavaria to the enemy, had fallen back on Augsburg, where, forming an entrenched camp, they determined to make a stand until they could be joined by the French from the Rhine.

On the 29th June/10th July the main army of Allies crossed the Lech, and the following day encamped between Stauda and Mittelstein. On the 1st/12th July the siege of Rain was formally commenced by Count Frieze, the main body encamping in the neighbourhood of Stauda and Purkheim.

Milner. The Prince of Baden the same day commenced to ravage and devastate the surrounding country, beginning first at his own quarters at Standheim burning and destroying "upwards of 300 towns, villages, and castles, including one with another, little and big, open and walled."

On this day also the Duke of Marlborough received from Prince Eugene the intelligence that a French force of 45,000 men, under Villeroy and Tallard, had crossed the Rhine at Kehl and was advancing to the assistance of the Elector. The Duke thereupon the next day despatched a reinforcement of 13 battalions and 35 squadrons of Imperial Horse to the Prince, who was then marching on Dillengen.

Milner. On the 4th/15th July the bombardment of Rain commenced, with the result that the place capitulated the following morning, and the garrison, after being disarmed, were allowed to proceed to Augsburg. Twenty-four brass cannon, some ammunition, and a welcome supply of corn and other provisions were captured with the place. The losses on both sides during the siege were insignificant. On the 6th/17th the army marched to Holtz and Osterhausen, and the next day to Kuepach and Aicha, the troops holding the latter place, retiring precipitately to Augsburg at the approach of the Allies. The inhabitants, however, foolishly made some show of resistance, the result being that the town was given over to plunder, the villages in all directions delivered to the flames, and "nothing omitted that the laws of war would allow." A garrison was then placed in the town and magazines



established for provisions of all kinds from which the army drew its supplies during the occupation of that part of Bavaria.

1704.

On the 10th/18th the army advanced and encamped in the direction of Friedberg, and the next day the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Louis of Baden proceeded with a strong force of cavalry to reconnoitre the Bavarian camp, which lay strongly entrenched under the guns of Augsburg with the Lech in front, a small stream in rear, and extensive marshes on each flank. During the day, on the Duke approaching Friedberg, a smart brush took place with the enemy's cavalry, who, however, were driven back on Augsburg.

On the 12th/23rd the Allied camp was advanced to Wolfertshausen - Friedberg - Oostmaring, on the rising ground facing the Bavarian camp, and at a distance of one league therefrom.

"This was the farthest of our British troops and Milner. Artillery's extent from Holland into Germany, after forty eight days march or removals, upwards from Breda; and according thereunto Augsburg is distant about one hundred and seventy leagues southward."

At this time, according to an "Order of battle" of 15th July, given in Dumont's "Histoire Militaire," the British regiments were brigaded as follows:—

<i>Brigadier.</i>	<i>Regiments.</i>
Row ...	{ North (10th). Ingoldsby (23rd). Marlborough (24th). Row (21st). Churchill (3rd).
Hamilton...	{ Webbe (8th). Hamilton (20th). Derby (Stanley) 16th. Orkney (Royal Scots) one battalion. Guards (one battalion).

1704.

*Brigadier.**Regiments.*

Ferguson...	{	How (15th). Meredith (37th). Ferguson (26th). Orkney (Royal Scots) one battalion. 4 Foreign battalions.
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The distribution however had been altered at the time of the battle of Blenheim, vide Order of Battle on plan drawn by Colonel Ivoy, Quartermaster-General to the Duke of Marlborough, in Royal United Service Institution.

Previous to the battle of Schellenberg negotiations had been opened with the Elector of Bavaria, but had been broken off, owing to the exorbitant demands of the latter. But after the disaster to his troops it was hoped that he might be induced to submit to such terms as might save his country from further horrors, and communications had been resumed during the past few days with that object, and so successfully that the Elector had promised to meet the Austrian plenipotentiary on the 14th/25th of July to ratify the articles which had been concluded by his agent by which his dominions were to be restored to him. He was to receive a subsidy of 200,000 crowns, and in return furnish 12,000 men for the service of the Emperor. But recovering from the first shock of the disaster, and cheered by the news of the advance of the French army, under Tallard, he suddenly broke off negotiations, stating that as Marshal Tallard was advancing to his assistance with an army of 35,000 men it was neither in his power, nor consistent with his honour, to desert an ally who made such efforts on his behalf.

The vital importance of detaching the Elector from the French interest at all costs, and the peremptory commands of the Allied Powers, now compelled Marlborough most reluctantly to adopt extreme measures.\* Light troops were

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\*"We sent this morning three thousand horse to the Elector's chief city of Munich, with orders to destroy and burn all the country about it. This is so contrary to my nature, that nothing but absolute necessity could have obliged me to consent to it, for the poor people suffer for their master's ambition. There having been no war in this country for above sixty years

detached in all directions, levying contributions and ravaging and destroying everything up to the very outskirts of Munich. 1704.

Meanwhile Villeroy, who as we have seen, had been completely baffled in his attempts to watch Marlborough's movements, had been waiting at Landau, expecting the Duke to recross the Rhine. On Tallard's advance he marched into the Black Forest and effected a junction with him at Hornberg, from whence, however, the latter pushed on alone, after wasting five days (5th/16th to 10th/21st July) in an unsuccessful attempt to take the town of Villengen, from which he was called by urgent messages from the Elector. On Tallard's advance from Kehl, Prince Eugene, leaving a small garrison at Stollhofen, made a parallel march from the Rhine to the north bank of the Danube with 20,000 men, reaching Hochstadt on the 23rd July/3rd August. The French arrived the same day at Biberach, about 9 miles from Augsburg, to which place the Marshal himself pushed on with an escort.

During the past 11 days Marlborough's force had remained in position before Augsburg observing the Elector, whose camp was too strongly fortified to justify an attack being made on it.

The advance of the French army and its imminent junction with the Elector now rendered the situation extremely critical.

For Eugene to attempt to join Marlborough would be to leave the Allies' lines of communication at the mercy of the French. For Marlborough to join Eugene meant giving up the whole of Bavaria. In the meantime their respective armies were too far apart for mutual support, and lay open to be attacked and beaten in detail by the united Franco-Bavarian force.

To retain a footing in Bavaria the possession of Ingold-

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the towns and villages are so clean that you would be pleased with them. My nature suffers when I see so many places burnt, and that must be burnt if the Elector will not hinder it. I shall never be easy and happy till I am quiet with you."

Marlborough to the Duchess, 30th July, 1704.

1704. stadt, a fortress which had hitherto never been captured, was absolutely necessary, and to the immense relief of Marlborough and Eugene, Prince Louis of Baden readily undertook its siege, thus at the same time freeing them from the presence of a jealous, captious, and obstructive colleague.

On the 24th July/4th August, therefore, the Allies struck camp at Friedberg and marched to Kitbach and Aicha, burning on their way all the villages which had hitherto been spared. The next day they encamped on the north bank of the Paar, beyond Schrobenhausen, Prince Louis proceeding forthwith to Neuburg to make arrangements for the siege of Ingoldstadt.

On the 28th July/8th August the Allies moved to Landitzau and Pottmess and Eugene arrived at the camp to confer with Marlborough and Prince Louis, who had returned from Neuburg. On the same day the Elector's army, which had moved out of Augsburg two days before, was joined by the French.

Eugene, before leaving Hochstadt on the 26th July/6th August, had given orders for his army to march that night to a more suitable position at Munster, in the direction of Donauwert.

Milner. On the 29th July/9th August Prince Louis marched off with 22 battalions and 17 squadrons\* for Neuburg, en route to Ingoldstadt, and Marlborough on the intelligence of the junction of the French and Bavarians, advanced to Exheim, from whence Eugene started to rejoin his own army. In two hours' time he hurriedly returned, to inform Marlborough that the Franco-Bavarian army was in full march on Dillingen, evidently with the intention of crossing the Danube and overwhelming Eugene's force.

It became now an imperative necessity for Marlborough to gain the north side of the Danube before the enemy could effect their purpose. But this was a difficult matter. In addition to the length of the march, no less than four streams had to be crossed, the Aicha, the Lech, the Danube

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\*Coxe says 23 battalions and 31 squadrons.

and the Wernitz, all of which were in flood from the late rains. At 3 a.m. the following morning (30th July/10th August) the Duke of Wirtemberg was despatched with 28 squadrons of Imperial troops and bridging materials, to throw a pontoon bridge across the Danube at Merxheim, below the confluence of that river and the Lech, and to join the cavalry of Eugene as rapidly as possible. At 6 a.m. Lieutenant-General Churchill followed him with 20 battalions, the artillery and baggage, with instructions to cross at the same point and wait on the north bank for further orders. The Duke, with the main body, advanced at the same time, and encamped that evening about sunset between Penchingen and Mittelstetten, close to Rain, with a force at Nieder-Schoenfeld, where bridges had been thrown across the Danube. 1704.

The Franco-Bavarians during the same day crossed the Danube and pitched camp between Lauingen, Dillingen, and Steinheim.

On arriving that morning at Munster, Eugene found that the officer whom he had left in command, fearing his 18,000 men would be overwhelmed if attacked, had struck camp and was preparing to fall back to the Schellenberg. But by this time he had been joined by the Duke of Wirtemberg with his 28 squadrons, and Churchill was within supporting distance, so the Prince decided to hold the line of the Kessel for the time being, despatching his baggage to Donauwert and his foot to the Schellenberg, with orders to prepare the entrenchments there for defence. Eugene himself remained for the night with 50 squadrons at Munster.

The following morning, 31st July/11th August, at 2 a.m., Marlborough, sending word to Eugene that he would join him that evening at Munster, marched off from his camp, the first line crossing the Lech at Rain and the Danube and the Wernitz near Donauwert. The second line crossed the Danube at Nieder-Schoenfeld, and the Wernitz at Obermorgen. Churchill's column, which had also marched off from Merxheim at 2 a.m., joined Eugene's troops at Donauwert by noon, when the Prince, learning that the

1704. enemy were showing no signs of moving from their camp, gave orders to re-occupy Munster.

At four o'clock in the afternoon both columns of Marlborough's main army were filing across the Wernitz, and a couple of hours later were in touch with Eugene. By ten o'clock the junction was completed, and the combined armies encamped between Erlingshofen and Kessel-Ostheim, with the Kessel in front and the Danube on the left, General Rowe's Brigade, together with the English Guards, being pushed across the rivulet, in front of Munster. At daybreak the baggage and artillery marched into camp, having covered no less than 24 English miles during the previous twenty-four hours.

It was now the intention of the allied commanders to advance across the Nebel and to take up a position in the neighbourhood of Hochstadt, and with that object in view the Duke and Eugene moved out with a strong escort the following morning (1st/12th August) to reconnoitre.

On reaching Schweningen a force of hostile cavalry was observed in the distance, and to better ascertain its strength the two commanders ascended the tower of the church of Dapfheim. From the top of this, to their joy, the quarter-masters of the enemy's army could be seen on the rising ground beyond the Nebel marking out a site for a camp between the villages of Blenheim and Lutzingen on the very spot they themselves contemplated occupying. In the far distance the whole Franco-Bavarian force could be seen on the move.

It was no part of Tallard's scheme to commit himself to a battle, but on the contrary, his plan was to take up a strong position and to remain on the defensive until Marlborough should be compelled to withdraw from want of supplies. The Duke fully anticipated this; but to him delay would have been fatal. Supplies and forage were running perilously short. Villeroy was advancing into Wirtemberg, threatening his communications with Franconia, whence his army drew its principal supplies, and little or nothing could be looked for from along the Danube. He therefore at once determined to take advantage of his

opportunity and to throw himself on the enemy before the new position could be strengthened and fortified. Pioneers were at once despatched, under cover of pickets, to level a ravine formed by a stream (the Reichen), through which the road passes beyond Dapfheim, and to throw bridges across the stream. 1704.

Having completed their reconnaissance the two commanders were returning, when news was brought in that the working parties were being attacked by the enemy's horse which had been observed in the morning. The Duke immediately ordered seven squadrons of cavalry, with the Guards and Rowe's Brigade, to advance through Dapfheim in support of the pickets. Twelve more battalions, under Lord Cutts, and the Prussian infantry of the right wing, also advanced, the whole of the rest of the army being in readiness for immediate action. But the enemy's horse were only reconnoitring, and having made a few prisoners, retired at a gallop on the approach of the supports.

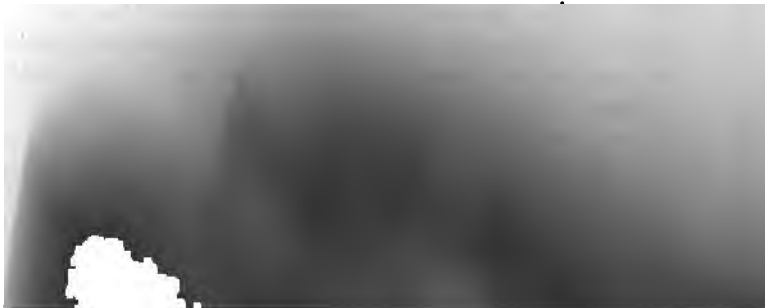
Rowe's Brigade and another one therefore, were left for the defence of the working parties, the rest of the troops returning to camp.

By four o'clock that afternoon the Franco-Bavarian army had taken up its new position, and was pitching its camp between Blenheim and Lutzingen, Marshal Tallard establishing his quarters at Blenheim, Marsin at Oberglau, and the Elector at Lutzingen.

On learning the intentions of the Duke to attack, some of his officers, who knew the strength of the enemy's position and the great superiority of his numbers, ventured to remonstrate on the rashness of risking an engagement under such unfavourable conditions. But Marlborough, conscious that, as at the Schellenberg, every hour's delay would give the enemy time to make the position still more formidable, having quietly listened to them, answered: "I know the danger, yet a battle is absolutely necessary, and I rely on the bravery and discipline of the troops, which will make amends for our disadvantages."

In the evening orders were issued to prepare for a general engagement on the ensuing morning. They were

1704. received with enthusiasm by the troops, who spent a great part of the night in making ready for the eagerly anticipated fight. Marlborough who felt keenly his terrible responsibility, the critical situation and the uncertain issue of the coming struggle, spent a great part of the night in prayer, receiving the sacrament towards dawn. He then had a conference with Prince Eugene to complete the final arrangements for the battle.
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1704.

## CHAPTER XXV.

## 1704—BLENHEIM.

The following description of the portion of the valley of the Danube which was the scene of the impending conflict, is taken from Coxe's "Life of Marlborough":—

"The valley of the Danube, which stretches from the Kessel, north-west to Dillingen, is seven English miles in length and irregular in breadth. The widest part is from the sources to the mouth of the Nebel, a distance of nearly three miles, the narrowest near Dapfheim, where the wooded eminences advance within half a mile of one branch of the Danube. On one side the Danube winds in a tortuous bed, 300 feet broad, in no point fordable, and between banks either precipitous or swampy. On the opposite side the valley is bounded by a series of wooded eminences, which vary its outline, by spreading into different ramifications. From these flow different rivulets, which descend into the Danube, and the whole space is intersected by ravines and dotted with towns, villages, and dwellings. . . . At the defile of Dapfheim a narrow pass might have enabled the enemy to oppose considerable obstructions to the advance of the Allies had they been sufficiently prompt in seizing the advantage. Coxe, Vol. 1, p. 189

"The middle portion, which was the scene of conflict . . . . is not only more capacious but more thickly dotted with villages and dwellings. Nearly in the middle runs the Nebel, or Hasel, which derives its waters from several sources rising in the heights above Schwenenbach and Lutzingen, and from Oberglau flows into the Danube in a single channel. At the mouth the breadth is no more than twelve feet. Near the confluence is Blenheim, which is reached from the Nebel by a narrow slip of swelling while behind the village commences a flat tableland, which, expanding as it bends

1704. towards Oberglau, slopes gently on the right, and is bounded on the north-west by the range of woody hills above Lutzingen. In the lower or south-eastern part of this eminence rises a streamlet called the Meulweyer, which, flowing through Blenheim in a double channel, is soon lost in the Danube. Nearly two miles above Blenheim is Oberglau, seated on the acclivity, about musket shot from the Nebel, and on the opposite side is Unterglau, standing on the very brink of the stream. The ground bordering the Nebel, particularly between Oberglau and Blenheim, is generally marshy, and in many places impassable. Below Unterglau the morass expands to a considerable breadth, and nearer Blenheim is a species of islet, formed by a channel cut in the boggy soil, for the purpose of receiving the superfluous water from a spring, which rises near the foot of the acclivity. On the main stream a little above Blenheim, are two water mills which are well adapted to serve as redoubts for impeding the passage. Between Unterglau and Blenheim, near the point of the islet, is a stone bridge, over which runs the great road from Donauwert to Dillingen. Higher up, in the gorge of the mountains, about a mile to the east of Oberglau, is Lutzingen, bordered on the north and east, within musket shot, by woods and ravines.

Coxe, Vol. 1,  
p. 189.

"On the left of the Nebel the plain is uneven and partly covered with brush-wood. In the vicinity of Schwenenbach and Berghausen the ground becomes more undulating. Near Weilheim it rises into a gentle elevation, and consists of arable land as far as the village of Kremheim, which borders on the Danube."

At 2 o'clock on the morning of the 2nd/13th August the allied army was under arms.\* The baggage was detached to Reitlingen and Donauwert, the tents were left standing,

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\*It is somewhat difficult to ascertain the exact strength of the opposing forces. Alison in his "Life of John Duke of Marlborough," taking as his authorities the Marlborough Despatches, Kausler, and various other authorities, gives the relative strength of the hostile armies as follows :—

and an hour later the force was crossing the Kessel in eight columns. The right wing, under Prince Eugene, consisted of four columns, two of infantry and two of cavalry, the infantry being to the right of the cavalry upon a rising ground close by a wood which came down to the river Kessel. The left wing, under Marlborough, moved off also in four columns, having to their right the two columns of Prince Eugene's cavalry and to their left successively the villages of Dapfheim and Schweningen and the river Danube. Major-General Wilkes and Brigadier-General Rowe, with

1704.

<i>Allies.</i>				<i>French and Bavarians.</i>			
I. Right Wing. Eugene.				I. Left Wing. Marsin.			
	Batt.	Squad.	Men.		Batt.	Squad.	Men.
Prussian	11	15		French	20	50	18,000
Danes	7	0	20,000	Bavarians	13	37	12,000
Austrians	0	24					
Empires	0	35					
	—	—					
	18	74					
II. Centre and Left. Marlborough.				II. Right and Centre. Tallard.			
	Batt.	Squad.	Men.		Batt.	Squad.	Men.
English	14	14		French	42	60	30,000
Dutch	14	22					
Hessians	7	7	36,000				
Hanoverians	13	25					
Danes	0	22					
	—	—					
	48	90		Total	84	147	60,000
Total	66	164	56,000				
Guns 66.				Guns 90.			

Milner credits the Allies with 188 squadrons, 96 being in the left wing, including 18 English, and 92 in the right. On the other hand the *Histoire Militaire* gives the French and Bavarian strength at 78 battalions and 143 squadrons, which discrepancy is, however, accounted for by the weakness of some of the units, of which two had been in some cases merged into one.

War Office return issued some two years after the battle (W.O. Letter Book 376, p. 107), puts the strength of the Allies at 181 squadrons, and 52 guns, and that of the enemy at 86 squadrons, and 90 guns.

1704. the nine battalions\* which had been left in Dapfheim during the previous night, marched on the left of the whole, by themselves, next the Danube. Prince Eugene's artillery followed the infantry of the right wing, that of the English and Dutch, together with the pontoon train, marching through the villages of Dapfheim and Schweningen.

As the column reached the line of the Reichen they were halted, and the Duke detached Ferguson's Brigade of five British regiments,† together with six Hanoverian regiments, from the left wing, to join the nine battalions already detached under Major-General Wilkes.

Fifteen squadrons of dragoons, under Major-General Wood and Brigadier Ross, were also detailed to accompany this force, which thus formed a ninth column of the army, by itself close to the Danube. The chief command of this column was given to Lord Cutts, who had orders with these troops to attack the village of Blenheim, which lay close to the banks of the river.

It will be noted that ten out of the fourteen battalions of British foot present with the army accompanied this column, the remaining four composing Major-General Webb's Brigade,‡ one of which was Churchill's Regiment,

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\*Rowe's Brigade and 4 Hessian Battalions. Rowe's Brigade was composed of :—

North's	...	...	...	(10th) Regiment.
Howe's	...	...	...	(15th) „
Rowe's	...	...	...	(21st) „
Ingoldsby's	...	...	...	(23rd) „
Marlborough's	...	...	...	(24th) „

†Ferguson's Brigade consisted of :—

The Guards.				
One Battalion of the Royal Scots.				
Stanley's	...	...	...	(16th) Regiment.
Hamilton's	...	...	...	(18th) „
Ferguson's	...	...	...	(26th) „

‡Webb's Brigade consisted of :—

One Battalion of the Royal Scots.				
Churchill's...	...	...	...	(3rd) Regiment.
Webb's	...	...	...	(8th) „
Meredith's...	...	...	...	(37th) „

being with the main body of infantry of the left wing, which was commanded by General Charles Churchill. 1704.

The march was now resumed, Marlborough's troops being directed to form on the ground stretching from Weilheim to Kremheim, while those of Eugene, passing along the skirts of the hills in rear of Wolperstetten, Berghausen and Schwenenbach, were to prolong the line to the right up the valley as far as Eichberg, the intentions of the allied commanders being to first attack the villages of Blenheim and Lutzingen, which covered the flanks of the enemy. This plan, however, had to be subsequently modified.

Meanwhile Marlborough and Eugene pushed on ahead with an escort of forty squadrons of cavalry, and about six o'clock they came into contact with foraging parties of the enemy, who at once fell back. Owing to the foggy morning and to the want of enterprise on the part of the patrols this was the first intimation that the enemy had that the Allies were on the move, and even now, deceived by intelligence obtained from prisoners taken on the previous evening, it was assumed that the Allies were falling back on Nordlingen, and that the escort which attended Marlborough and Eugene was merely a body of cavalry pushed forward to cover the retreat.

By 7 o'clock the allied commanders reached the higher ground near Wolperstetten, where they came into full sight of the hostile camp, extending from behind Blenheim, at which place Tallard had his quarters, to Lutzingen, those of the Elector, Marshal Marsin having established himself in Oberglau. The fog now dispersing, disclosed to the enemy's view the heads of Eugene's columns behind Berghausen, and the alarm was instantly given. The foragers were recalled, and the outposts, setting fire to the villages of Berghausen, Schwenenbach, and Weilheim, hurriedly fell back on the main body.

Tallard, Marsin, and the Elector met at Blenheim to confer, and ascended the steeple of the church, whence they had a good view of the approaching allied force.

1704.

The Elector, an able and experienced soldier, urged Tallard to draw up his troops close to the marshy ground along the Nebel, and to prevent at all costs the advance of the Allies across it. His advice was strongly backed up by Marsin, but Tallard, a vain, conceited and exceedingly touchy Frenchman, thought the Elector was attempting to dictate to him, and replied, that to follow the Elector's plan could at the best only result in a drawn battle, whereas by drawing up the army some distance from the morass and allowing the enemy to cross, the more that came over the greater would be the destruction. The Elector, who had had frequent experience of the fighting powers of the troops constituting the allied army, warned Tallard that if once he suffered them to cross he would find it no easy matter to drive them back again, but nothing that he or Marsin could say would induce him to alter his opinion, so they left him and returned to their respective commands, deeply dissatisfied, and dreading the consequences of his obstinacy.

Tallard's disposition of his own troops was as follows: twenty-six battalions of foot, under the command of the Marquis de Clerambault, were thrown into the village of Blenheim, and twelve squadrons of dragoons were drawn up behind it. Entrenchments were thrown up all round the village, the hedges and palisades were lined with troops, and the houses were stripped of their furniture to form screens and obstacles. On the side of the village next to the Danube a barricade was made of wagons and timber, which was manned by dismounted dragoons. Artillery was posted at different points, and Clerambault was directed to hold the village to the last.

Eight squadrons of gendarmes were drawn up to the left of Blenheim, and from thence the line, including the right wing of Marsin's army, amounting to about fifty squadrons, was prolonged to near Oberglau. In second line were stationed three brigades of infantry in the centre of the cavalry, and behind was a reserve of horse which could not find a place in the lines.

In and behind Oberglau was the infantry of Marsin, in

all about thirty battalions, fourteen of which were posted in Oberglau, among them being the Irish regiments of Lee, Clare and Dorrington. 1704.

Beyond were more battalions extending to the left and covering the flank of the cavalry, who were drawn up in front of Lutzingen. Eighteen French and Bavarian battalions, which had been posted in Lutzingen, were drawn out to form an oblique flank among the woods, on the extreme left the cavalry.

The artillery was posted with great skill, four guns being placed on the high ground above Blenheim, commanding the plain of Schweningen; four more were disposed so as to bear on the advancing columns, so soon as they should appear on the road leading to Unterglau. In front of the gendarmes was a battery, and more guns were placed in front of the different brigades. The cavalry had orders to charge the Allies, so soon as a certain number should have crossed the Nebel.

About seven o'clock Marlborough's column commenced to arrive on the positions allotted to them and began to deploy, and the Duke sent for all the generals to receive his final instructions

The fatal weakness of Tallard's dispositions was at once apparent to both the allied commanders. The villages of Blenheim and Oberglau were too far apart to afford each other mutual support, or even to completely command the intervening ground, and the lines of cavalry on the high ground were too far off to obstruct the passage of the stream. It was therefore decided that Prince Eugene's troops should bear off to the right and attack the front and left flank of the troops under the Elector and Marsin, while the ninth column, under Cutts, should endeavour to carry Blenheim. Marlborough meanwhile, was to push his horse across the Nebel, covered by his infantry, and drive off the cavalry composing the enemy's centre.

General Churchill was directed to draw up the infantry  
seventeen and eleven battalions respectively,  
near the burning village of Unterglau.  
ed up, also in two lines of thirty-six

1704.

and thirty-five squadrons, between the two lines of foot, the intention being that the first line should cross the stream and advance as far as possible, and then form and cover the passage of the horse, leaving intervals in the line so as to allow the horse to pass through them and take post in front, the movement being supported from the near bank by the second line of foot. The pontoon train was brought up and the construction of five bridges was commenced, one above Unterglau and four between that village and the mills near Blenheim. The bridge, on the high road, which had been damaged by the enemy, was also repaired. As there was yet time, the squadrons of the second line were despatched each to collect twenty fascines, to assist in the passage of the fords.

Meanwhile the ninth column under Lord Cutts, had marched through Schweningen, and inclining to the left, drew up above Kremheim (Gremen) in four lines of infantry and two of cavalry, the first line consisting of Rowe's Brigade, the second of Hessians, the third of Ferguson's Brigade and the fourth of Hanoverians. The first line of horse was composed of the dragoons of Ross, and the second of part of Wood's Brigade.

About eight o'clock the enemy opened a heavy cannonade on the allied troops as they came up, whereupon Colonel Blood, who had just arrived with the allied artillery, proceeded to plant counter-batteries in the most advantageous positions to return the fire, the Duke himself visiting each battery to observe the effect of its fire.

Meanwhile Prince Eugene had left the Duke, to supervise the movements of his own columns, arranging to inform the Duke as soon as they should be in position and ready to attack, so that both wings might act simultaneously. But the ground on the right proved far more difficult and intricate than the allied commanders had been led to suppose, and the columns were forced on that account to make a considerable detour through the woods; moreover, the enemy's dispositions to avoid being out-flanked compelled Eugene to extend his right considerably further than was originally intended, which caused still more delay.



During the interval Marlborough ordered Divine service to be performed at the head of each regiment, joining fervently himself in the prayers, after which he proceeded to make arrangements for the disposal and care of the wounded. He then rode along the lines and inspected the troops, who were eagerly waiting the signal to advance. All this time they were exposed to a heavy artillery fire, and suffered severely, especially those engaged in constructing the bridges; indeed, the French claimed that so accurate and deadly was their aim, that, without exaggeration, more than two thousand casualties occurred in the allied ranks before the actual battle began. 1704.

During the inspection a shot struck the ground under the Duke's horse, covering him with mud, but he rode quietly on, unmoved.

On the right Prince Eugene's artillery was for a long time unable to come into action, being detained, out of range, by the numerous rivulets and the marshy nature of the ground.

At last, about half-past twelve, a messenger arrived with the news that Eugene was in position with his infantry on the right and his cavalry on the left, but that, owing to the extended front of the enemy, his reserve had had to be brought into front line. Marlborough immediately mounted his horse, and sending word to Cutts to commence the attack on Blenheim, gave orders for all the lines to advance across the Nebel.

Churchill at once moved off, having in first line Lieutenant-General Ingoldsby, Major-Generals Herberville and Withers, and Brigadiers Wolven and Hulsen. In second line were Lieutenant-General Lord Orkney, Major-Generals Luc and Rantzau, Brigadier-General Webb,\* and others.

From the infantry of these two lines ten battalions were

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\*From a plan of the formal "Order of Battle" drawn up by Colonel Ivoy, Major-General to the Duke of Marlborough, Webb's Brigade was on the left of the second line, the regiments composing it standing in the following order from left to right. One battalion Orkney's, Webb's, Meredith's, Churchill's.

1704.

detached, under the Prince of Holstein Beck, to dislodge the enemy posted in Oberglau, the remainder of the first line dashing through the burning village of Unterglau and across the rivulets, forming up as arranged, to cover the passage of the mounted troops.

At one o'clock Cutts's attack on Blenheim commenced. Rowe's Brigade and the four Hessian Regiments, under General Wilkes, crossed the Nebel near the burning mills, under a heavy artillery fire, and formed up on the far side under shelter of the rising ground.

Then, leaving the Hessians in reserve, the five British regiments advanced against the enemy's stockades, led by Rowe, on foot, at the head of his own regiment. At a distance of thirty paces they were received by a murderous fire, but the brigadier's orders were that not a shot was to be fired in return until he struck the palisades with his sword. The assailants pushed on until Rowe gave the signal, when pouring in a volley they rushed forward and endeavoured to drag down the stockading by main force, the officers of both sides thrusting at each other between the palings.

In a few minutes a third of the brigade had fallen. Rowe dropped mortally wounded, his lieutenant-colonel and his major were killed in the endeavour to carry him off, and the brigade, completely disorganised, fell back in confusion. As they retired they were charged in flank by several\* squadrons of gendarmes, who rode through their ranks, capturing the colours of Rowe's Regiment, and would have entirely annihilated them had they not pursued their advantage too far, when their career was suddenly stopped by a terrific fire poured into them by the Hessian foot, followed by a charge of five English squadrons, which had now come up, which put them to flight. But the British horse, while reforming, were in their turn attacked by a superior force of fresh cavalry and driven back across the rivulet. Again the Hessian foot distinguished themselves, putting the victorious enemy to rout by their tremendous fire, and retaking the lost colours of Rowe's Regiment.

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\*Thirteen (Lediard, Milner).

1704.

Cutts's two remaining lines having now crossed the Nebel, Ferguson's Brigade proceeded to attack Blenheim on the left, and succeeded in carrying the outskirts of the village, but repeated attempts of both the British brigades to advance further were repulsed, and they were finally compelled to retire with heavy loss.

(Marlborough, seeing that any further attempts for the present to carry the village could only result in useless sacrifice of life, directed the regiments to remain under cover and to keep the defenders occupied by a constant platoon fire. Then, directing Cutts's horse and the Hanoverian Brigade to join the centre, he decided to make his main effort in this direction.

As soon as the first line of Churchill's infantry had formed on the far side of the Nebel, Marlborough had given the order for the horse to follow, and the whole advanced down to the stream in good order, but here their difficulties commenced. The banks and the ground between the two branches of the stream were but a morass, and notwithstanding the fascines and planks, the horses were speedily floundering girth deep in the mire. The ground on the left, where the British cavalry crossed was the worst, and here in addition, the troopers were under a galling fire from the enemy's artillery posted near Blenheim. But they struggled on and proceeded to form up on the far side, in front of the infantry.

All this time, Tallard with inconceivable fatuity had abstained from any attempt at opposing their passage except by distant artillery fire, so much so that the second line of horse had had time to form up, and Lumley, with the left of the first line was moving up the hill before Tallard gave his cavalry orders to charge them. The whole front line of the French, favoured by the slope, now bore down furiously on the British horse, which was at the same time thrown into confusion by a murderous flank fire of grape and musketry from the defences at Blenheim. Thus overwhelmed, the British cavalry were driven back nearly to the banks of the stream, before the heavy fire opened by the infantry arrested the victorious career of the French.

1704. Thrown into disorder, the latter were at once charged by the second line of cavalry, under Lieutenant-General Bulow, and driven in confusion back over the Meulweyer, the line of which the Allied horse held for some time, thus neutralizing the French horse, who could not recross the stream and dare not risk being charged in flank, by passing round the head. Not until two battalions of foot had been brought up from Blenheim were Bulow's men compelled to fall back.

By this time the broken British squadrons had been reformed, and the whole of the left was, by the exertions of Lumley, drawn up beyond the Nebel. To the right the Dutch, Danish, and Hanoverian horse were extending their line in the direction of Oberglau, and the remainder of the foot were rapidly coming into position. But the Danish and Hanoverian horse were now charged by Marsin's right wing, many squadrons being forced back over the Nebel, and a second attack was met in flank and repulsed, the assailants being in addition enfiladed by the fire of the enemy posted in and near Oberglau.

At this juncture the Prince of Holstein-Beck, who had been detailed to attack Oberglau, having cannonaded the village from the elevated ground near Weilheim, advanced with his eleven battalions and began to cross the Nebel above the village. But as soon as the head of his column appeared across the stream it was met by a fierce counter attack from nine battalions, headed by the famous Irish Brigade. The Prince's two leading battalions were cut to pieces, and he himself fell into the hands of the enemy, mortally wounded, several squadrons of Imperial horse belonging to Eugene's army who were within musket shot refusing to render any assistance.

Marlborough who witnessed this disaster at once galloped to the spot, and placing himself at the head of the brigade of Bernsdorf, led them across the stream and posted them in person, ordering up the artillery from Weilheim in support. Then, bringing forward several squadrons of the Imperialists against Marsin's cavalry, who threatened to charge, he compelled the enemy to retire into

Oberglau and beyond. It was now three o'clock in the afternoon, and having restored matters on his right, Marlborough returned to the centre.

1704.

It is now time to take note of the course of the struggle on the right, between the troops of Eugene on the one side and of Marsin and the Elector of Bavaria on the other.

The Prince of Anhalt commanding the infantry, having extended his right towards the gorge in the mountains, so as to outflank the Elector, crossed the main stream of the Nebel, which here forks into six or eight branches, about one o'clock, having been compelled to wait under the heavy fire of a battery posted in front of Lutzingen, until some guns could be brought up to the edge of the woods to cover the passage of the stream, after which the infantry advanced and after a sharp struggle, drove back the enemy and carried the battery. The Imperial cavalry, which had followed the infantry, now charged the first line of the Elector's horse and put them to flight, but in their turn were attacked by the Bavarian second line of horse and driven back across the Nebel to the edge of the woods. The Bavarians then turned on the Prussian infantry, who had captured the battery, and taking them in flank, recovered the guns. Then, being reinforced, they drove the Prussians back, despite a stout resistance. The Danish infantry further on, seeing the fate of the Prussians, also gave way, and a rout was only averted by the personal efforts of the Prince of Anhalt, who succeeded in withdrawing them under the shelter of the woods.

Prince Eugene who meanwhile had rallied the cavalry, now led them across the stream again. But after a successful charge, being unsupported and enfiladed by the fire from Oberglau and from the recaptured battery, they fell back for a second time in disorder across the stream.

◁ A Dutch brigade, belonging to Marlborough's right, had now fortunately advanced on to the high ground above Oberglau, masking the Imperialists from that quarter, and Eugene was able after reforming his cavalry, to lead them for a third time across the Nebel. The combatants on both sides were by this time nearly exhausted, and before coming

1704.

into contact halted at a stone's throw from each other. Following the example of Prince Eugene, the Elector of Bavaria could be seen riding amongst his men encouraging them by his voice and example. Anhalt meantime with the infantry, having changed front, was moving obliquely down the Bavarian flank. As soon as the foot were within striking distance Eugene gave the signal to his horse to charge, but cowed and disheartened by their two previous defeats, their onset was but half-hearted, and in a few minutes for a third time, they broke and fled in confusion across the Nebel.

Frantic with despair, leaving the Prince of Hanover and the Duke of Wurtemberg to rally the horse, Eugene galloped off to the infantry and dashed recklessly into the *melée*. Fired by his example, Anhalt's men redoubled their exertions, and after a murderous struggle drove the Bavarians through the wood across the ravine, back on Lutzen.

It was now past four o'clock, and Marlborough by this time had got the whole of his left wing across the rivulet, the horse being drawn up in two lines fronting that of the enemy. Churchill's infantry was in two lines on the left rear of the horse near Blenheim, with intervals through which the mounted troops might retire in case of repulse. Tallard had intermingled among his horse nine battalions of foot which he had brought up from his second line, and against these Marlborough brought up three battalions of Hanoverians and a battery of artillery which Colonel Blood had succeeded in bringing up over the pontoon bridges.

Under a terrific fire the Allies moved up the slope and charged, but the enemy stood firm and they were forced to fall back again to the brow of the hill, from whence a hail of musketry and grape was poured into the French ranks. For a long time the French infantry withstood the storm with the utmost gallantry, closing up steadily as the men fell, but at last they began to waver. Tallard to relieve them, ordered the squadrons on their left to charge, but the latter refused to advance, and fled before a furious charge of the allied horse, leaving the nine battalions to be over-

whelmed and cut to pieces. At the same time the right wing of Marsin's cavalry, to save themselves from being taken in flank, fell back on his centre, thus leaving a wide gap in the French line. Marsin seeing his right flank thus entirely uncovered, at once gave orders for the retreat of his wing. 170

Tallard now made a desperate effort to save the day. Drawing up his cavalry in a single line behind his camp, he despatched an urgent request to Marsin for reinforcements, and sent orders to Blenheim for the immediate withdrawal of the infantry. But Marsin had enough to do to hold his own, and could not spare a man, and the troops in Blenheim were already cut off before his orders to retire could be acted upon.

Up to five o'clock the result of the battle had been doubtful, but Marlborough now saw that victory was within his grasp. Galloping along the front from right to left, he ordered the trumpeters to sound the charge, and placing himself at the head of the allied horse, eight thousand strong, the two lines dashed up the slope. The French stood firm for a moment, delivered a desultory volley from the saddle, and then broke and fled in wild disorder, the right towards Hochstedt, the left down towards the Danube and the Schwanbach.

Immediately detaching Hompesch with thirty squadrons in pursuit of the former, Marlborough with the other fifty squadrons bore down on the broken mass before him, driving them headlong down to the Danube. Here hundreds were drowned in endeavouring to swim across the river.

A number succeeded in getting round under the cover of the bank and crossed the Schwanbach, hoping to reach Hochstedt, but they got bogged in the morass and cut off from the high road by the pursuing cavalry. A few succeeded in cutting their way through, and many perished in a mad attempt to swim the Danube.

Tallard himself, with some of his principal officers and a small body of horse, threw himself into the village of Sonderheim on the banks of the river, where cut off and

1704. surrounded, he was compelled to surrender to the Prince of Hesse.

Hompesch meanwhile pressed in hot pursuit in the direction of Hochstedt. Near Teisenhoven they surrounded three battalions of foot who promptly lay down their arms, and the fugitive horse, who had attempted to rally, seized with a panic, broke and fled towards Morselingen.

Tallard on being made prisoner was conducted to Marlborough, who treated him with every consideration and placed his coach at his disposal, and then proceeded to dispatch a pencil note written on a page torn from a memorandum book, to the Duchess in England, to announce the battle was won.\*

This done, he hurried off to complete the victory by turning all the troops he could collect against the portion of the enemy who still held their ground.

From the edge of the wood above Lutzingen, where he had halted after driving back the Bavarians, Eugene had been an eye-witness of Marlborough's advance and of the overthrow of Tallard's army. Seeing Marsin's right falling back and the Elector's infantry pouring into Lutzingen, he at once realised that they were preparing to retreat, and instantly resumed the offensive for the fourth time.

After an arduous struggle he forced his way through the woods on to the plain, pressing the enemy hotly. The latter, having set fire to Lutzingen and Oberglaue, were now in full retreat in the direction of Morselingen.

Marlborough meanwhile, perceiving that Marsin was falling back, recalled Hompesch and having reinforced him with additional squadrons, was about to charge the enemy whose columns were retiring in good order along the edge of the woods towards Morselingen, but at this moment

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\*This note is preserved in the Archives of the family at Blenheim. "I have not time to say more, but beg you will give my duty to the queen, and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. Monsieur Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest. The bearer, my aide-de-camp, Colonel Parke, will give her an account of what has passed. I shall do it in a day or two, by another more at large. Marlborough."



Eugene's troops came into sight behind the retreating enemy, in such a position as to be on the flank of the cavalry, had they charged. Darkness was falling, the air was thick with smoke, and in the obscurity they were unfortunately mistaken for the Elector's Bavarians, and the charge was countermanded. 1704.

But for this mistake the whole force must have been annihilated. As it was, although hard pressed by Eugene's cavalry, they succeeded in drawing up under cover of the woods between Lutzingen and Morselingen and collecting the remnants of Tallard's routed wing. They then fell back under the cover of darkness towards Dillingen.

We now come to the closing scene of this fierce-fought struggle, in which Churchill's Regiment played a prominent part.

Churchill, immediately on the rout of Tallard's cavalry, had pushed on with the infantry round the flank and rear of the village of Blenheim, cutting off its garrison, now without orders and without a commander, for Lieutenant-General the Marquis de Clerambault was nowhere to be found, having taken to flight and perished in attempting to cross the Danube.\* Webb, with the Queen's Regiment (8th), took possession of a barrier the enemy had constructed to cover their communications with Hochstadt, posted his men across the street leading to the Danube, and captured several hundred of the enemy who were endeavouring to make their escape that way.

Beyond Webb's Regiment, Prince George of Denmark's (Churchill's) Regiment was extended right down to the river bank, closing the other issue to the Danube, driving back or making prisoners all who sought safety in that direction.

An attempt to break out to the rear of the village being repulsed, a rush was made towards the Sonderen road, but here the French were headed and driven back by Lord

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\*Voltaire says he left Blenheim to try and find Tallard and obtain orders, and got involved in the flight of the cavalry. *Siecle de Louis XIV.*

1704. John Hay at the head of his dragoons (Scots Greys). A final attempt to cut their way out was made towards Oberglau, but here they were met by General Ross with eight squadrons of horse and compelled to seek cover behind the houses and enclosures. Churchill now directed Cutts to renew his attack on the side of the Nebel, while Lord Orkney with eight battalions assailed the churchyard on the west, and Ingoldsby with four more and Ross's dragoons endeavoured to force their way in by the opening opposite Oberglau. Supported by artillery fire, they succeeded in entering the village; but the French made such a determined resistance, particularly at the churchyard, that they were compelled to retire again. Preparations were now made for a renewed attack in overwhelming force, when a parley was opened. A French officer who had been taken prisoner, was sent forward accompanied by an English officer, to call on the garrison to surrender.

The demand was received in sullen silence, except by Monsieur de Blansac and the regiment of de Navarre, who loudly protested. De Blansac endeavoured to negotiate terms, but Churchill riding forward informed him that the Duke of Marlborough had forty battalions and sixty guns close at hand, with any amount of reinforcements; that Tallard's army was routed, the remains of that of the Elector in retreat, and Tallard himself a prisoner, and repeated the demand for immediate unconditional surrender.

De Blansac was incredulous, and refused compliance, but eventually consented to accompany an English officer to the high ground, whence he could see for himself the state of affairs. The sight convinced him that further resistance would be hopeless, and returning to Blenheim, he assembled the principal officers, pointed out their desperate situation, and advised surrender. The troops despairingly submitted to their fate, and capitulated about eight o'clock, twenty-four battalions\* and twelve squadrons of dragoons laying down their arms, the sole conditions

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\* Some accounts say twenty-eight.

being that the officers should not be searched. The regiment of Navarre however burned their colours and smashed their arms to save them from the indignity of being delivered over to the enemy. 1704.

The victory was now complete and Marlborough ordered the allied army to form up between Sonderen and Morselingen and remain for the night under arms.

The British troops round Blenheim formed a lane, wherein the prisoners stood all night under guard, the officers, out of compliment, being allowed by the Duke to retain their swords.

The enemy's tents which had been left standing, were quickly taken possession of by the various regiments, and were found to contain quantities of vegetables, and nearer to the Danube the carcasses of a hundred fat oxen were discovered dressed and ready for issue, which formed a welcome booty to the soldiers of the allied army after their long and hard day.

The Elector and Marsin having collected the shattered remains of their troops behind Hochstadt, halted there for a few hours, sending their baggage during the night across the Danube, and despatching their mounted troops towards Ulm. At daybreak the foot commenced their retreat, passing the Danube at Lauingen, and marched with the utmost precipitation on Ulm, a thousand men being left in Lauingen with orders to set fire to the bridge and withdraw as soon as the enemy should approach. The Elector at the same time sent orders to his troops at Augsburg and elsewhere, to march forthwith and join him at Ulm.

Owing to the exhaustion of their men and the very large number of prisoners who had fallen into their hands, it was impossible for the allied commanders to follow the routed enemy with their main body, and the pursuit had to be left to the Imperial horse. But the Elector needed no incentive to hasten his flight. Without waiting a moment, or attempting to obtain assistance from Villeroy, his disorganised forces fled on by forced marches through the Black Forest towards the Rhine. The wounded with whom his columns were encumbered perished by scores,

1704. and hundreds of prisoners and deserters fell into the hands of the Imperial hussars who harried the retreat.

The day after the battle the whole of the victorious army marched by Hochstadt, which had surrendered, and pitched camp between Steinheim and Wittislingen, near Lauingen and Dillingen. The wounded having been collected, were sent during the day to Donauwert, whence they were forwarded to Nordlingen.

The losses in the battle had been very heavy on both sides. According to the table given in Milner's Diary, Marlborough's wing of the allied army lost 2,818 killed and 5,442 wounded, and Prince Eugene's wing 1,724 killed and 2,500 wounded. The British contingent of 14 battalions and 18 squadrons sustained a loss of 60 officers and 610 rank and file killed and 144 officers and 1,564 rank and file wounded.

In Churchill's Regiment the casualties among the officers were as follows:—

Annals of  
Queen Anne.

Killed.	Lieutenant Scrimpsour
	Lieutenant Palfrey
Wounded.	Lieut-Colonel Peyton
	Major Hetley
	Captain Meols
	Captain Luke (mortally).
	Captain Slaughter
	Ensign Montgomery
	Ensign Bolton
	Ensign Campion
	Ensign Smith

As usual, no regimental returns of the losses among the rank and file are forthcoming, but Churchill's Regiment must have suffered severely, as it was mentioned by Marlborough as one of the "five of our weakest battalions, through the late actions." (Marlborough Despatches, 12th September, 1704.).

The Franco-Bavarian army was practically annihilated, the losses in the battle and during the subsequent disastrous retreat through the Black Forest amounting to close on 40,000.

According to Milner :—

1704.

9 Generals were killed or drowned.  
4,400 of all ranks were drowned in the Danube.  
6,000 were killed and  
8,000 were wounded.

18,409 Total killed, drowned, and wounded.

Forty-one officers of high rank, 1,159 other officers, and 14,000 rank and file were taken prisoners, and 5,000 were missing (deserted and unaccounted for).

Milner also claims that the following trophies and booty were captured :—

100 cannon, 24 mortars, 171 standards, 129 pair of colours, 17 pair of kettle drums, 15 pontoons, 24 barrels and 8 casks of silver, 34 fine coaches, 300 loaded mules, 3600 tents.

As regards the cannon and mortars they cannot have all been taken on the field of battle, for the enemy only appear to have had 90 guns with them.

The following letters from the Secretary of State for War, written more than two years after the date of the battle, are more likely to be correct :—

Whitehall 12th Novr 1706

W.O.  
Common

Sir

In answer to yours I am to acquaint you that the inclosed Acct. is what I received from ye Quarter Master Genll. and is I believe as exact as anything of this nature can be.

I am

yours etc

(sd) H. ST JOHN

Sr Jno Stanley

An Account of the French Officers and Soldrs that were Killed and taken Prisoners at the Battle of Bleinhein (sic) the 13th August 1704 N.S. :

*Taken Prisoners.*

40 General Officers  
1030 Officers of lesser note  
11079 Soldiers  
14000 Killed  
4000 Pushed into the Danube

1704.

An account of the officers and soldiers of the troops paid by England and Holland that were killed and wounded at the Battle of Bleinhem (sic):

Officers killed	190	Wounded	464
Soldiers killed	3102	Wounded	4927
Total killed	3292	Wounded	5391
		Battns	Squadns
The enemys army consisted of	84	150	
and in ye rear guard with			
the baggage ... ..	2		
The Confederate Army of ...	66	181	

The enemy had 90 pieces of canon (sic), of which there were 50 taken, and the Confederates had but 52 pieces of canon (sic).

W.O.  
Common  
Letter Book,  
No. 376, p. 107.

Whitehall Dec 27th 1706.

Sr

The occasion of my sending this is to supply what was deficient in my former and that is to acquaint you that the standards taken in the Battle of Blenheim (sic) were thirty five and the couleours one hundred twenty eight (sic).

I am etc

(sd) H. ST JOHN

Sr Jno Stanley

1704.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

1704.

The allied army remained encamped at Steinheim for several days after the victory at Blenheim. On the 5th/16th August the Duke and Prince Eugene reviewed the troops, a solemn thanksgiving service was held, and at tattoo a feu-de-joie was fired to celebrate the victory.

The next day a division was made of the prisoners taken in the battle. Although the greater number of these had been captured by the wing under Marlborough's immediate command, the latter nevertheless insisted on his colleague sharing equally all the honours, reserving however for himself, Tallard and a few other officers of note.

The Duke's share of the prisoners amounted to 5,678 of all ranks, and that of Eugene to 5,514, in addition to 3,000 men of two regiments of Germans who had been in the service of France, and who now took service voluntarily with the Allies. On the 7th/18th Tallard and the other prisoners of distinction were sent off under a guard of 40 British horse towards Hanau and Frankfort, en route to England.

It was now evident that it was of the greatest importance to follow up the victory and to drive the French forces off German soil. To continue the siege of Ingoldstadt would be but waste of time, as it and the whole of Bavaria must inevitably fall as soon as the French were forced to recross the Rhine. Steps therefore were taken to induce Prince Louis of Baden to raise the siege and to rejoin the main army with his force.

On the 8th/19th August the Allies struck camp, and marching from Steinheim, viâ Gundelfingen and Languenau, arrived at Sefelingen, a couple of miles east of Ulm, on the 10th/21st, their camp extending to within a mile of that fortress, which was garrisoned by four French

1704. and five Bavarian battalions. The governor of the place, apprehensive of a siege, released the following morning some 430 German prisoners who had been captured at various places.

On the 13th/24th Prince Louis arrived at Sefelingen from Ingoldstadt, having preceded his troops, which had now arrived at Lauingen.

By this time the Elector and Marsin had already effected their retreat through the Black Forest to Friburg, and it was therefore decided to push on to the Rhine, leaving the troops withdrawn from the siege of Ingoldstadt (23 battalions and 15 squadrons), under General Thungen, to besiege Ulm, Count Wratislaw remaining also to carry on negotiations with the Electress of Bavaria, who had assumed the regency now that the Elector was completely cut off from his dominions.

On the 15th/26th the Allies marched off from Sefelingen for the Rhine, in four separate columns, so as to lessen the strain on the country, the British and Danish troops under Churchill, following very much the same road by which they had advanced earlier in the year. The Duke however, with the British and Danish horse, remained behind at Sefelingen two days longer to supervise the arrangements for the siege of Ulm.

Churchill's column marched by Launsheim, Gross-Sissen (16th/27th), Ebersbach (17th/28th), Gross-Heppach (19th/30th), and Mundelsheim (20th/31st), where they were rejoined by Marlborough and the mounted troops. The march was resumed on the 22nd August/1st September, viâ Gross-Gartach, Eppingen, and Odenheim (24th August/4th September), the horse marching by Steffelt.

The following day the shattered remnants of the enemy's army, scarcely 12,000 strong, reached the banks of the Rhine at the bridge opposite Strasburg, and crossed the river. The same day Churchill with his infantry moved to Langenbruck, close to Steffelt, the Duke proceeding to Philipsburg, where he met Prince Eugene who had already arrived at that point with his column. During the afternoon the Duke crossed the river and made a reconnaissance



towards Spierbach. On the 26th August/6th September the Duke with the whole of the British and Danish troops, marched from Steffelt and Langenbruck to Kurloch, and intelligence being received that the mounted troops of the enemy had been seen on the high ground opposite Philipsburg, the British and Danish horse were immediately sent across the Rhine to reinforce Prince Eugene's troops, who had crossed that morning. As soon as they advanced towards the enemy the latter fell back beyond the river Queich to Germersheim. Next morning, Marlborough with the British, Danes, Dutch, Lunenbergers and Hessians, crossed the Rhine a little below Philipsburg, camping with the troops who had already crossed, on the Spierbach, near Spires, where they were joined the next day by Prince Louis of Baden and the Imperial horse. The allied army was now reunited. 1704

During the day intelligence was received that Marshal Villeroy, with Marsin and the forces under his command, had advanced to the line of the river Queich in order to cover Landau, so the next morning (29th August/9th September) the Allies marched towards the Queich, with a view of bringing the enemy to battle or compelling him to fall back, which latter course he adopted at the first appearance of the Allies, abandoning the strong position which he had been fortifying for some days, and retiring in considerable disorder to Langencandel, having partially destroyed the bridges across the Queich. These were soon made passable for the infantry, and the horse traversing the stream by the fords, the Allies rapidly advanced and encamped that evening between Offenbach and Belheim, on the very ground previously occupied by Villeroy.

Next morning (30th August/10th September) at sunrise the advance was resumed, but the enemy who had lain on their arms all night, retired precipitately towards the Lauter as soon as they received intelligence of the Allies' movements. The latter encamped between Barelreth and Langencandel, where they remained the following day, Villeroy meanwhile falling back across the Lauter to Hagenau, abandoning any attempt at covering Landau,

1704. which fortified town was invested on the 1st/12th September by Prince Louis of Baden with 48 battalions and 120 squadrons of Germans, Marlborough and Eugene with the rest of the army, marching to Croon-Weissemburg on the Lauter, to cover the siege.

Marlboro'  
Despatches,  
12th Sept.,  
1704.

Ibid.

The same day, an escort being required to convoy the French prisoners taken at Blenheim, from Maintz to Holland, Brigadier Ferguson was detached with "five of our weakest battalions through the late actions" for the purpose. Amongst these was Churchill's (Prince George of Denmark's) Regiment. The battalions in question were: "One of the Royal Regiment, General Churchill's, the Lord North and Grey's, Brig. Rowe's, and Brig. Meredyth's"\*

The five battalions marched from Langencandel on the 1st/12th September for Maintz, where they embarked with the French prisoners, and proceeded down the Rhine, arriving with them at the Hague about the 30th September/10th October, whence they proceeded into various garrisons for the winter. Officers were at once sent to England for recruiting purposes, the Duke having directed "that as soon as the regiments come to garrison, a complete number of officers be sent over for recruits."†

This therefore, concludes the part which Churchill's Regiment took in the memorable campaign of 1704. Operations, however continued for some weeks longer.

Ulm capitulated on the 1st/12th September, the garrison being allowed to march out with the honours of war. The stores and artillery captured formed a valuable supply for the siege of Landau for which artillery and ammunition were badly wanted.

The siege however, made very slow progress, and meanwhile the enemy were making preparations to concentrate a force on the Moselle, by drawing troops from Flanders and the Upper Rhine. Marlborough therefore decided to leave

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\*Now the Royal Scots, the Buffs, the Lincolnshire, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, and the Hampshire Regiments.

†The distribution of the British regiments during the winter of 1704/5 is not forthcoming.

the command of the covering army to Prince Eugene, and by a sudden dash to seize Treves (Trier) and Trarbach, on the Moselle, the possession of which points was of vital importance for the furtherance of his plans for the future. 1704.

Preparations were made with great secrecy. On the 2nd/13th October Brigadier Meredyth, with four British battalions (one of the Royal Regiment, Hamilton's, Ingoldsby's, and Tatton's),\* marched from Cron-Weissemburg to Gernersheim, whence they were to proceed by boat down the Rhine to Holland, where with the five English regiments already sent there with the prisoners, they were to take the place of ten regiments of Dutch foot and six squadrons of horse, which were ordered to advance towards the Moselle. Arrangements were made with the Elector of Treves, the Elector Palatine, and the Landgrave of Hesse for supplies of artillery and ammunition, and leaving the British artillery, horse, and remaining five regiments of foot with Prince Eugene's force, the Duke set out about the middle of the month, through a most difficult country, and arrived with twelve thousand men of all arms before Treves, which was occupied on the 18th/29th, the small French garrison of the fort retiring across the Moselle. Having taken steps for the immediate repair and strengthening of the fortifications, he marched for Trarbach, being joined on the 23rd October/3rd November by the Dutch troops from Holland. Trarbach which was held by a small French garrison, was laid siege to and Marlborough, leaving the operations to be directed by the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, returned at once to Weissemburg, arriving before Landau on the 27th October/7th November. Next day Landau capitulated, Trarbach surrendering about the same time.

"Thus by the operations of one single campaign was Alison. Bavaria crushed, Austria saved, and Germany delivered. Marlborough's cross march from Flanders to the Danube had extricated the Imperialists from a state of the utmost

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\*Royal Scots, Royal Irish, Royal Welsh Fusiliers, and South Wales Borderers.

1704. peril, and elevated them at once to security, victory, and conquest. The decisive blow struck at Blenheim resounded through every part of Europe ; it at once destroyed the vast fabric of power which it had taken Louis XIV. . . so long to construct. Instead of proudly descending the Danube, and threatening Vienna . . . the French were driven in the utmost disorder across the Rhine. The surrender of Trarbach and Landau gave the Allies a firm footing on the left bank of that river. The submission of Bavaria deprived the French of that great outwork, of which they have always made such good use in their German wars ; the Hungarian insurrection, disappointed of the expected aid from the armies on the Rhine, was pacified. Prussia was induced by this great triumph to co-operate in a more efficient manner in the common cause . . . the parsimony of the Dutch gave way before the joy of success ; and the Empire, delivered from invasion, was preparing to carry its victorious arms into the heart of France."

Alison.

The possession of the line of the Moselle having been made secure, the allied army broke up on the 2nd/13th November, and dispersed into winter quarters, the British troops still in the field marching in a body to Philipsburg, and sailing down the Rhine to Holland.

The Duke of Marlborough before returning to England, visited Berlin, Hanover, and the Hague. His reception at the courts of Berlin and Hanover resembled that of a sovereign prince. Everywhere he was received with acclamations. Titles and honours were showered upon him. In England more substantial rewards awaited him. The royal manor of Woodstock was settled upon him and his heirs, and a magnificent palace was commenced for him at the national expense.

The troops too, who had so materially contributed to the success of the campaign, were for once not forgotten. A bounty was decreed to all ranks, and on the 12th December an order was issued to all commanding officers directing exact lists to be prepared of all officers, non-commissioned officers and men who took part in the battle of Blenheim, with the names of commissioned officers killed and

W.O.  
Common  
Letter Book,  
No.374, p.111.

wounded, and of the men wounded in the actions in Germany. 1704.

The bounties awarded to the various ranks were as follows:—The Commander-in-Chief £600, general £360, lieutenant-generals £240, major-generals £120, brigadiers £90, colonels £72, lieutenant-colonels £51, captains £30, lieutenants £14, ensigns £11, sergeants £2, corporals £1 10s., privates £1. Widows and children of slain officers also received gratuities, but those of the rank and file do not appear to have been considered. Wounded officers received double gratuities, and £4,000 was appropriated for the disabled men of all the regiments. A sum of £400 was also granted to each regiment of foot, for making good the arms and accoutrements lost and damaged.

A Treasury paper, dated 6th March, 1704/5, which has happily been preserved, gives the distribution of the bounty money, with complete regimental nominal rolls of the officers and the amounts they received, and the numbers of the rank and file.

“A distribution of the Bounty Money which Her Majesty Treasury is graciously pleased to bestow upon the Land Forces who Papers, behaved themselves so gallantly in the late actions in Vol. 93, p. 1 Germany” :—

General Officers Allowances.

Charles Churchill Esq Genll.	...	...	...	360	0	0
Genll Churchill's Regt.						
Col and Capt	Charles Churchill	...	...	72	0	0
Lt-Col and Capt	Henry Peyton (W)	...	...	102	0	0
Capt	Wm Lloyd	...	...	30	0	0
	Charles Churchill	...	...	30	0	0
	Jo Chivers	...	...	30	0	0
	— Desney	...	...	30	0	0
	John Hetley (W)	...	...	60	0	0
	John Meols (W)	...	...	60	0	0
	John Sloughter (W)	...	...	60	0	0
Lieuts	Richard Abington	...	...	14	0	0
	John Melvill	...	...	14	0	0
	John Preston	...	...	14	0	0
	Tho Pyne	...	...	14	0	0

1704.

	Hugh Scott	...	...	...	14	0	0
	Tho White	...	...	...	14	0	0
	John Scott	...	...	...	14	0	0
	Wm Kenny	...	...	...	14	0	0
	John Grearson	...	...	...	14	0	0
	Nath Gittings	...	...	...	14	0	0
Ensigns	Peter Grant	...	...	...	11	0	0
	Robt Melvill	...	...	...	11	0	0
	Tho Smith	...	...	...	22	0	0
	Hugh Montgomery	...	...	...	22	0	0
	J. Bolton (W)	...	...	...	22	0	0
	— Champion	...	...	...	22	0	0
Chaplain	John Sanby	...	...	...	20	0	0
QrMar	Owen Evans	...	...	...	14	0	0
Chirurgeon	John Smallbones	...	...	...	12	0	0
Mate	(*)				7	10	0
34 Sergeants each	2	0	0	...	68	0	0
34 Corporalls†	1	10	0	...	45	0	0
491 Drumrs and Soldrs	1	0	0	...	491	0	0
					<hr/>		
					1381	10	0

List of the Widows and Children of the Slain Officers of the Regiments aforementioned.

Churchill. Lieut Mrs Palphrey ... 4 children 28 0 0

In addition to the above-mentioned officers who took part in the campaign Ensigns Harrison and Caldicut were killed at the Storming of the Schellenberg, and Lieutenants Scrimpsour and Palphrey at Blenheim, and Captain Luke died of wounds.

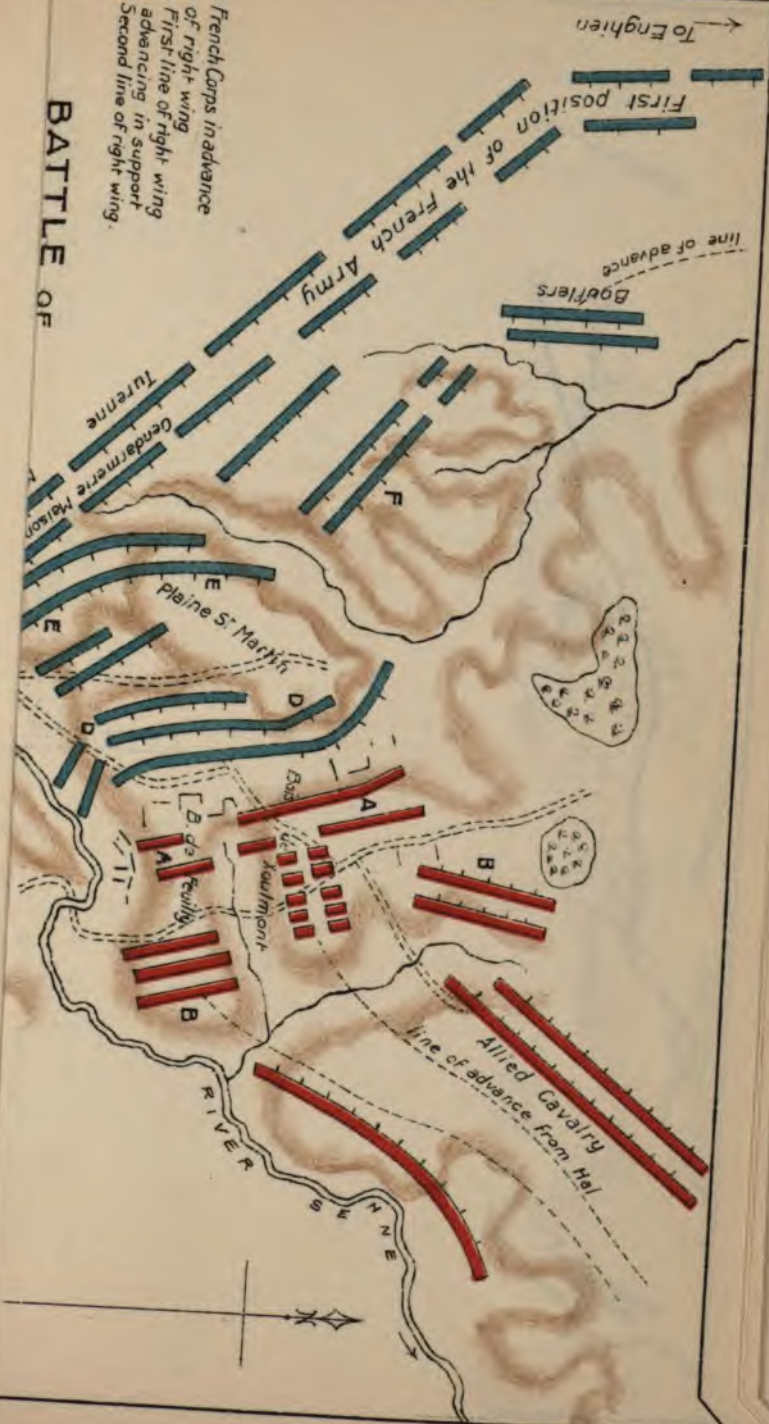
Captain Prater's company which had been raised in the spring appears to have arrived in Holland too late to take part in the campaign.

\*According to Dalton, Alexander Arthur, who was appointed to the regiment as Surgeon's Mate in 1694 served in this capacity with the regiment at Blenheim.

†There is a discrepancy here. Either the number of corporals or the amount is incorrect.

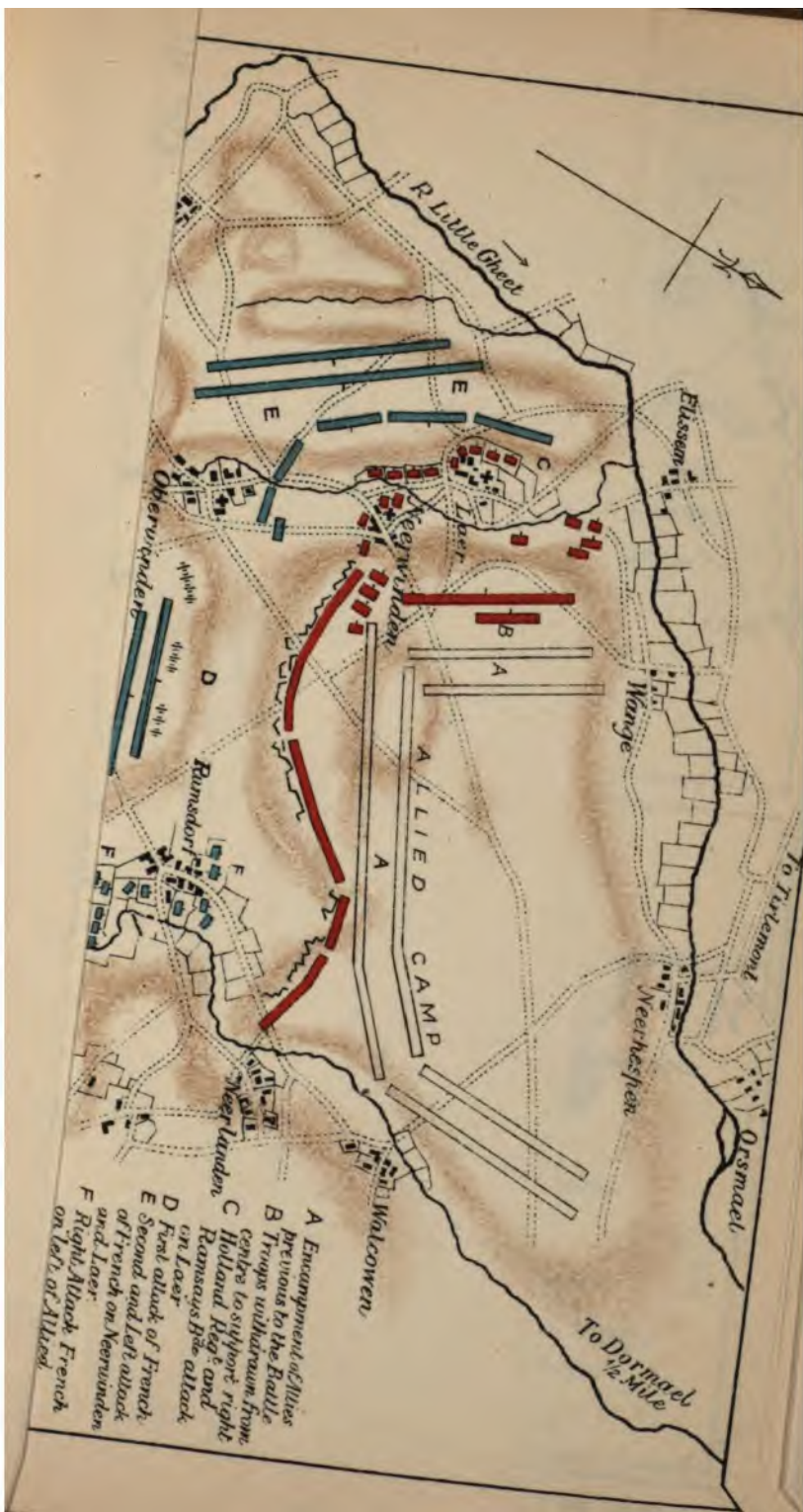
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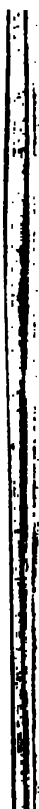
- D French Corps in advance of right wing
- E First line of right wing advancing in support
- F Second line of right wing

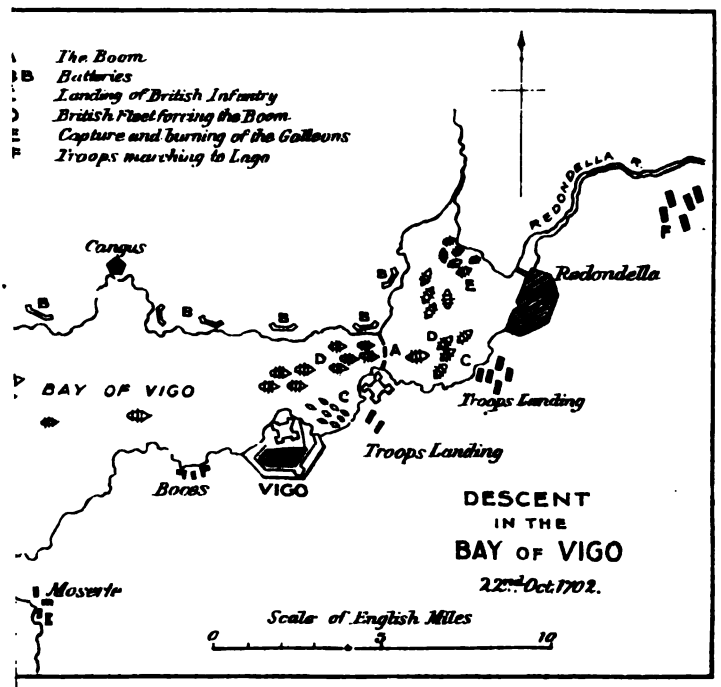
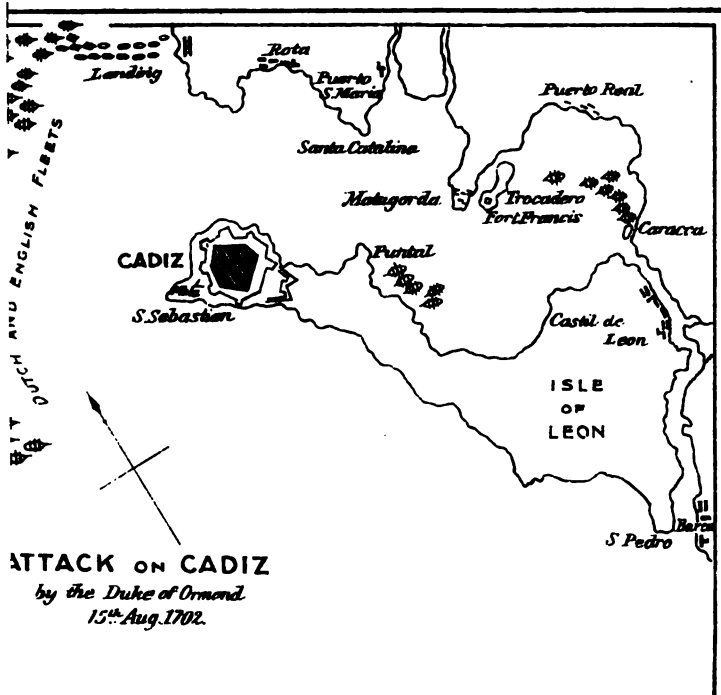












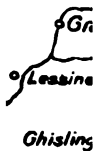
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Copied by permission of Mr. John Murray  
from the "History of the First or Grenadier Gua"





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*Luxemburg*

*Zürich*

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Luxemburg

Zürich







## APPENDIX.

1

NOMINAL ROLL,  
SUCCESSION AND COMMISSION LIST  
OF THE OFFICERS APPOINTED TO  
THE HOLLAND REGIMENT,  
AFTERWARDS  
PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK'S  
REGIMENT,  
AND NOW  
THE BUFFS,  
FROM  
1665-1704.

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COMPILED BY CAPT. H. R. KNIGHT,

LATE THE BUFFS

## NOTE.

This Nominal Roll, Succession and Commission List, has been compiled almost entirely from the original entries in the Domestic State Papers, the Home Office Military Entry Books, War Office Commission Entry Books, and other documents preserved at the Records Office, and from the Flanders Army List (Add. MSS. 17918) at the British Museum and various other official documents of the period.\*

At the same time, I must most gratefully acknowledge the immense assistance I have derived from Professor Charles Dalton's monumental work, "English Army Lists and Commission Registers,"† without which guide the task would have been unending.

The list can at the best be but imperfect. It must be remembered that with the exception of Nathan Brooks' Army List published in 1684, the earliest printed Army List was not published until 1740. Only a few manuscript lists of officers serving in the British army during the period dealt with, are forthcoming, and only an occasional manuscript regimental roll.‡ But these are few and far between. The custom of notifying appointments and commissions in the Gazette was not adopted until after 1714. Retirements, resignations and deaths were never notified. Moreover when a regiment was sent on foreign service, the appointment and promotion of officers was delegated to the Officer Commanding the Forces, who filled up all vacancies without the knowledge of the government at home. Of these appointments very few records exist.

Added to this, many of the entries in the books preserved at the Records Office were made in the most careless way. As Professor Dalton remarks, they "were jotted down

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\* The War Office documents of the time are now preserved at the Public Records Office.

† "*English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714.*" Edited by Charles Dalton, F.R.G.S., 6 vols.

‡ These have been printed in the body of the book.



. . . . by clerks whose system of book-keeping was the harum-scarum helter-skelter, one down another come on style. . . . The Civil Service clerk of the reign of Charles II. . . . seems to have prided himself on his ingenuity in seldom spelling a proper name twice in the same way." As the Professor points out, many of the War Office Commission Books are lamentably deficient and misleading, and the transcripts from the Home Office books are frequently incorrect and there is a frequent and marked discrepancy in the orthography of the names of the officers whose corresponding commissions appear in the Home Office books. "The practice . . . of sending blank commissions to the colonels of newly raised regiments . . . . . to be filled in by commanding officers was productive of many gaps in the registers. Add to the above causes the slap-dash way of book-keeping as practised by the Civil Service clerks of the 17th Century, and no further comment on missing registers are necessary."—*Dalton*.

N.B.—It will be noticed that many of the officers, particularly the subalterns, are shown as having two or more commissions in the same rank, but bearing different dates. This arises from the fact that it was the custom to commission a captain to command a particular company, and subalterns in the same way were commissioned to serve as lieutenant or ensign, as the case might be, to a particular captain. Thus, any change of company or of captain involved the issue of a fresh commission. There are also several cases in which captains whose companies had been reduced, were re-appointed to the regiment as subalterns.

H. R. KNIGHT.

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	LT.-COL.	COLONEL.	
SIDNEY, Robert* ... (Sydney)	—	—	25 June, 1665	—	—	31 May, 1665	d. 1668. 3rd son of Robert, 2nd E. of Leicester. See Chapter I. and note.
HOWARD, Sir Thomas*	—	—	—	—	23 June, 1665	—	Out of regt., Sept., 1674.
BRUCE, Alexander*	—	—	—	23 June, 1665	—	—	d. Sept., 1665.
OGLE, Sir Thomas*	—	—	21 June, 1665	19 Sept., 1665	9 Nov., 1682	—	2nd son of Sir J. Ogle, of Pinchbeck, who served many years in the Low Countries, as did his son Thos., who was knighted in 1660. Out of regt., October, 1685. Govr. of Chelsea Hosp., 1696. d. 1702.
POMEROY, Henry* (Pomroy)	—	—	22 June, 1665	—	—	—	Out of regt., Jan., 1677.
ALCOCK, Baptist* ...	—	—	23 June, 1665	—	—	—	Out of regt. in Autumn of 1672.
WILDBORE, Robert*	—	23 June, 1665	—	—	—	—	Was Captain-Lieut. in 1674. Not in regt. in 1684. Probably out in Feb., 1681.
GRIFFITH, Richard* (Griffin)	—	23 June, 1665	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1684.
RISSELY, Paul* ...	—	23 June, 1665	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1684.

WILLIAMSON, George*	...	—	23 June, 1665	—	—	—	—	Probably out of regt., 1667.
BASSET, George* ... (? Barnet)	...	—	23 June, 1665	—	—	—	—	Probably out of regt., 1666.
STARLING, James* (Sterling) (Stirling)	...	—	23 June, 1665	—?—? 1672	9 Nov., 1682	—	—	Was a Capt. in 1672. Left regt. in 1688, before 31st Oct.
MEOLDS, William* (Miles) (Myles)	...	23 June, 1665	3 July, 1666	17 Oct., 1673	—	—	—	Commanded company sent to Virginia. d. there, Dec., 1677.
BOULTON, Robert*	...	23 June, 1665	—	—	—	—	—	Probably out of regt., July, 1666.
PRESTON, Thomas*	...	23 June, 1665 28 July, 1669	—	—	—	—	—	Probably out of regt., 1673.
MANLEY, Roger* ...	...	23 June, 1665	—	19 Sept., 1665	—	—	—	Capt. Foot Guards, 2 Nov., 1672.
PHETTIPLACE, Phillip* (Fetiplace)	...	23 June, 1665	—	—	—	—	—	Probably out of regt., Nov., 1665.
PHETTIPLACE, William* ... (Fetiplace) (fettiplace)	...	23 June, 1665	12 Nov., 1674	—	—	—	—	Quartermaster, 31 May, 1680. Out of regt., May, 1683.

\* All these officers were appointed to the regiment on its first formation, having previously been in the Dutch service, which they left on being called upon to forswear allegiance to Charles II. *Vide* Chap. I.

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	LT.-COL.	COLONEL.	
ROUSE, Gervas* ... (Jervas)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Adjutant, 23 June, 1665. Still so, Oct., 1684. Out of regt. in Feb., 1685.
VAUX, (Lieut.) Patrick* ... (Faux) (Fausse)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Quartermaster and Marshal, 23 June, 1665. Out of regt. Dec. 1675.
PIERCE, James ... (Peirce) (Pierse) (Pearce)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chirurgeon, 23 June, 1665. Previously in Royal Navy. Out of regt. after Oct., 1688.
PAULIN, Richard ... (Pawlinge)	3 Nov., 1665	—	—	—	—	—	Ensign in Basset's Regt., June, 1667.
CAREW, Mat. ... (Carey) (? Nat)	15 Nov., 1665	9 Nov., 1666	—	—	—	—	d. Dec., 1669.
KILLIGREW, William ...	—	—	3 July, 1666	—	—	—	Out of regt. before June, 1667. Appears to have re-entered the Dutch service. See Chapter I.
FINES, (Capt.) Wm. (Fiennes <i>alias</i> Clinton)	—	3 July, 1666	—	—	—	—	Served previously as Capt. in the Tangier Regt. and before the Restoration in Lockhart's Regt. at Dunkirk. <i>Dalton</i> . Not in the regt. in 1684.
KILLIGREW, Charles ...	3 July, 1666	—	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1684.
MORGAN, Robert ...	—	—	3 July, 1666	—	—	—	Out of regt. Oct., 1667.

KENNEDY, Phil. ...	3 July, 1666	—	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1684.
EUBANK, Henry ... (Ewbank)	—	—	—	—	4 July, 1666	—	Out of regt. before June, 1667.
BOURKE, William ...	—	4 July, 1666	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1684.
COTTER, James ...	—	—	—	—	5 July, 1666	—	Transferred with his company to the Barbadoes Regt., Feb., 1667. See Chap. III.
EWER, John ...	—	5 July, 1666	—	—	—	—	Probably transferred with Capt. Cotter, whose Lieut. he was, to Barbadoes Regt., Feb., 1667. See Chap. III.
MATHEWS, Abednego ... (Matthews)	5 July, 1666	—	—	—	—	—	Transferred to Barbadoes Regt., Feb., 1667. Attained rank of Col. and Govr. St. Christophers, 1678. d. 1681, aged 49. <i>Dillon</i> .
BOLTON, Richard ... (Boulton)	5 July, 1666	19 June, 1676	—	—	31 Dec., 1688 14 Feb., 1689	—	Addl. MS., 17,918, gives date of his Capt. Commn. 31 Dec., 1688. Served in Flanders. Was in regt. in 1695, not in 1702.
BALL, Richard ...	10 July, 1666 25 July, 1669	—	—	—	—	—	d. 1682.

\* All these Officers were appointed to the regiment on its first formation, having previously been in the Dutch service, which they left on being called upon to forswear allegiance to Charles II. *Vide* Chap. I.

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	LT.-COL.	COLONEL.	
GREGORY, Thomas	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chaplain, Aug., 1666. Out of regt. July, 1673.
GOLDNEY, Henry ... (Goldinge) (Golding)	9 Nov., 1666	22 Dec., 1669	—	—	—	—	Probably out of regt., March, 1673.
WORMELEY, Ralph (Woomley)	— Feb. 1667	11 Nov., 1672	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1684.
HENSHAW, Thomas	—	2 March, 1667	—	—	—	—	Ditto.
BELL, Henry	2 March, 1667	—	—	—	—	—	Ditto.
LUNSFORD, Sir Herbert ... (Lundsford)	—	—	13 March, 1667	—	—	—	Son of Thos. Lunsford, and bro. to Col. Sir Tho. Lunsford. Served as Col. in the army of Chas. I. and was knighted by him. Aids. Col. in the French service. <i>Dalton</i> . Out of regt. between 1679 and 1683.
SIDNEY, Henry ... (Sydney)	—	—	20 June, 1667 30 Oct., 1667	—	—	—	Youngest son of Robt., and E. of Leicester, and bro. of Col. Robt. Sidney. Col. of a regt. of foot, Feb., 1678. Ambassador to the Hague, 1679. Commanded the English troops in the Low Countries. Was largely instrumental

[illegible]

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	LT.-COL.	COLONEL.	
VANE, Sir Walter ...	—	—	—	—	—	12 Aug., 1668	Appd. Col. on death of Col. Robt. Sidney. Had seen much service on the Continent. Left the Dutch service in 1665, since which he had commanded successively a troop of Horse, a new raised regt. (disbanded in 1667) and a Company of the Guards. Re-entered the Dutch service as Major Genl. commanding the English Troops in that service, 12 Dec., 1673. Appd. Col. of a regt., now the 6th. k. at the Battle of Seneffe, 1 Aug., 1674.
MORGAN, Walter ...	22 Dec., 1669	17 March, 1673	—	—	—	—	Was Lieut. of the company sent to Virginia in 1676. Not in regt. in 1684.
HOWARD, John ...	—	—	—?—? 1672	—	—	—	Succeeded either Alcock or Manley as Capt. in 1672. Transferred with his Compy. to the regt. formed for the French service in Nov., 1672. See Chap. IV.
WATTS, Edward ...	11 Nov., 1672	—	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1684.
HOWELL, Richard ...	17 March, 1673	—	—	—	—	—	Ditto.
HEWET, John ...	19 June, 1673	28 Jan. 1678	—	—	—	—	Ditto.



DALGARNE, Arthur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Chaplain, 11 July, 1673. Out of regt., May, 1678.
BERRY, Capt. Sir John	...	...	...	...	...	18 Aug., 1673	...	...	d. Feb., 1691. A distinguished Naval Officer. See note in Chap. V.
STARLING, Francis (Sterling) (Stirling)	...	18 Aug., 1673	1 Jan., 1679	...	...	...	...	...	Served in Flanders. (prisoner 1692). d'Auvergne refers to him as <i>Captaine</i> . Was probably the officer of the name w. at Steinkirk. Not in regt. in 1695.
THOMAS, Humphry	...	...	18 Aug., 1673	...	...	...	...	...	Not in regt. in 1684.
PRIDEAUX, John	...	...	17 Oct., 1673	...	...	...	...	...	Out of regt. after Nov., 1687. ? Capt. in E. of Bath's Regt., 28 Sept., 1688.
ROGERS, Francis	...	3 Dec., 1673 1 Mar., 1678 1 Sept., 1679	...	...	...	...	...	...	Out of regt., 1688. Probably Lt. Troop of II. Gds., 1687. See Chap. VII.
MULGRAVE, John, Earl of	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13 Dec., 1673	John Sheffield, 3rd E. of Mulgrave. B. 1649. Was Volunteer in Navy for six weeks in 1666. Capt. of a troop of horse, 1667. Rejoined Navy 1672. Was at battle of Solebay. Appd. Capt. of 84 gun ship. Col. of a newly raised regt. of foot (merged into the Holland . Regt.) 1673. K.G. and Lord of the Bedchamber, 1674. Govr. of Hull and Lord Lieut. of E. Riding of Yorkshire, 1679. Appd. to command troops for

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	LT.-COL.	COLONEL.	
MULGRAVE, John, Earl of (continued).							Tangier, 1680. Disgraced and depd. of Colcy. and all appis., 1682. Re-appd. Col. of Holland Regt, 1684. Vacated command 1685 on appt. of Lord Chamberlain and Vice Adml. of York. Created Marquess of Normanby, 1694. D. of Buckingham, 1702. d. 1721. b. Westminster Abbey.
BEAUMONT, John ...	—	—	9 Jan., 1674	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1684.
COLLOPP, John ...	—	9 Jan., 1674	—	—	—	—	Was Adj. of Mulgrave's Regt. before it was merged into the Holland Regt. Not in Regt. in 1684.
TURNER, Thomas...	—	9 Jan., 1674	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1684.
* * *	* * *	* * *	* * *	* * *	* * *	* * *	N.B.—In January, 1674, eight companies of the E. of Mulgrave's Regt. were ordered to be merged into the Holland Regt., but were disbanded in March the same year. For list of officers see Chap. V.
MIDDLETON, Chas., E. of...	—	—	—	—	23 Sept., 1674	—	Charles Middleton, 2nd E. of Middleton (s. 1673), served as Capt. (as Lord Clermont) in Mulgrave's Regt. Was in command of the garrison of Bruges

MORGAN, Rowland	...	—	—	25 April, 1675	—	—	—	Out of regt., Oct., 1682.	in spring of 1678. Out of the regt. in Nov., 1682. Appd. Privy Councillor and Secty. of State for Scotland shortly before death of Chas. II. Adhered, tho' a staunch Protestant, to James II. Joined him in exile. Outlawed and attainted. Created E. of Monmouth in 1701 by James III. (the Old Pretender). <i>Vide</i> Macaulay.
WILLIAMSON, Francis	...	—	26 Apr., 1675 1 Nov., 1678	26 Sept., 1688 (Capt.- Lieut.)	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1695.	
RICHARDSON, John	...	26 Apr., 1675	23 Nov., 1677	9 Jan., 1678* 1 June, 1679	—	—	—	Re-appointed Capt., 1 June, 1679. Left regt., Jan., 1681. <i>Dillon</i> .	
BRICE, Tim (? Brien, Ferdinando)	...	—	—	—	—	—	—	Quartermaster, 27 Dec., 1675. Out of regt., Nov., 1678.	
FORSTER, Ferd. ... (? Foster, Fras)	...	16 June, 1676	1 Aug., 1688	—?—	—	—	—	Out of regt., 1691, at wh. time he was a Captain.	
CORNEWALL, Henry	...	—	—	1 Jan., 1677	—	—	—	Transferred as Capt.-Lieut. to E. of Oxford's Regt. (Royal H. Gds.), 31 Aug., 1682.	

\* Appointed to one of the nine additional companies added to the regiment in Jan., 1678, and reduced in December the same year.

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	L.T.-COL.	COLONEL.	
WILSON, Samuel ...	23 June, 1677	—	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1684.
BOADE, Henry ...	—	—	23 Nov., 1677	—	—	—	Transferred to Queen's Regt. of Horse, 6 June, 1685.
FOX, Edward ...	23 Nov., 1677	1 Sept., 1679	16 Feb., 1688	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1695.
PARKER, John ...	28 Nov., 1677	30 Mar., 1678 (2nd Lieut.)	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1684.
KIRKE, Philip (Kirk) ...	—	—	8 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	Re-appd. after his company was reduced, date uncertain. Commanded compy. sent to Tangier, 1680. Transd. to Foot Gds., Jan., 1683.
MARTIN, John (Martyn) ...	—	8 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	Re-appd. Lieut., date uncertain. Not in regt., 1695. ? Capt. 1st Marine Regt., 16 Jan., 1690.
RICHARDSON, Fras. ? (Micha) ...	8 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—	—
MORGAN, William ...	—	9 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—
NICHOLSON, Fras. ...	9 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—	—

## HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE BUFFS

521

WHEELER, Trevor...	...	—	—	10 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—
JACKSON, Allen ...	...	—	10 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—	—
DEANE, Robert ...	...	10 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MANWARING, Charles (Mannaring) (Manning)	...	—	—	11 Jan., 1678*	16 March, 1680	?— 1691	—?	—	Re-appd. Capt., 16 March, 1680. Capt. in de Miremont's Horse, 23 Sept., 1688, which was disbd. in Dec. same year. Was brought back to the Holland Regt. (commissions not forthcoming) and was Lieut.-Col. in 1692 and 1693. d. of apoplexy 20 Feb., 1694. Served in Flanders. See Chaps. XI., XIV., XVI.
FIELDING, Henry ...	...	—	11 Jan., 1678* 15 Dec., 1680	—	—	—	—	—	Re-appd. Lt. 15 Dec., 1680. Capt. Mont- gomery's Regt., 27 Sept., 1688.
GOTCH, Thomas ...	...	11 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CORNWALL, Gilbert	...	—	—	12 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—
HILL, Thomas ...	...	—	12 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—	—

\* Appointed to one of the nine additional companies added to the regiment in Jan., 1678, and reduced in December the same year.

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	LT.-COL.	COLONEL.	
DOUGHTY, Edmund ...	12 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—	—
COLLINGWOOD, Francis ...	— 1 Jan., 1679	— 1 Sep., 1679	13 Jan., 1678* 27 Jan., 1681	6 Dec., 1688	?	—	Re-appd. Ens. after his Compy. was dis- banded. Cap. Peyton was appd. Major, 1 Jan., 1691. Whether Collingwood was appd. Lt.-Col. or had left the regt. is not clear as there is no record forth- coming. He was appointed Col. of Fitzpatrick's Regt. (afterwards dis- banded) 1 Aug., 1692. Served in Flanders.
COLLINGWOOD, — ...	—	13 Jan., 1679*	—	—	—	—	—
KING, Thomas ...	13 Jan., 1678* 1 Sept., 1679	1 July, 1687 (2nd Lieut.)	—	—	—	—	Re-appd. Ens. 1 Sept., 1679. ? Capt. Ld. Huntingdon's Regt., 25 Sept., 1688.
DE LA VAL, Ralph (Deval)	—	—	14 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—
BARNETT, Walter ...	—	14 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—
HABBORN, Arthur ...	14 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—	—

HILDYARD, Charles	...	—	15 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	Appd. 2nd Adjt. to "Our Holland Regt.," 1st Mar., 1678, presumably to the additional companies disbanded at the end of the year. Re-appd. Lieut., May, 1680. Was Adjt., Feb., 1685 to 1688. Town Major of Berwick-on-Tweed, 28 June, 1685. Was still in the regt. as Lieut. in 1688. Appd. Brevel-Colonel of Foot, 7 Dec., 1689. Lieut.-Col. Bolton's Regt., served with it in Martinique Expdn., 1693. Col., 1 Jan., 1694. Col. of newly raised Regt. of Marines, 12 Feb., 1702. Maj.-Gen., 1 Jan., 1707. Lieut.-Gen., 1 Jan., 1710.
COLE, Henry	..	15 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—	—
FITZPATRICK, Edward (Fitz-Patrick)	...	—	16 Jan., 1678*	1 Oct., 1688	6 Dec., 1688	—	—	Re-appd. Ens., 1 Jan., 1679. Served at Tangier, 1680 (severely wounded). Appd. Col. of a newly-raised regt., 31 Dec., 1688. Col. of the Royal Fusiliers, 1 Aug., 1692, for conspicuous gallantry at Steinkirk. Commanded an infantry brigade at the siege of Namur. Drowned in a wreck on the coast of Ireland, 10 Nov., 1696.
		1 Jan., 1679	29 Mar., 1680	27 Dec., 1680				

\* Appointed to one of the nine additional companies added to the regiment in Jan., 1678, and reduced in December the same year.

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	L.T.-COL.	COLONEL.	
BRISTOW, Peter ...	—	16 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—
ROULES, Henry ...	16 Jan., 1678*	—	—	—	—	—	—
BRISTOW, John ... (Bristoe)	28 Feb., 1678	—	30 Mar., 1678 12 Feb., 1681 (Capt.- Lieut.)	—	—	—	Capt. of a Grenadier Co. raised in 1678 and reduced in 1679. Re-appointed to the regt. as Capt.-Lieut., 1681. ? Major in Gower's Regt., 1689.
WOONCOCK, Edward ...	30 Mar., 1678	—	—	—	—	—	—
MAILES, John ... (Meols) (Meules)	— Sept., 1679	30 Mar., 1678 1 Nov., 1685	2 Feb., 1689	—	—	—	Lieut. of Grenadier Co. raised in 1678 and reduced in 1679. Re-appd. Ens., Sep., 1679. Flanders Army List gives date of his Capt's. commn. as 20 May, 1689. Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expn., Blenheim (w.). Out of regt., 2 Jan., 1708.
TURNER, William ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chaplain, 1 May, 1678. Out of regt. in Nov., 1685.
STAFFORD, William ...	19 May, 1678*	—	—	—	—	—	—



LASHLEY, William (Lesley)	...	—	—	1 June, 1678 1 Mar., 1678	—	—	—	—	Appd., <i>vice</i> Meoles; who d. in Virginia in previous Decr. Comm. ante-dated to 1 Mar. at request of E. of Mulgrave. Out of regt., June, 1679.  Not in regt. in 1684.
MARMAN, John	...	—	—	1 Nov., 1678	—	—	—	—	Do.
JONES, William	...	—	—	1 Nov., 1678	—	—	—	—	Do.
BOLES, Thomas	...	—	1 Nov., 1678	—	—	—	—	—	Quartermaster, 1 Nov., 1678. Out of regt. May, 1680.  Not in regt., autumn, 1688.
BUTLER, —	...	...	—	—	—	—	—	—	Out of regt., Feb., 1688. Son of Sir Chas. Wheeler, Bt., s. his father, 1693.  Was in regt. 1695. Out before 1702. Served in Flanders.
SMITH, Thomas	...	28 Feb., 1680	—	—	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1684.
WHEELER, Sir William (Wheeler)	...	29 Mar., 1680	9 Feb., 1681	1 Nov., 1682	—	—	—	—	See Chap. IV. Not in regt. in 1684.
MORE, Robert (Moore) † Richard (Moor)	...	10 June, 1680	26 Sept., 1688	1 Sept., 1689	—	—	—	—	
FITZPATRICK, Theobald	...	9 Feb., 1681	—	—	—	—	—	—	
SALLOWAY, Robert (Salway)	...	21 Feb., 1681	—	—	—	—	—	—	

\* Appointed to one of the nine additional companies added to the regiment in Jan., 1678, and reduced in December the same year.

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	LT.-COL.	COLONEL.	
WOODCOCK, John ...	21 Feb., 1681	—	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1684.
LUKE, Oliver ...	1 Mar., 1681	26 Sept., 1688	1 Feb., 1690	—	—	—	Served in Flanders. (pris. 1692). Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. d. of wounds, recd. at Blenheim, 1704.
BOWTELL, Barnaby (Boutell) ? Bernard	2 Dec., 1681	— ? —	—	—	—	—	Was Lieut. in 1687. Out of regt. in 1688. An officer of this name was appd. Ens., 1st Jan., 1690.
CROWDER, Thomas	10 Feb., 1682	—	—	—	—	—	Out of regt., before Oct., 1684.
ALIX, Anthony ...	28 Feb., 1682	—	—	—	—	—	Out of regt., 1688.
MIDDLETON, (Capt.) Chas.	—	—	21 Aug., 1682	—	—	—	Was Ens. in D. of Monmouth's Regt. in 1679. Capt., 1st Ft. Gds., 28 Apl., 1684.
POLKINGTON, George (Pilkington)	—	1 Nov., 1682	—	—	—	—	Out of regt. before 1695. ? Lieut. D. of Bolton's Regt. 23 July, 1689.
CHESTERFIELD, Philip, E. of	—	—	—	—	—	6 Nov., 1682	Appointed Colonel <i>Vice</i> E. of Mulgrave disgraced, to "Our Holland Regiment of Foot Guards. This Commission was "new writt," the word Guards being left out, 8 Dec. 1683, on wh. he resigned, (Dom. Entry Bk. 69.) See Chap. VIII. He was succeeded by the E. of Mulgrave who was restored to favour.

RIGBY, Edward	—	—	9 Nov., 1682	—	—	—	Out of regt., Dec. 1683.
THROCKMORTON, Herbert (Throgmorton)	—	—	25 Jan., 1683	—	—	—	From Capt.-Lieut. 1st Ft. Gds. Govr. of Holy Island 1687. Left regt. at Revolu- tion in 1698.
WORMAL, John ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	Quarter-Master 1 May 1683. Out of regt. Sept. 1663.
PAYTON, Henry ...	—	19 July 1683	23 Oct., 1685	1 Jan., 1691	26 Feb., 1694	1 Mar., 1703 (Brevet.)	Served in Flanders (pris. at Landen). Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Blenheim, (w.) Malplaquet. Brig.-Gen. 12 Feb. 1711, d. 1724.
BOADE, Eliud (Boad) (Ehud) (Bowes)	20 Aug., 1683	—Feb. 1685 1 Jan. 1688	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. 1695. ? Cornet Queen's Regt. of Horse 29 Sept. 1688.
BIRCH, Andrew ...	—	—	27 Dec., 1683 11 Feb., 1685	—	—	—	Out of regt. Jan. 1691.
SHRIMPTON, John ...	18 Mar. 1684 11 Feb. 1685	1 Oct. 1687 (2nd Lieut.) —?—? 1688	6 Dec., 1688	—	—	—	Was a Lieut. in the autumn of 1688. Adjt. 1 Nov. 1688. Capt. 1st Ft. Guards 1 Aug. 1692. Lt.-Col. Royal Fusiliers 25 March 1695. Present at Steinkirk and Landen, where he took prisoner the French General Salish., d. Lt.-Genl. & Gov. of Gibraltar, 1707.

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	L.T.-COL.	COLONEL.	
BARRINGTON, Humphry	—	—	28 Apl., 1684 11 Feb., 1685	—	—	—	From Lieut. 1st Ft. Gds. Not in regt. in 1695.
RICHARDSON, Michael ...	— ?	—	—	—	—	—	Date of commission uncertain. Was Ens. in Oct. 1684. Not in regt. 1687.
CORNWALL, Thomas (Cornwall) (Cornwallis)	—	—	1 July 1685	—	—	—	Capt. of Grenadier Co., from Capt. of an Indept. Co. at Portsmouth. Probably left regt. after 1688.
BEACH, George ..	—	1 July, 1685	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1687.
MUSGRAVE, Thomas ? William	—	1 July, 1685 (2nd Lieut.) 24 Feb., 1688 25 Sept., 1688	—	—	—	—	Left regt. in 1688.
OGLETHORPE, Sir Theophilus	—	—	—	—	—	23 Oct., 1685	<i>Vice</i> E. of Mulgrave. See Chapters IX., X., and XI. Brig.-Gen., 11 Nov., 1688. Dep. of his command on accession of William III. One of the Jacobites against whom a Royal proclamation was issued in May, 1692. d. 1704.

HUNSDON, Robt., 6th Baron	—	—	—	—	27 Oct., 1685 28 Nov., 1685	—	Sir Robt. Carey, 6th Baron Hunsden. A Roman Catholic. Apptd Col. of a regt. of Foot (now the 12th) <i>vice</i> E. of Lichfield, 30 Nov., 1688, from wh. he was removed for refusing to acknowledge William III. d. 1692.
D'ANVERS, Rowland (Danvers)	1 Nov., 1685	25 Oct., 1688	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1695. ? The Capt. in Collingwood's Regt. (d'Anvers) who d. of wounds recd. in action. See <i>Dalton</i> , Vol. III., p. 404.
MACKINTOSH, Alexander...	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chaplain, 10 Nov., 1685. Out of regt., Feb., 1686.
MALEVEREK, John (Mauleverer)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chaplain, 1 Mar., 1686. Out of regt., Dec. 1688.
HALL, Alexander ...	?	—	—	—	—	—	Date of appt. uncertain. Serving as Ens. 1687. Out in Autumn of 1688.
DEPREAU, Charles (du Preau) (de Preaux) (du Pro)	1 Apr., 1687 1 Oct., 1687	24 Feb., 1688 (2nd Lieut.) — ? — ? — 1688	—	—	—	—	Name does not appear in list for 1687. Was Lieut. in 1688. Not in regt. in 1695.
OGLETHORPE, John	1 July, 1687	—	—	—	—	—	A child. See Chapter IX. Cornet, de Mirmont's Horse, 23 Sept., 1688.
NEGUS, Francis	19 Oct., 1687	— ? —	1 Jan., 1691	26 Feb., 1694	1 Oct., 1703 (Brevet)	—	Served in Flanders (pris., 1695) and in the Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Not in regt. in 1704.

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	L.T.-COL.	COLONEL.	
WIGMORE, Thomas	... 1 Jan., 1688	—	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in autumn of 1688.
FITZPATRICK, Richard	... 24 Feb., 1688	—	—	—	—	—	Capt., Royal Fusiliers, 1 Nov., 1692.
ELLIS, ——— (Elice) (Ellie)	... 24 Feb., 1688	26 Sep., 1688	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1695.
PINCHBACK, Samuel ? Simon	... 1 Mar., 1688	—	—	—	—	—	Not in the regt. in the late autumn of 1688.
GRAYHAME, John	... 1 July, 1688	—	—	—	—	—	Ditto.
NANDICK, —	... 1 Aug., 1688	—	—	—	—	—	Ditto.
HARDWICKE, —	... 1 Aug., 1688	—	—	—	—	—	Ditto.
KYTE, Thomas (Kyle)	... 26 Aug., 1688	—	—	—	—	—	Ditto.
Fox, Joseph	... 26 Sept., 1688	—	—	—	—	—	Ditto.
PARRY, Seager	... 26 Sept., 1688	— ? —	1 May, 1692	—	—	—	Killed at Landen, 1693.

KINSEY, Richard ...	...	25 Oct., 1688	—	—	—	—	—	Not in list of regt. in the late autumn of 1688, or in 1695.
CHURCHILL, Charles	...	—	—	—	—	—	31 Dec., 1688	3rd son of Sir Winston Churchill and brother of the D. of Marlborough, b. 2 Feb., 1656. Ens. D. of York's Maritime Regt. 1674. Lt. 9 Oct., 675. Capt. 8 Jan., 1678. Capt.-Lieut. Royal Dragoons, 11 June, 1679. Lt.-Col. Tangier Regt. 24 April, 1682. Col. Holland Regt. 31 Dec., 1688. Col. Coldstream Gds. 25 Feb., 1707. Major-Gen. 2 Mar., 1694. Lt.-Gen. 9 Mar., 1702. Gen. 15 Sept., 1703. Served at Tangier, Sedgemoor. Comd. Brigade at Steinkirk and Landen, the Covering Army at Namur, and the English Infantry at Blenheim and Ramillies. Gov of Brussels, 1706. Gov. of Guernsey, 1707. d. 20 Sept., 1741.
HATLEY, John ...	...	—	—	31 Dec., 1688	1 Jan., 1704 (Brevet)	—	—	Ens. of composite regt. in Virginia, 1676. Ens. 1st Ft. Gds. 18 Aug., 1676. Lieut. 1 May, 1678. Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Blenheim (w.) Out of regt. in 1708.
CHURCHILL, Charles	...	31 Dec., 1688	—?—	1 Sept., 1697 12 Feb., 1702	3 April, 1706	—	1 Jan., 1707 (Brevet)	Natural son of Col. Chas. Churchill. h.p. 1699. Re-appd., 1702. Capt. & Lt.-Col., Coldstream Gds., 25 Oct., 1704. Left them at Gibraltar to serve in Flanders in March, 1705, and rejoined his old regt. Col. of a regt. of Foot (afterwards Marines) 25 Mar. 1709.

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	LT.-COL.	COLONEL.	
CHURCHILL, Charles (continued).							Col. of a newly raised regt. of Dragoons, 1715. Gov. of Plymouth. Lt.-Gen., July, 1739, d. 1745. Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Blenheim (a.d.c.) Malplaquet, etc. Attained considerable notoriety as the lover of the celebrated actress Anne Oldfield.
SMALLBONES, John	...	—	—	—	—	—	Chirurgeon, 31 Dec., 1688. Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Blenheim, Malplaquet, Physician to D. of Argyll in Spain, 3 Mar., 1711. Surgeon to Fort St. Ann. Minorca, 1712.
HARRIS, John	...	—	—	—	—	—	Chaplain, 31 Dec., 1688. Out of Regt., 1702.
GOFF, Roger	...	—	—	—	1 April, 1689	—	Out of regt. by 1692. See Chap. XI.
SCOTT, Hugh	...	20 May, 1639	1 May, 1708 (Brevet) 9 Aug., 1708 (Capt.-Lieut.) 24 May, 1709	—	—	—	Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn., Blenheim, k. Malplaquet, 1709.



GITTINGS, Nathaniel (Gittins) (Gittens) (Gettins)	...	—	1 Aug., 1689	25 Aug., 1704 (Capt.- Lieut.) 1 May, 1708 (Brevet) 9 Aug., 1708	—	—	—	Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn., Blenheim, Malplaquet. Was serving as a Capt. in the regt. in 1715.
BOWTELL, Barnaby (Boutell)	...	1 Jan., 1690	1 Mar., 1697 18 May, 1702.	—	—	—	—	h.p. 1699 ; re-apptd. 1702 ; out of regt., 1702. An officer of this name served in the regt. from 1681 to 1687, prob- ably the same person.
SCRIMSOR, Alexander (Scrymsour) (Scrimpsour) (Scrimshire)	...	—	1 Jan., 1690	—	—	—	—	Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. k. at Blenheim, 1704.
MANNERING, Thomas (Manering) (Mainwaring)	...	9 Jan., 1690	—	—	—	—	—	Was in regt. in 1695. Served in Flanders. Not in regt. in 1702.
COLLINGWOOD, Robert	...	—	1 Mar., 1690	—	—	—	—	Was in regt. in 1695. Served in Flanders. Not in regt. in 1702.
ASCOUCH, Evan	...	1 April, 1690	—	—	—	—	—	Was in Flanders, 1694. Still Ens., 1695. Not in regt., 1702.

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	LT.-COL.	COLONEL.	
ABINGTON, Richard (Abington)	...	1 April, 1690	21 Nov., 1702	—	—	—	Capt.-Lieut., 25 Aug., 1704. Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn., Blenheim. Out of regt. May, 1709.
HARRISON, Henry	...	—	1 Jan., 1691	—	—	—	Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Not in regt. in 1704.
LLOYD, William	...	—	1 Jan., 1691 (Capt.-Lieut.) 14 Sept., 1693	—	—	—	Served in Flanders (p. 1695). On Staff at Blenheim. Capt. & Lt.-Col. 1st Ft. Gds. before 1709.
DYMOND, Thomas... (Dyament)	...	1 Jan., 1691	—	—	—	—	Was in regt., 1695. Not in regt. in 1702.
PALPHERY, George (Palphry) (Palfrey)	...	1 Jan., 1691 12 Feb., 1702	—	—	—	—	h.p., 1699; re-appd., 1702. Served in Flanders and Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. k. Blenheim, 1704.
HARVEY, Robert	...	—	17 Feb., 1691	—	—	—	Left May, 1692.
ST. QUINTIN, Walter (Sequinton)	...	1 Jan., 1692	7 May, 1694	—	—	—	Served in Flanders. d. Dec., 1695.
GREARSON, John ... (Grierson)	...	1 Jan., 1692	1 May, 1708	—	—	—	Adjt., 14 Sept., 1693. h.p., 1699. Re-appd. Lieut., 1702; Adjt., 25 Aug.,

FARRER, Thomas ...	1 Jan., 1692	12 Feb., 1702	(Brevet) — ? —	—	—	—	1704. Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn., Blenheim, Malplaquet (w.). Was a Capt. in 1715.
MELVILL, John ... (Melvil)	—	1 May, 1692 (Second- Lieut.)	1 May, 1708 (Brevet) 24 May, 1709 (Capt.- Lieut.)	—	—	—	Out of regt., 1693. Probably one of the Ensigns k. at Landen, 1693.
KENNY, William ... (Kenney), ? John	1 May, 1692	24 Oct., 1694	—	—	—	—	Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn., Blenheim. Out of regt. in 1708.
SALISBURY, Charles	—	—	1 Aug., 1692	—	—	—	Fr. Lieut. Monmouth's Regt. Served in Flanders. w. at Landen. Capt. Cold- stream Gds., 23 Mar., 1697.
NORWOOD, — ...	—	—	— ? —	—	—	—	Date of commission uncertain. k. at Landen, 1693.
POPE, Thomas	1 June, 1693 15 Jan., 1700 24 Feb., 1703	—	—	—	—	—	Adj., 1 Sept., 1697. Lieut. in Lord Paston's Regt., 1 Mar., 1703. Served in Flanders and in Cadiz-Vigo Expdn.

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	LT.-COL.	COLONEL.	
GOUGH, Roger (Goff)	—	—	14 Sept., 1693	—	—	—	Served in Flanders. k. in a duel with his brother officer, Capt. Bright, Dec., 1700.
HARWOOD, Richard (Harewood)	—	—	14 Sept., 1693 (Capt.- Lieut.)	—	—	—	Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expedition. Out of regt. before 1704.
PRESTON, John	—	14 Sept., 1693	—	—	—	—	Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn., Blenheim, Malplaquet. Serving as Lieut. in 1715.
PALLISER, Walter (Palester)	—	14 Sept., 1693	—	—	—	—	Served in Flanders. Capt. in Saunderson's Regt. of Marines, 10 Mar., 1702.
MONTGOMERY, Hugh	14 Sept., 1693	25 Aug., 1704	— ? —	—	—	—	Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn., Blenheim (w.), Malplaquet (w.). Was a Capt. in 1715.
CHENAY, Robert (Cheyne)	14 Sept., 1693	—	—	—	—	—	Capt. in Farrington's Regt., 16 Feb., 1694.
DE LA PENOTIERE, Fred	14 Sept., 1693	—	—	—	—	—	Capt. in Meredith's Regt., 13 Feb., 1702.
BOLTON, James	23 Sept., 1693	25 Aug., 1704	24 Aug., 1715	—	—	—	Served in Flanders, Vigo-Cadiz Expdn., Blenheim (w.), Malplaquet.

EVANS, Owen	...	...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Quartermaster, 14 Sept., 1693. Served in Flanders, Blenheim. Out of regt., 1708.
ARTHUR, Alexander	...	...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Surgeon's Mate, 1694. Was at Blenheim. Name omitted from the list. Appd. Surgeon, Preston's Regt., 26 July, 1706. <i>Daken.</i>
CHURCHILL, Joshua	...	...	—	—	—	—	1 March, 1694 19 Dec., 1700	—	—	Son of Wm. Churchill, of Dorchester. Appd. Capt. from Monmouth's Regt. h.p., 1699. Re-appd. Capt., 19 Dec., 1700. Lieut.-Col. of Evans' Regt., 10 Apl., 1703. Col. of (late) Lutterell's Regt. Marines, now 31st Regt., 1 Feb., 1706. Served in Flanders and Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. See Chap. XX.
PYNE, Thomas (Paine)	...	...	—	—	7 May, 1694	—	—	—	—	Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn., Blenheim, Malplaquet. Not in regt. in 1715.
WYVILL, Darcy (Darse)	...	...	7 May, 1694	—	1 Mar., 1704	—	—	—	—	Served in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Out of regt. in 1704.
BIGGE, Matthew (Bigg) ? (William) (Biggs)	...	...	7 May, 1694	—	24 Nov., 1702	—	—	—	—	Served in Flanders. Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Not in regt. 1704.
GIBBS, Henry	...	...	— ? — 7 July, 1702	—	—	—	—	—	—	Date of original commn. doubtful. Renewed in 1702. Served in Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Was in regt. 1706. Out before 1709.

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	LT.-COL.	COLONEL.	
Vesey, Theodorus (Vezey) (Dorre)	—	3 Mar., 1695	—	—	—	—	From Foulke's Regt., with which he served in Martinique. Commn. renewed. Served in Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Capt. in Gustavus Hamilton's Regt. after 1702. Col. of Foot in Spain, 25 June, 1710. Bgr.-Gen. 1735. d. as Gov. of Kilmainham Hosp., 1736. <i>Dalton.</i>
SURITIER, Henry ...	1 Oct., 1695	—	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1702.
BRIGHT, William ...	—	—	30 May, 1696 12 Feb., 1702	—	—	—	h.p. 1699. Reappd. 1702. Dangerously w. in a duel with Capt. Gough (whom he killed), Dec., 1700. Served in Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Out of regt. in 1706.
HERRINGTON, Williams ... (Hemington)	—? —	—	—	—	—	—	Date of commn. doubtful. Name is in embarkation return, Cadiz - Vigo Expdn., but in no other list.
HARWOOD, Richard (Harward)	28 April, 1697	25 Jan., 1705 (2nd Lieut.)	—	—	—	—	Served in Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Malplaquet (w.). Lieut. in Maj.-Gen. Pepper's regt. of Dns., 1714. Major of Hawley's regt. of Foot, 1721. Lt.-Col. 1732. Still serving in 1746. <i>Dalton.</i>
GRANT, Peter ...	1 Oct., 1697	25 Jan., 1705	—	—	—	—	Served in Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Blenheim. Out of regt. 20 Apl., 1708.

WHITE, Thomas ...	...	1 Oct., 1697	5 April, 1703	—?—	—	—	—	Served in Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Blenheim. Was 1st Lieut. of Grenadier Company at Malplaquet. Serving as a capt. in 1715.
FORBES, William ...	...	12 Feb., 1702	(2nd Lieut.)	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. in 1702.
MAINWARING, —	...	6 April, 1699	—	—	—	—	—	Not in embarkation return (June, 1702), or in M.S. Army List at end of the year.
SLAUGHTER, John (Sloughter)	...	—	—	18 May, 1702	1 Jan., 1708 (Brevet)	—	—	Served in Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Blenheim. Out of regt. in May, 1709.
CHUDLEIGH, John (Chidleigh) (Chidley)	...	18 May, 1702	—	—	—	—	—	Served in Cadiz-Vigo Expdn. Malpla- quet. Out of regt. in 1714.
CHIVERS, John ... ? Thomas	...	—	—	—?— 1702	1 Jan., 1708 (Brevet)	—	—	Served at Blenheim. Malplaquet. Out of regt. in 1715.
BEAK, Gregory ... (Beake)	...	24 Nov., 1702	1 Jan., 1706	1 March, 1711	—	—	—	At Malplaquet. Capt.-Lieut. Royal Regt. of H. Gds., 23 June, 1715. Lt.-Col., 26 Nov., 1739. A.D.C. Extraordinary to the Forces and Bt.-Col., 11 Aug., 1742. Served at Dettingen and Fontenoy (w.). d. Lt. Gov. of Jersey, 1749.
HARRISON, Thomas	..	24 Nov., 1702	—	—	—	—	—	k. at Schellenberg, 1704.
SMITH, Thos. ...	...	—?—?— 1702	—	—	—	—	—	Served at Blenheim. Out of regt. before 1709.

	ENSIGN.	LIEUT.	CAPTAIN.	MAJOR.	LT.-COL.	COLONEL.	
BATHURST, —	... .. —?—?— 1702	—	—	—	—	—	Not in regt. 1704.
WILSON, —	... .. —?—?— 1702	—	—	—	—	—	Ditto.
MELVILL, Robert	... .. —?—?— 1702 15 July, 1704	9 Aug., 1708	—	—	—	—	Probably son of Sir Andrew Melville, of Carnbee, and younger brother of Capt.-Lieut. Ino. Melville, k. at Malplaquet. <i>Dalton</i> . Served at Blenheim and Malplaquet. Still a Lieut. in 1715.
CALDICOT, — (Caldicut)	... .. 17 April, 1703	—	—	—	—	—	k. at Schellenberg, 1704.
SCOTT, John	... .. —	29 July, 1703	—	—	—	—	At Blenheim. Out of regt. in 1708.
DISNEY, Henry (Desney) Desaulnais)	... .. —	—	—?—?— 1703	—	—	—	Real name was Desaulnais, but he anglicised it to Disney, by wh. name he is better known. Appd. Ens., 1st Foot Gds., 1 Mar., 1694. Lieut., 15 Feb., 1703. Served at Blenheim as a.d.c. Capt. and Lieut.-Col. Coldstream Gds., Mar., 708. Appd. Col. of regt. now known as 36th Ft., 23 Oct., 1710. Served with expdn. to Canada, 1711. Transferred to Colcy. 29th Ft., 25 Dec., 1725. d. 21 Nov., 1731. b. Westminster Abbey. <i>Dalton</i> .



CAMPION, —	...	—? —? — 1704	—	—	—	—	—	w. at Blenheim. Out of regt. before 1706. Commission not forthcoming. Name only occurs in Blenheim Roll.
PRATER, Richard	...	—	—	1 March, 1704	1 Jan., 1707 (Brevet)	—	—	Ens. Erie's Regt., 9th Feb., 1691. Lieut., 22 May, 1694. h.p. 1697. Reappd. as Capt., 1 Mar., 1702. Served with Erie's Regt. in Flanders, Cadiz-Vigo Expdn., and West Indies. Appd. Major in Col. Joshua Churchill's Regt. of Marines, 25 April, 1708. Bt.-Col., 1st Jan., 1712.
OXBOROUGH, Henry	...	1 March, 1704	—	—	—	—	—	Apparently out of regt. 1704.
SMITH, Benjamin	...	5 April, 1704	—? —	—	—	—	—	Was at Malplaquet. Serving as Lieut. in 1715.
WILSON, Samuel	...	15 July, 1704	20 April 1708	—	—	—	—	w. at Malplaquet. Serving as Lieut. in 1715.
FORD, William	...	—	—	25 Aug., 1704 ? 23 Dec., 1704	—	—	—	Out of regt. in 1708.
EATON, Matthew	...	—	—	25 Aug., 1704	—	—	—	k. at Malplaquet, 1709.



## INDEX.



# INDEX.

- Abington, Richard; Lieutenant, 353, 383, Captain, 426, 503, 534 (appendix).
- Abraham, John, Captain; in Netherlands service, 89; abjured British allegiance, 104.
- Aire, taken by French (1676), 189.
- Albemarle, Duke of; in action with Dutch Fleet, 121, 127; death of, 144.
- Albemarle's Regt., Duke of; formed 1673, disbanded 1674, 163 (note).
- Alcock, Baptist, Captain; in Netherlands service, 88, 89; Holland Regt., 104, 111, 115, 119, 145, 153, 510 (appendix).
- Alix, Anthony, Ensign, Holland Regt., 233, 235, 251, 526 (appendix).
- Alkmaar, defence of (1573), 11.
- Allington's Regt., Lord, 202.
- Andrew, John, Ensign; in Netherlands service, 90; abjured British allegiance, 106.
- Angus, Earl of; at Dunkeld, 296; killed in battle of Steinkirk, 327.
- Angus' Regt., of Foot, Earl of (now the Scottish Rifles, *q.v.*).
- Anhalt, Prince of; at investment of Huy, 441; at the battle of Blenheim, 487, 488.
- Anne, Princess, deserts her father, 271; succeeds to the throne, 407.
- Argyle, Earl of, futile rebellion and death, 236.
- Argyle's Regt., Earl of, with army in Flanders, 333, 335 (note), 357.
- Arlington, Lord. See Bennet, Sir Henry.
- Armada, the Spanish; defeat of (1588), 28-33; numerical return of county levies embodied to repel it, 30.
- Arms and equipment. See under Infantry and Cavalry.
- Army List, first published in 1684, 232 (and note).
- Army, standing, variations in establishments, 122, 132, 135, 137, 138, 159, 163, 165, 168, 176, 192, 193, 194, 198, 209, 211, 238, 239 (and note), 242, 243, 264-266, 282, 283 (note), 354 (and note), 394, 398, 400, 402, 403, 405, 406 (and note), 445.
- Arnheim, capture of fort near (1585), 22; skirmish near (1586), 25.
- Arsele, capture of (1586), 25.
- Arskine (Erskine), Colonel in command of a Scotch regiment in the service of the Netherlands, 90.
- Arthur, Alexander, Surgeon's Mate, 383, 537 (appendix).
- Ascough, Evan, Ensign, 363, 383, 533 (appendix).
- Ashburnham, —, Captain, Lord Le Poer's Regt., 159.
- Astley, Edward, Captain; in Netherlands service, 89; abjured British allegiance, 104.
- Ath, investment and surrender of (1697), 392.
- Athlone, Earl of; at battle of Landen, 348; in Flanders, 370, 379, 428, 429.
- Athlone, investment of (1690), 302; capture of (1691), 303.
- Atkins, Sir John, transferred from Grenadier Guards to the command of the Emergency Regt., 150.
- Aughrim, battle of (1691), 304.
- Ayscue, Sir George, surrenders to Dutch fleet, 121.
- Azores, expedition to (1597), 44.
- Baden, Prince Louis of, 450, 451, 452, 454, 455, 457, 464, 470, 500, 501.
- Ballymore, capture of (1691), 303.
- Bankert, Dutch Admiral, 166, 167.
- Barbadoes, unsuccessful attack on, by de Ruyter (1664), 285.
- Barbadoes Regiment, raised in February 1667, 130, 131.
- Barnes (? Barnet or Basset), George, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 115 (and note), 511 (appendix).
- Barnes, Robert, Ensign; in Netherlands service, 89; Holland Regt., 106, 110.
- Barnett, Walter, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 194, 522 (appendix).
- Barrett, James, Captain, Barbadoes Regt., attached to Holland Regt., 152.
- Barrington, Humphrey, Captain, Holland Regt., 233, 235, 251, 257, 528 (appendix).
- Baskerville, J., Lieutenant, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Bath, Earl of, deserts James II. and joins Williams III., 269.
- Bath's Regt., Earl of (now the Lincolnshire Regt., *q.v.*).
- Bathurst, —, Ensign, 427, 540 (appendix).
- Battle, order of, the formation of battalions in (1692), 310.
- Bavaria, Elector of; in Flanders, 313, 314, 330, 352, 365, 366, 390, 391, 392; at battle of Landen, 341, 345, 347, 348; in siege of Namur, 377, 379; joins the King of France, 431, 435, 450, 452, 454, 463, 468, 469; at battle of Blenheim, 479 *et seq.*
- Beach, George, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 235, 528 (appendix).
- Beachy Head, defeat of, of English and Dutch fleets (1690), 298.
- Beak, Gregory, Ensign, 426, 539 (appendix).
- Beaufort, Duc de, in command of French fleet (1668), 120, 121, 127.
- Beaufort's Regt., Duke of (now the Devonshire Regt., *q.v.*).

- Bedfordshire Regt. (originally Col. Arch. Douglas' Foot), 264 (note); (Hodge's Regt.) 279, 285, 286 (note); (Stanley's Regt.) 353, 357, 368, 371 (and note), 388, 401, 405, 431, 437 (note), 446, 467; at battle of Blenheim, 478.
- Belasize's Regt., Lord; formed 1673, disbanded, 1674, 163 (note).
- Belcastel's Regt., 368.
- Bell, Henry, Ensign, 514 (appendix).
- Bellasyse, Sir Henry, Lieut.-General, 332, 356, 367, 382; at battle of Landen, 348; with Cadiz expedition, 409; share in looting, 417; cashiered, 425.
- Benheim, Major-General, 458.
- Bennet, Sir Henry (subsequently Lord Arlington), Secretary of State; correspondence with Sir George Downing, English envoy at the Hague, 91-101, 116.
- Berendsdorf, Brigadier-General, 455.
- Bergen-op-Zoom, siege and defence of (1588), 33; (1622), 60.
- Berkeley, Sir William, Vice-Admiral, killed in action, 121.
- Bernstorff, General, 369.
- Berry, Sir John, Captain in the Navy; appointed Captain in the Holland Regt., 170, his distinguished career, *ibid.* (note); in command of naval forces on North America and West India Station (1676), 186; in command of Naval brigade in Tangier, 220; Captain Holland Regt., 230, 233, 235, 251, 257, 517 (appendix).
- Berwick, Duke of; at battle of Landen, 340, 341; taken prisoner, 342, 343.
- Berwick, strength of garrison of (1667), 138.
- Bevil, Sir Granville, at Steinkirk, 325.
- Biggs, Matthew (Piggs, William), Lieutenant, 363, 383, 426, 537 (appendix).
- Billeting, orders relating to, 251.
- Birch, Andrew, Captain, Holland Regt., 233, 235, 251, 257, 527 (appendix).
- Blakenberg, capture of (1591), 37.
- Blaney, Lord, Captain, Holland Regt., 134.
- Blenheim, battle of; description of ground, 475; strength of opposing forces, 477; organisation of British troops, 478; beginning and progress of the battle, 482 *et seq.*; casualties, 494-496; bounties granted to troops taking part in the battle, 502.
- Blood, —, Colonel; artillery commander in battle of Schellenberg, 459; at Blenheim, 482, 488.
- Boad, Ehud, Ensign, Holland Regt., 233, 235, 251; Lieutenant, 258, 527 (appendix).
- Boade, Henry, Major, Earl of Peterborough's Regt.; Captain, Holland Regt., 187, 199, 230, 233, 235, 520 (appendix).
- Bois-le-Duc, siege and capture of (1629), 69.
- Bolton, James, Ensign, 283, 427, 504 (appendix); wounded at Blenheim, 494.
- Bommel, defence of (1598), 45.
- Bonn, siege and surrender of (1703), 437, 438.
- Boone, Robert, Quarter-Master, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Bothwell Bridge, defeat of Covenanters at (1679), 209.
- Bouchain, taken by the French (1676), 437.
- Boufflers, Marshal; at the battle of Steinkirk, 325; bombards Charleroi and captures Furnes, 330; in command of a detached force, 331; rejoins Luxembourg, 351; surrenders Namur, 381; in command of force for projected invasion of England, 384; mentioned 366, 369, 370, 385, 386, 389, 392, 393, 428, 429, 430.
- Boulton, Richard, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 233, 235, 251, 257; Captain, 383, 513 (appendix).
- Boulton, Robert, Ensign; in Netherlands service, 89; Holland Regt., 106, 108, 110, 115, 511 (appendix).
- Bourbon, Duc de; at the battle of Steinkirk, 324; at Landen, 344, 345.
- Bourke, William, Lieutenant, 513 (appendix).
- Boutell, Bernard, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 233, 235, 526 (appendix).
- Bowes, George, Captain, Grenadier Guards, with Tangier expedition, 215, 218, 221.
- Bowtell, Barnaby, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 251, 533 (appendix).
- Bowtell, Barnaby, Ensign, 383, 402, appendix (526, 533).
- Boyne, battle of the (1690), 299.
- Brandenburg, Prince Charles of, at battle of Landen, 338, 341.
- Brandon's Horse, Lord, 264 (note).
- Breda, skirmishes near (1596), 24, 25; siege and defence of (1624-5), 65; surrenders to Spaniards (1625), 67; captured by Prince of Orange (1637), 75; treaty of (1667), 135.
- Breevort, capture of (1597), 45.
- Brest, attempt on by an English force (1694), 363.
- Brice, Tim, Quarter-Master, 519 (appendix).
- Bridges, Sir Tobias, Colonel of the Barbadoes Regt., 130.
- Bright, Borodalle, Ensign, Earl of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Bright, Wm., Captain, 407, 538 (appendix); kills Captain Goff in a duel, 402.
- Bristow, John, Ensign, Holland; appointed Captain of the Grenadier Company, 199; reverts to rank of Lieutenant, 206; Captain-Lieutenant, 232, 235; Lieutenant, 251, 258, 524 (appendix).
- Bristow, Peter, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 194, 524 (appendix).
- British regiments in the service of the Netherlands, their origin and services (1572-1665). 1-82; misconceptions re-



- garding their final constitution and the circumstances of their disbandment and subsequent formation into the Buffs refuted, 2, 80, 82, 83 *et seq.* 115; reasons for disbandment, 84, 91 *et seq.*; terms of disbandment, 98; partial reorganisation into purely Dutch Regiments, 101, 102; proof of general loyalty, of rank and file, 102; and of officers, 103-108, 115. Royal Warrant relating to disbanded officers, 109-111. See also British troops in the service of Holland (1674 and after).
- British troops in the service of France, 139, 148, 157, 158, 159, 162, 172, 173, 176, 181, 188, 189, 192.
- British troops in the service of Holland (1674 and after), 180, 181, 200, 202, 203, (and note), 239.
- Broeckhuise Castle, capture of (1626), 68.
- Bromley, S., Captain, Admiral's Regt. (Marines), 145.
- Bruce, Alexander, Major; in Netherlands's service, 99; Holland Regt., 106, 113, 115; death of, 120.
- Bruges, occupied by British troops (1678), 195; defensive operations for protection of (1696), 389, 290.
- Brussels bombarded by Villeroi (1695), 379.
- Buchan's Foot (now Royal Scots Fusiliers, *q.v.*).
- Buchan's Regt., with army in Flanders, 357, 368, 388; distinguished conduct at storming of fortifications of Namur, 381 (note).
- Buckingham's Regt., Duke of, 159, 165.
- Buffs, The (originally the Holland Regt.):—  
Arms and equipment, 120, 126, 146, 147, 193, 198, 213, 231, 243, 244, 248, 249, 310.  
Change of title, 279, 411.  
Colours, 186, 258-261, 310.  
Detachments drafted into other regiments, 130, 145, 184, 215, 419.  
Detachments supplied for the service of France, 159, 172, 183.  
Drums, privilege of beating, in City of London, 143, 152-155.  
Establishment, variations in, 122, 123, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 152, 156, 159, 161, 165, 176, 177, 183, 187, 193, 205, 209, 210, 211, 238, 242, 243, 248, 258, 265, 309, 354, 394, 398, 401, 402, 407, 433, 444.  
Formation of regiment, 111.  
Grenadier Company, 198, 209, 235, 240, 249, 310, 398, 408, 444.  
Navy, on payment of, 116, 135.  
Officers, lists of, 115, 124, 174 (note), 194, 232, 235, 251, 257, 383, 426, 503, appendix.  
Pay of various ranks, 123, 211, 242-3, 434.  
Precedence of regiment, 128, 183, 216, 223, 224, 225, 229 (and note), 239, 240, 279.
- Second Battalion, 194, 203, 205, 208 (note).
- Services afloat, 118, 119, 140, 143, 145, 147, 149, 150, 152, 168, 195, 196 (note), 197, 265.
- Stations and movements, 119, 128, 132, 133, 141, 142, 146, 147, 149, 156, 159, 161, 172, 174, 175, 177-9; 183, 184, 194, 195 (note), 196, 197, 205 (and note), 209, 213, 222, 230, 238, 240-1, 244, 245, 248, 249, 253, 254, 257, 270, 276, 278, 279, 294, 298, 299, 300, 308, 309, 351, 353, 363, 381, 291, 394, 395, 402, 408, 425, 431, 433, 500.
- Uniform, 141, 198, 231, 233, 248.
- Warrants relating to regiment, 113, 143, 153, 157, 173.
- Bulkeley, Henry, Captain, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Bulow, General, 449, 452; at Blenheim, 486.
- Burgundy, Duke of, 428.
- Busler, Francis, Ensign, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Butler, Jan, Captain; in Netherlands service, 90; abjured British allegiance, 104.
- Butler, John, Captain, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Butler's Dragoons, 265 (note).
- Butler, —, Quarter-Master, 525 (appendix).
- Cadiz Expedition, 1596, 41-3:  
1702; strength and composition, 408, 409; order of sailing, 411 *et seq.*; description of environs of Cadiz, 414; landing of expedition, 415; reembarkation, 418.
- Cadogan, —, Colonel, 455, 456, 465.
- Cadsand Island, capture of (1604), 53.
- Calais, siege of (1596), 40.
- Calcott, Arthur, Lieutenant, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Caldicut, —, Ensign, killed at Schellenberg, 504; 540 (appendix).
- Cambrai taken by French (1677), 190.
- Campion, —, Ensign, wounded at Blenheim, 494; 504, 541 (appendix).
- Cape Verd, seized by Sir Robert Holmes (1664), 85.
- Cape Corse, seized by Sir Robert Holmes (1664), 85.
- Capitulation, violation of terms of, 381.
- Captain-Lieutenant, rank of, 113 (note), 177, 183.
- Carey, Sir Robert. See Hunsdon.
- Carlisle, strength of garrison of (1667), 138.
- Carlisle's Regt., Earl of; formed 1673, disbanded 1674, 163 (note).
- Carpenter, Walter, Ensign; in Netherlands service, 88; abjured British allegiance, 106.
- Carrey, Ferdinando, Major; in Netherlands service, 88; abjured British allegiance, 104.
- Carrickfergus, landing at, of William III., 301.

- Cartwright, G., Captain, Admiral's Regt. (Marines), 144.
- Cary, —, Captain, mortally wounded in a duel, 330.
- Castleton's Regt., Lord, with army in Flanders, 312, 333, 335 (note), 353, 357.
- Catinat, Marshal, invests Ath (1697), 392.
- Cavalry, arms and equipment of (1687), 250.
- Chaplains, Army, 211; first record of appointment, 251.
- Charles II.; his attitude towards the British regiments in the Netherlands service (1664-5), 84, 97, 109; repudiates action of Sir Robert Holmes, 85; conduct of naval and military affairs, 86, 129, 130, 149, 158, 164; his duplicity, 142, 171, 176, 190, 201; relations between King and Parliament, 86, 130, 163, 175, 189, 201, 220; death of, 233.
- Charleroi; bombardment of (1692), 330; investment and capitulation of (1693), 352.
- Chartres, Duc de; at the battle of Steinkirk, 324; at Landen, 345.
- Chateau-Renaud, French Admiral, in Vigo, 419 *et seq.*
- Chatham, attacked by de Ruyter (1667), 132.
- Chelsea Hospital, foundation of (1682), 233.
- Chenay, Robert, Ensign, 536 (appendix).
- Cherbury's Regt. of Foot, Lord Herbert of (now the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, *q.v.*).
- Cheshire Regt. (originally the D. of Norfolk's Regt. of Foot), 283 (note), 384, 401.
- Chester, strength of garrison of (1667), 133.
- Chesterfield, Earl of; appointed Colonel of the Holland Regiment, 223; correspondence relating to the status of his command, 223 *et seq.*; letter to the E. of Arran, 225; resigns his command, *ibid.*, 229, 526 (appendix).
- Chivers, John, Captain, 426, 503.
- Chudleigh, John, Ensign, 426, 539 (appendix).
- Churchill, Charles, Colonel; appointed to Holland Regt., 277; Brigadier-General 286, 306, 332; captures D. of Berwick at battle of Landen, 342; Major-General 356, 367, 371, 374, 376, 383, 426; Lieut.-General 432, 437, 438, 445, 447; General 451, 471; at battle of Blenheim, 478, 481, *et seq.*, 531 (appendix).
- Churchill, Charles, Ensign, 383; Captain 402, 407, 426, 503, 531 (appendix).
- Churchill, John. See Marlborough, Duke of.
- Churchill, Joshua, Captain, 383, 402, 403 (and note), 537 (appendix).
- Clare, Viscount, Colonel; in command of an Irish regiment in Dutch service (1674), (subsequently the 5th Northumberland Fusiliers), 181.
- Clerambault, Marquis de, at Blenheim, 480, 491.
- Clerke, Lawrence, Lieutenant, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Clermont, Lord Charles, Lieut.-Colonel, Holland Regt., 174 (and note).
- Clifton's Regt., Sir W. (now East Yorkshire Regt., *q.v.*)
- Clothing, uniform; prices of, 165, 198; provision of, by colonels, 252; deficiency of, 294.
- Coalition between France and England against Holland (1670), 141.
- Cohorn, Lieut.-General, 438, 439.
- Coiners, counterfeit, suspected presence of, in ranks, 395.
- Colchester, Earl of, Major-General, 332, 355.
- Coldstream Guards, 128 (and note), 132, 138, 143, 150, 154, 159, 164, 176, 181, 183, 185, 193, 195, 197, 203, 215, 221, 229, 231 (note), 239, 246 (note), 254 (note), 265, 275, 279, 281, 285, 286 (note), 353, 356, 367, 372, 387, 400; at Walcourt, 292; at Steinkirk, 326; at Landen, 345; in siege of Namur, 377; in Cadix, 409; at Vigo, 420.
- Cole, Henry, Ensign, Holland Regt., 194, 523 (appendix).
- Collier, —, Brigadier-General, 368, 378, 379.
- Collier's Regt., 368.
- Collier's Regt., David, 388.
- Collier's Regt., Walter, 388.
- Collingwood, Francis, Captain, Holland Regt., 194, 205, 209 (note), 230, 233, 235, 251, 257; Major, 277; Lieut.-Colonel, 312 (note), 522 (appendix).
- Collingwood, —, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 194, 522 (appendix).
- Collingwood's Regt. (late FitzPatrick's), 333, 339 (at battle of Landen), 353, 357, 368, 371 (note), 381, 388.
- Collingwood, Robert, Lieutenant, 383, 533 (appendix).
- Colonies, soldier settlers in, 187, 197 (note).
- Collop, John, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 174, 518 (appendix).
- Colours, company and regimental, 186, 216, 258-261, cost of (1680), 216; formerly carried by every company, 154, 186; gallant defence of, 347; regulations as to, 310.
- Colyear, Sir David, Major-General, with Cadix Expedition, 409.
- Colyear's Regt., 401.
- Colyear's Regt., Sir A., 203 (note).
- Command, question of military and naval, 133, 414, 415, 418.
- Commissions, quality of candidates for 139; system of issuing, *ibid* (note); given to infants, 258.
- Condé, Prince of, in the Campaign on the Upper Rhine (1674-5), 188, 189.
- Coudé (town), taken by French (1676), 189.
- Conti, Prince de; at the battle of Steinkirk, 324; at Landen, 340, 345.



- Conyngham's Regt. of Inniskilling Dragoons (now 6th Dragoons, *q.v.*)
- Cool, Petrus, Quartermaster; in Netherlands service, 89.
- Coper, J. (? Josias Roper), Captain; in Netherlands service, 90; abjured British allegiance, 105.
- Cork, Marlborough's expedition against (1690), 299, 300, 303.
- Cornbury, Lord, Colonel, treachery of, 269.
- Cornwall, Henry, Captain, Holland Regiment, 187, 519 (appendix).
- Cornwall, Gilbert, Captain, Holland Regiment, 194, 521 (appendix).
- Cornwallis, Thomas, Captain, Holland Regiment, 235, 251, 257, 528 (appendix).
- Cornwall's Regiment (now the Norfolk Regiment, *q.v.*)
- Corruption of Army contractors, 297.
- Cotter, —, Captain, Holland Regt., 124, 125; transferred to Barbadoes Regt., 130; made prisoner in attack on St. Kitts, 131; subsequent career, *ibid.*
- Councils of war, 414, 418.
- Courts martial on deserters, 352.
- Coventry, Henry, Captain, in Netherlands service, 90, 91; declined to take the oath of allegiance to the States of the Netherlands, 104.
- Coverden, relief of (1594), 39.
- Coy, —, Brigadier-General, 387.
- Craven, Lord, Colonel; in Netherlands service, 88, 99; Coldstream Guards, 103; his loyalty to James II., 275.
- Craven's Regt., Lord; English regt., in Netherlands service, list of officers at commencement of 1665, 88.
- Credit, soldiers not to be allowed, 251.
- Crequi, Marquis de, at battle of Landen, 337.
- Cromwell, Wm. (alias Williams), Lieut.-Colonel, in Netherlands service, 89, 99.
- Cronley (Crownley), Captain, Holland Regt., 139, 145, 515 (appendix).
- Crowder, Thomas, Ensign, 526 (appendix).
- Culpeper, James, Captain; in Netherlands service, 88; abjured British allegiance, 104.
- Cunningham, —, Brigadier-General, 387.
- Cutts, Lord, Colonel, wounded in battle of Steinkirk, 327; at siege of Namur, 376, 377; at Blenheim, 478, 481, 492.
- Cutts' Regt., Lord, with army in Flanders (1692), 312; at battle of Steinkirk, 322 (and note), 323; returns to England, 332.
- Dalgarne, Arthur, Chaplain, 517 (appendix).
- Daniel, Sir Thomas, Captain; Grenadier Guards, 159.
- Danish regiments in Flanders (1692), 320; at battle of Steinkirk, *ibid.*, 323.
- D'Anvers, Rowland, Ensign, Holland Regt., 251, 257; Lieutenant, 529 (appendix).
- D'Arco, Count, at battle of Landen, 346; at Schellenberg, 454 *et seq.*
- Dartmouth, Earl of, 220, 268.
- D'Auverquerque, Lieut.-Genl., 367.
- Deane, Robert, Ensign, Holland Regt., 194, 521 (appendix).
- De Blansac, at battle of Blenheim, 492.
- Debt, arrest of officers and soldiers for, 252.
- De la Penotiere, Fred., Ensign, 383, 536 (appendix).
- De la Val, Ralph, Captain, Holland Regt., 194 (and note), 522 (appendix).
- Delft, defence of (1573), 11.
- De Lorgé, French General, 189.
- Denmark, engages to co-operate with France and Holland against England (1665-6), 120.
- Denmark's Regt., Princess Anne of (now Royal Warwickshire Regt., *q.v.*)
- Denmark, Prince George of, deserts James II., 271; honorary colonel of Holland Regt., 280.
- Dennis, Godfrey, Lieutenant; in Netherlands service, 89 (note).
- De Preau (du Preau, du Preaux, du Pro), Lieutenant, 257, 529 (appendix).
- De Reynault, General, at battle of Landen, 340, 341.
- Dering's Regt. of Foot, Sir E. (now the South Wales Borderers, *q.v.*)
- De Ruyter, Admiral, raids British colonial possessions (1664), 85; engaged in English Channel, 121, 127; captures Sheerness and attacks Chatham (1667), 132; defeated off Southwold Bay (1672), 150; in action against English and French fleets (1673), 166, 167.
- Deserters, description of in London Gazette of 1686, 244.
- Desertion, prevalence of, in French Army, 289, 290; in Anglo-Dutch Army, 290; in English Army in Flanders, 334.
- D'Estrées, French Admiral, at Southwold Bay, 150; with Prince Rupert's fleet, 166, 167.
- Deventer, skirmish near (1586), 25; capture of (1591), 37.
- Devonshire Regt. (originally the D. of Beaufort's Regt.), 239 (note), 240; (Worcester's Regt.), 246 (note), 248, 249 (note); 401, 437 (note).
- Deynse, surrender of (1695), 378.
- d'Harcourt, Marquis, at battle of Landen, 346, 269.
- d'Humières, Marshal, 289; at Walcourt, 290, 291, 292, 294.
- Disbandment of troops, frequent, general effects of, 397.
- Discontent in the army; at the period of the accession of William III., 278; on return from Flanders, 397, 403.
- Disloyalty in James II. forces, 269.

- Disney, —, Colonel, in command of an English Regt., in Dutch service (1674), 181.
- Disney, Henry, Captain, 503, 540 (appendix).
- Dixmuide, surrender of (1695), 377, 378.
- Doesburg, siege and capture of (1586), 25.
- Doleman, English Colonel (? Thos. Dolman), commands Dutch attack on Landguard Foot (1667), 134.
- Dolman, Thomas, Colonel; in Netherlands service, 89; abjured British allegiance, 103.
- Dolman, Thomas (junior), Captain; in Netherlands service, 88; abjured British allegiance, 104.
- Dolman's Regt.; English Regt. in Netherlands service, list of officers at commencement of 1665, 89.
- Donegal, Earl of, at Cadiz, 415.
- Dongan's Regt., Colonel Thomas, raised in 1678, 195.
- Dorp, capture of (1585), 25.
- Dottignies, storming of lines of (1693), 335.
- Doughty, Edmond, Ensign, Holland Regt., 194, 522 (appendix).
- Douglas, Lieut.-General, invests Athlone, 302.
- Douglas, Sir Robert; taken prisoner by the French, 316; killed in battle of Steinkirk, 327.
- Douglas' Foot, Colonel Archibald (now the Bedfordshire Regt., *q.v.*).
- Douglas' Regt., Lord (subsequently the Scots Guards, *q.v.*).
- Dover Castle, strength of garrison of (1667), 138.
- Dover's Regt. of Horse, Lord, 239 (note).
- Downing, Sir George, English envoy at the Hague; correspondence with Sir Henry Bennet, Secretary of State, 91-101, 116; kindness to his distressed countrymen, 84, 100, 101.
- Dragoons, armament of, 343 (note).
- Dragoons, dismounted, charging by, 461.
- Draycott, Phill., Lieutenant, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Dress of officers (1684), 231.
- Drogheda, surrender of (1690), 301.
- Drunkenness in the army, penalties prescribed for, 184.
- Duelling, 330.
- Duke of Cornwall's L.I., with Cadiz-Vigo expedition, 408, 420.
- Dumbarton's Regt., Earl of, in Tangier, 214, 219, 225, 229, 231 (note), 248.
- Du Mont, General, at battle of Landen, 338.
- Dundee's rebellion in Scotland (1689), 236.
- Dunkeld, battle of (1689), 296.
- Dutch Horse, Troops of, commanded by English Captains, 90.
- Dymond (Dyament), Thomas, Lieutenant, 383, 534 (appendix).
- East Surrey Regt., with Cadiz-Vigo Expedition, 409, 420.
- East Yorkshire Regt. (originally Sir Wm. Clifton's Regt.), 239 (note), 240, 357, 368, 371 (note), 377 (surrender of Dixmuide), 388, 401, 405, 437 (note), 446, 468, 478 (battle of Blenheim).
- Eaton, Matthew, Capt., 541 (appendix).
- Efficiency, Military; Commission to inquire into (1670), 144.
- 8th Hussars, 400.
- Elizabeth, Queen, aids the Flemings, 14; declines sovereignty of the Netherlands, 13, 20.
- Ellenberg, General, 366, 368, 369, 371; surrenders Dixmuide, 377; tried and beheaded, 382.
- Ellis, —, Lieutenant, 530 (appendix).
- Emergency Regt. (formed April-May, 1671), 144, 145, 149.
- England and France, Coalition between, against Holland (1670), 141.
- English Regt., the Royal, raised in 1672 for service in France, 148, 158.
- English regiments in the service of the Netherlands; list of officers at commencement of 1665, 88-90; supposed loyalty to Charles II., 92, 93, 96, 97; terms and process of disbandment, 98 *et seq.*; lists of officers who abjured British allegiance, those who refused and were disbanded, and those among the latter who were formed into the Holland Regt. (now the Buffs), 103-111; Royal Warrant relating to disbanded officers, 109-111. See also British Regts.
- Enniskillen, siege of (1689), 296, 297.
- Enschede, capture of (1597), 45.
- Eppinger, Major-General, 367.
- Eppinger's Dragoons, with army in Flanders, 356, 367.
- Erle, —, Brigadier-General, with army in Flanders, 332, 356, 368, 376; wounded at battle of Landen, 343.
- Eserick, Lord Howard of, Brigadier with British contingent in Flanders, 195; death of, 204.
- Essex's Dragoons, 387.
- Establishments, Army. See Army, standing.
- Ettrick, Lord George, appointed captain in the Royal Scots at the age of 18 months, 258.
- Eugene, Prince, 451, 458, 469, 470, 471, 472; at battle of Blenheim, 478 *et seq.*
- Evans, Owen, Quartermaster, 383, 427, 504, 537 (appendix).
- Evans, Patrick, Lieutenant; in Netherlands service, 106, 109.
- Evertson, Dutch Admiral, in action between Dutch and English fleets (June, 1666), 121; killed, *ibid.*
- Ewbank, Henry, Captain, Holland Regt., 124, 139, 513 (appendix).
- Ewer, John, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 131, 513 (appendix).
- Exercise, Camp of, at Hounslow (1686), 245 (1688), 254.

- Exeter, occupation of by William III., 268.
- Fairborne, Sir Palmes, in command of garrison of Tangier, 214, 219; with Cadiz expedition, 413.
- Fanshaw, Simon, Captain, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Faro, seizure and destruction of (1596), 43.
- Farrar, —, Captain, 139.
- Farrer, —, Captain, 515 (appendix).
- Fenwick, Sir John, Brigadier with British contingent in Flanders, 204.
- Ferguson, —, Brigadier-General, at battle of Schellenberg, 455, 458 (note), 460; at Blenheim, 478, 482, 485, 500.
- Fergusson's Regt., in Flanders, 353.
- Feuquières, Marquis de, at battle of Landen, 338, 345, 346, 347.
- Feversham, Lord, appointed member of a Commission on the state of the Army, 144; part taken in quelling Monmouth's rebellion, 237; Commander-in-Chief, 255, 269, 270, 273, 274, 275.
- Ffoster, Roger, Private, Holland Regt., 169.
- Fielding, —, Ensign, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Fielding, Henry, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 194, 209 (note), 233, 235, 251, 257, 521 (appendix).
- 5th Dragoon Guards, 239 (note), 246 (note), 356, 367, 387, 400, 437 (note), 446.
- 5th Lancers, 283 (note), 356, 437 (note), 446.
- Fincher, Henry, Lieutenant, 515 (appendix).
- Fines, Wm., Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 124; Captain, 512 (appendix).
- 1st Dragoon Guards, 239 (note), 246 (note), 312, 332, 356, 367, 387, 400, 437 (note), 446.
- 1st Royal Dragoons, 215 (note), 246 (note), 356, 387, 400, 437 (note), 442.
- FitzGarrard's Regt., Colonel, 165.
- Fitzgerald's Regt., 159.
- Fitzmaurice, Thos., Adjutant, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Fitzpatrick, Edward, Captain, Holland Regt., 194 (and note), 209 (note), 215, 218, 219, 220, 230, 233, 235, 251, 257, 264 (note); Major, Lieut.-Colonel, and Colonel, 277, 278 (note); Brigadier-General, 368, 371, 377 (at siege of Namur), 388, 523 (appendix).
- Fitzpatrick, Richard, Ensign, Holland Regt., 257, 530 (appendix).
- Fitzpatrick, Theobald, Ensign, 525 (appendix).
- Fitzpatrick, Thomas, Ensign, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Fitzpatrick's Regt. of Foot, with army in Flanders (1691), 306; at battle of Steinkirk, 320, 321, 322. See Collingwood's Regt.
- Fletcher, Samuel, recommended for a commission in the Holland Regt., 139; Ensign, 515 (appendix).
- Fleurus, concentration of Anglo-Dutch forces at, 289; Prince of Waldeck defeated at (1690), 298.
- Flodorf, Count de, joins Prince of Waldeck, 294.
- Flushing, relief of (1572), 8.
- Forbes, William, Ensign, 539 (appendix).
- Forbes' Foot (now Royal Irish Regt., *q.v.*).
- Ford, William, Captain, 541 (appendix).
- Formations, tactical (1692), 310.
- Forster, Ferd., Captain, 519 (appendix).
- Fortrey, —, Captain, Marines, 215, 218.
- Foster, Fras. (?Foster, Ferd.), Ensign, Holland Regt., 233, 235, 519 (appendix).
- Foster, Ferdinando (?Foster, Fras.), Ensign, Holland Regt., 251, 257, 519 (appendix).
- 4th Dragoon Guards, 239 (note), 246 (note), 312, 332, 356, 367, 387, 400.
- 4th Hussars, 239 (note), 312, 325, 332, 339, 356, 400.
- Fox, —, Colonel, Marines, 418.
- Fox, Edward, Ensign, Holland Regt., 187; Lieutenant, 233, 235, 251, 258; Captain, 520 (appendix).
- Fox, Joseph, Ensign, 530 (appendix).
- France, British troops in the service of, 139, 148, 157, 158, 159, 162, 172, 173, 176, 181, 188, 189, 192.
- France and England, Coalition between, against Holland (1670), 141.
- Frankenthal, defence of (1623), 64.
- French Army, recruiting for the, in England, 136.
- Frieze, Count, General, 465.
- Frisheim, General, at siege of Namur, 377.
- Fuggers, Joseph, Provost; in the Netherlands service, 90.
- Furnes, investment and surrender of (1692), 330.
- Gage's Foot, 264 (note).
- Galway, Earl of, Major-General, with army in Flanders (1693), 332.
- Galway's Horse, Lord, with army in Flanders, 312, 332, 335, 367, 383, 387.
- Garrison Companies, 132, 138, 150, 171, 185.
- Garrisons, distribution of troops in, in England (1667), 138.
- Gennep, capture of (1641), 76.
- Gerard, Lord, charged with defence of Isle of Wight and Portsmouth (1667), 132.
- Gertruydenberg, capture of (1573), 11; (1593), 39.
- Ghent; Treaty of, known as the "Pacification of Ghent" (1576), 14; skirmish near (1583), 19; siege and capture of, by French (1678), 195.
- Gibbs, Henry, Ensign, 383, 537 (appendix).

- Gibson, Nicolas, Lieutenant; in Netherlands service, 90; abjured British allegiance, 105.
- Gifford, J., Lieutenant, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, raises a regiment in aid of the Flemings (1572), 8.
- Ginckell, Lieut.-General de, in command of English troops in Ireland (1691), 303; besieges Limerick, 304; drowned near Landen, 343.
- Gittens (? Gittings), Nathaniel, Ensign, 383; Lieutenant, 426, 504, 533 (appendix).
- Gloucestershire Regt., 354 (note).
- Gaol deliveries as a means of recruiting, 444.
- Godolphin, —, Lieut.-Colonel, captured by French marauders, 374.
- Goff, —, Captain, killed in a duel, 402.
- Goff, Roger, Lieutenant-Colonel, Holland Regt., 277, 532 (appendix).
- Goldney, Henry, Lieutenant, 514 (appendix).
- Goodrick's Regt., Colonel, 202, 203.
- Goor, Lieut.-General, killed at Schellenberg, 455, 457, 459, 460.
- Goree, Island of, seized by Sir Robert Holmes (1664), 85.
- Gough, Roger, Captain, 383, 536 (appendix).
- Gough, Thomas, Ensign, Holland Regt., 194, 521 (appendix).
- Grafton, Duke of, 237 (and note); deserts to enemy, 270.
- Graham, —, Colonel, in command of a Scotch regiment in Dutch service (1674), 181.
- Graham's Regt., Sir Charles, 312, 333, 322 (and note), 323 (battle of Steinkirk), 353, 357, 368, 371 (note), 377 (surrender of Dixmuiden).
- Grant, Peter, Ensign, 427, 504, 538 (appendix).
- Grave, relief of, and subsequent surrender to Spaniards (1586), 23; taken by the Dutch (1674), 168.
- Grayhame, John, Ensign, 530 (appendix).
- Gregory, Thomas, Chaplain, 514 (appendix).
- Greirson (? Grierson), John, Lieutenant, 383, 402, 407, 426, 504, 534 (appendix).
- Grenadier Companies; introduction of (1678), 198; their dress and equipment, *ibid* (and note); abolished, 209; reintroduced 235, 249; their position in order of battle (1692), 310.
- Grenadier Guards, 119, 128 (and note), 132, 138, 140, 144, 148, 150, 154, 159, 164, 165, 176, 181, 183, 185, 193, 195, 197, 202, 215, 221, 229, 231 (note), 239, 246 (note), 254 (note), 265, 279, 281, 282, 306, 312, 320 (Steinkirk), 332, 339 (Landen), 340, 342, 353, 356, 367, 371 (note), 372, 377 (siege of Namur), 387, 400, 405, 409 (Cadiz), 420 (Vigo), 437 (note), 446, 458 (note), 460 (Schellenberg), 467, 478 (Blenheim).
- Griffin (Griffith), John, Lieutenant; in Netherlands service, 89 (note).
- Griffin (? Griffith), Richard, Lieutenant; in Netherlands service, 89; Holland Regt., 105, 108, 115, 510 (appendix).
- Groll, capture of (1597), 45; (1627), 69.
- Groningen, siege and capture of (1594), 40.
- Guernsey, strength of garrison of (1667), 138.
- Guns, 3-pounder, issued to certain infantry regiments, 248.
- Gwynne, Nell, said to have suggested the foundation of Chelsea Hospital, 293.
- Haerlem, defence of (1572), 10.
- Hale's Regt. (Irish), 254 (and note).
- Hale's Regt., Sir E., (now West Yorkshire Regt., q.v.).
- Half-pay, rates of (1699), 402.
- Halkett, —, Major, Dumbarton's Regt., 218.
- Hall, Alexander, Ensign, Holland Regt., 251, 529 (appendix).
- Halsey, Edward, Major, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Hamilton, Gustavus, Brigadier-General, with Cadiz expedition, 409; in investment of Huy, 441.
- Hamilton's Foot, 265 (note).
- Hamilton's Regiment of Dragoons, 230 (note).
- Hamilton's Regt., Geo., with army in Flanders, 357, 368, 388, 401.
- Hamilton's Regt., Gustavus, in Cadiz expedition, 409.
- Hampshire Regt., 437 (note), 446, 456 (at Schellenberg), 468, 478 (at Blenheim), 483 (note), 500.
- Hanover, Prince of, at Blenheim, 488.
- Hardwicke, —, Ensign, 530 (appendix).
- Harris, John, Chaplain, Holland Regt., 278, 383, 532 (appendix).
- Harrison, Henry, Captain, 353, 383, 426, 534 (appendix).
- Harrison, Thomas, Ensign, killed at Schellenberg, 504, 539 (appendix).
- Harvey, Robert, Captain, 534 (appendix).
- Harwich, strength of garrison of, (1667), 138.
- Harwood, Richard, Capt.-Lieut., 383; Captain, 426, 536 (appendix).
- Harwood, Richard, Ensign, 426, 536 (appendix).
- Hastings' Regt. (Somerset L.I.), at Killcrankie, 236.
- Haxhausen, Brigadier-General, 376.
- Hay, Lord John, at battle of Blenheim, 492.
- Haysne, river, disastrous effects of flood in, 289.
- Hebborn, Arthur, Ensign, Holland Regt., 194, 522 (appendix).
- Heidelberg, defence of (1623), 64.
- Henshaw, Thomas, Lieutenant, 514 (appendix).
- Herbert, Admiral, 263.



- Herbert, Henry, Captain; in Netherlands service, 90; abjured British allegiance, 104.
- Herberville, Major-General, at Blenheim, 483.
- Herne, Corbert, Ensign, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Herrington, William, Ensign, 538 (appendix).
- Herris, Robert, Ensign; in Netherlands service, 90; abjured British allegiance, 106.
- Hesse, Langrave of, joins William III., 389.
- Hesse, Prince of, 449, 452; at Blenheim, 490.
- Hesse-Darmstadt, Prince George of, in Cadiz expedition, 413, 418.
- Hetley, John, Captain, 353, 363, 383, 426; Major, 494 (wounded at Blenheim); 503, 531 (appendix).
- Hewet, John, Lieutenant, 516 (appendix).
- Hildyard, Charles, Captain, Holland Regt., 194 (and note), 523 (appendix).
- Hill, Thomas, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 194, 521 (appendix).
- Hodges, Colonel; censured, 288; at Walcourt, 290; commended by P. of Waldeck, 293; killed in battle of Steinkirk, 327.
- Hodges' Regt., Colonel, (now the Bedfordshire Regt., q.v.).
- Holland, British troops in the service of (1674 and after), 180, 181, 200, 202, 203 (and note), 239.
- Holland, war with, 1665-7; its causes; hostilities prior to declaration of war, 85; declaration of war, 97; naval engagements, 117, 121, 127; France and Denmark join Holland, 120; attacks on Sheerness, Chatham and Languard Fort, 132; treaty of peace signed at Breda, 135.
- Holland, war with, 1672-4; coalition of France and England, 140; French and English preparations, 144, 148; declaration of war, 149; fleet action off Southwold Bay, 150; junction of English and French fleets, 166; indecisive actions between Dutch and allied fleets, 166, 167; peace between England and Holland, 176.
- Holland, war between, and France, 1674-8; intervention of England in favour of Holland, 188; treaty of alliance between England and Holland, 200; peace concluded, 204.
- Holland, war between, and France, 1689-1696; British aid to Holland, 279 *et seq.*; embarkation of expedition, 284; plan of campaign, 287; condition of troops on landing in Holland, 287 *et seq.*; strength of English contingent in March, 1681, 305; *id.* in May, 1692, 311; *id.* in May, 1693, 332; distribution in winter quarters at end of 1693, 353; strength and composition of army at the beginning of 1694, 355-357; 1694, a campaign of manœuvres, 358 *et seq.*; strength of army in May, 1695, 367, 368; situation in the spring of 1696, 385; composition of English army, 387, 388; campaign of 1697, 391-393; peace signed at Ryswick, 393.
- Holland Regt. See Bufts, The.
- Holman's Foot, 264 (note).
- Holmes, Sir Robert, raids Dutch Colonial possessions (1664), 85; fails in enterprise against Dutch Smyrna fleet (1672), 149.
- Holstein-Beck, Prince of, at the battle of Blenheim, 484, 486.
- Holt, Henry, Lieutenant and Adjutant, Holland Regt., 194 (and note), 209 (note), 232, 235, 251, 257, 523 (appendix).
- Holy Island, detachment of the Holland Regt. on duty on, 238.
- Home, —, Brigadier-General, 387.
- Hompesch, General, 449, 452, 455; at the battle of Blenheim, 489, 490.
- Honeywood, Robert, Captain of Dutch Horse, abjured British Allegiance, 107.
- Honeywood, Thomas, Lieutenant; in Netherlands service, 88, 105, 108, 110.
- Horn, Count, General, 458.
- Hostilities without declaration of war, 85, 149.
- Hounslow Heath, camp of exercise and Royal review on, 245 *et seq.*, 254.
- Howard, John, Captain, Holland Regt., 159, 168, 516 (appendix).
- Howard, Sir Philip, appointed member of a commission on the state of the army, 144.
- Howard, Sir Thomas; Captain of Dutch Horse, 99; Lieut.-Colonel, Holland Regt., 107, 115, 182, 510 (appendix).
- Howell, Richard, Ensign, 516 (appendix).
- Huitson, Captain, Coldstream Guards, 159.
- Hull and the Blockhouse, strength of Garrison (1667), 138.
- Hulsen, Brigadier-General, at Blenheim, 483.
- Hulst, capture of (1591), 38; (1645), 78.
- Hume, Alexander, Captain; in Netherlands service, 108.
- Hunsdon, Lord Robert, Lieut.-Colonel, Holland Regt., 244; Colonel, E. of Lichfield's Regt., 277, 529 (appendix).
- Huntingdon's Regt., Earl of (now the Somersetshire L.I., q.v.).
- Huy; capture of (1675), 1888; taken by Marshal Luxembourg (1693), 335; investment and surrender of (1694), 362; investment and capture of, by Marlborough (1703), 441.
- Infantry; arms and equipment of, 120, 165, 193, 194, 198, 243, 244, 250, 267; carried on horses behind cavalymen, 359.
- Infants, appointment of, to Commissions, 259.
- Ingoldsby, —, Lieut.-General, 388, 483 (at Blenheim), 492.

- Inniskilling Fusiliers, Royal (originally Colonel E. Tiffin's Regt. of Foot), 283 (note), 357, 368, 388, 401.
- Invasion of England, precautions against impending (1688), 264 *et seq*; projected invasion (1696), 384.
- Ireland, transfer of troops from English to Irish establishment, 180.
- Irish Brigade in the service of France, the, at Blenheim, 486.
- Irish recruits, objection to, in English regiments, in the time of James II., 256.
- Irish regiments; detachments supplied by, for service afloat, 150; in the Dutch service, 181; in French pay, 254.
- Irish troops, their loyalty to James II., 271.
- Jackson, Allen, Lieutenant Holland Regt., 194, 521 (appendix).
- Jacquet, a spy; discovery of, 319; hanged, 329.
- James II.; his accession, 235; his interest in the army and navy, 236, 238; his relations to Parliament and people, 245 *et seq*; favours Roman Catholics, *ibid*; 253 *et seq*, 282; events leading to his downfall, 262 *et seq*; military measures against impending invasion, 264 *et seq*; treachery towards, 269; negotiations with William III., 272; flight to Sheerness and arrest, 273, 274; return to London, *ibid*.; escape to France, 276; landing in Ireland, 282, 296; in Dublin, *ibid*.; before Londonderry, 297; neglect of his army, 298; flight to France after the battle of the Boyne, 301.
- James III., 406 (and note).
- Jeffreys, Herbert, Captain, Grenadier Guards, appointed to command of Virginia Expeditionary Corps (1676), 185, 186.
- Jeffries, Judge, 238.
- Jenkins, Sir L., Secretary of State; correspondence with the Earl of Chesterfield relating to the status of the Holland Regt., 223 *et seq*.
- Jersey, strength of garrison of (1667), 138.
- Jeyne, Thomas, Ensign, 515 (appendix).
- Jones, —, Capt., ordered to raise a Grenadier company for the Holland Regt., 199.
- Joyeuse, General de, at battle of Landen, 337, 338, 340, 345.
- Juliers, capture of (1610), 56; siege and defence of (1621), 58.
- Kaiserswerth, siege and capitulation of (1702), 429.
- Kennedy, Phil., Ensign, 513 (appendix).
- Kenny, William, Lieutenant, 383, 426, 504, 526 (appendix).
- Killegrew, Sir Wm., Colonel, in Netherlands service, 89, 99; appointed Colonel of a regiment of Marines raised in 1664, 86, 103.
- Killegrew, William, Captain; in Netherlands service, 90; Holland Regt., 104, 111, 124, 125, 139, 512 (appendix).
- Killegrew's Regt.; English regiments in Netherlands service; list of officers at commencement of 1665, 89.
- Killiecrankie, battle of (1689), 296.
- King, John (? Thomas), Ensign, Holland Regt., 194, 209 (note), 232, 235; 2nd Lieutenant, 251, 258, 522 (appendix).
- King's Foot Guards (Irish, raised 1688), 265 (note).
- King's (Liverpool Regt.), 388, 400, 405, 437, (note), 446, 456 (battle of Schellenberg), 467, 478 (at Blenheim), 483 (note), 491.
- King's Own (Royal Lancaster Regt.), 215 (note), 240 (note), 277 (note), 312, 333, 339 (Landen), 340, 347, 353, 356, 368, 372, 400, 409 (Cadiz expedition), 420 (at Vigo).
- King's Own Royal Regt. of Horse, 265 (note).
- Kinsale, Marlborough's expedition against (1690), 299, 300, 303.
- Kinsey, Richard, Ensign, 531 (appendix).
- Kirke, Philip, Captain, Holland Regt., 209 (note), 194, 208, 215, 218, 219, 520 (appendix).
- Kirke, Piercy, Colonel, the Queen's Regt., 220, 236; in relief of Londonderry, 297; second-in-command to Marlborough, 305.
- Kirkpatrick, Colonel, of a Scottish regiment in the service of the Netherlands, 90; mentioned as Gil Patrick, 93, 96, 100.
- Kirkpatrick's Regt., M.-General, 203 (note).
- Knocke, assault of position at (1695), 369, 370; casualties, 370.
- Knodsenburg, Fort, relief of (1591), 37.
- Kyte, Thomas, Ensign, 530 (appendix).
- La Mair, Maurits, Captain, in Netherlands service, 89, 105.
- La Melonière, —, Major-General, 367.
- La Melonière's Regt., 368, 388.
- Lancashire Fusiliers, 401, 467.
- Land forces, detached for service afloat, 116, 118, 119, 122, 140, 143, 145, 149, 150, 164, 165, 167, 195.
- Landau, siege and capitulation of (1704), 500, 501.
- Landen, battle of (1693); position of contending forces and description of ground, 336, 337, 338; progress of the battle 340 *et seq*.; losses, 349, 350; movements of the two armies after the battle, 350 *et seq*.
- Landguard Fort, Dutch attack on repulsed (1667), 134; strength of garrison (1667), 138.

- Leshley, Wm., Captain; Holland Regt., 192 (and note), 208, 525 (appendix).
- Lauder, —, Colonel, wounded in battle of Steinkirk, 327; Brigadier-General, 388.
- Lauder's Regt., 312, 322 (and note), 323 (battle of Steinkirk), 333, 338 (at Landen), 353, 357, 368, 371 (note), 388.
- Lauwer, Edward, Lieutenant, in Netherlands service, 88, 105.
- Lausun Comte de, aids in escape of Queen Mary Beatrice and the Prince of Wales to France, 272.
- Lawson, Sir J., in command of Mediterranean Fleet (1664), 85; operations against Dutch fleet, *ibid*.
- Leave, officers' and soldiers', provisions as to, 211.
- Legg's Regt., Colonel, 202.
- Leicestershire Regt. (originally Richard's Foot), 264 (note), 357, 368, 371 (note), 381 (note), (distinguished conduct in the storming of Namur), 387, 401, 405, 437 (note).
- Leinster, Duke of, arrives in Ostend with reinforcements from England, 330.
- Leinster's Regt. of Horse, D. of., in Flanders (1692), 312.
- Le Poer's Regt., Lord, 159, 164, 165.
- Lealey, Sir James, Brigadier-General, 369.
- Lesley, Wm., Lieutenant, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- L'Etang, —, Brigadier-General, 156, 367.
- Leuze, cavalry action near (1691), 307.
- Leven's Regt. of Foot, Earl of (now the K.O.S.B., *q.v.*).
- Leveson, —, Brigadier-General, 355.
- Levingston's Dragoons, 367, 387.
- Leyden, defence of (1574), 12.
- Liege, capitulation of (1702), 431.
- Life Guards, 138, 207, 306, 311, 332, 356, 367, 387, 400.
- Lillingston, H., Lieut.-Colonel, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174, 181.
- Lillingston, Luke, Ensign, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Lillo, Fort, defence of, by Scots (1584), 19.
- Limburg; siege of (1632), 73; taken by the French (1675), 188; siege of (1703), 442.
- Limerick, investment of (1690), 302, 303, siege and surrender of (1691), 304.
- Lincolnshire Regt. (originally the E. of Bath's Regt.), 239 (note), 240, 246 (note), 248, 306, 325 (battle of Steinkirk), 333, 335 (note), 353, 357, 368, 400, 405, 437 (note), 446, 467, 478 (at Blenheim), 500.
- Lingen, capture of (1597), 45.
- Litkenhooven Castle, relief of (1590), 35.
- Littleton, Sir Charles, appointed member of a commission on the state of the army, 144; brigadier with British contingent in Flanders, 200.
- Lloyd, Wm., Captain, 363, 374, 383, 426, 503, 534 (appendix).
- Lockharts' Regt., Sir Wm., 164, 165, 171.
- London, privilege of certain regiments to beat their drums within the precincts of the city of, 143, 152-153.
- Londonderry, siege of (1689), 296, 297.
- Long, W., Captain, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Long Island, raided by de Ruyter (1664), 85.
- Longston's Regt. of Horse, in Flanders, 312.
- Looting, 416.
- Lorne's Regt., 368, 371 (note), 377 (surrender of Dixmude), 386.
- Lothar, —, Lieut.-Colonel, 100.
- Lowestoft, English victory in naval action off (June 3, 1665), 117.
- Luc, —, Major-General, in battle of Blenheim, 483.
- Luke, —, Major-General, 455.
- Luke, Oliver, Ensign, Holland Regt., 233, 235, 251, 257; captain, 286, 316, 383, 494 (wounded at Blenheim), 504, 526 (appendix).
- Lumley, Henry, Lieut.-General, 332, 356, 367, 387, 437, 438, 455 (at battle of Schellenberg), 457, 460, 461; at battle of Blenheim, 486.
- Lunenburg Regt., at Walcourt, 291.
- Lunsford, Sir Herbert, Captain, Holland Regt., 130, 145, 159 (note), 220, 514 (appendix).
- Luttrell, —, Major-General, treachery of, 304.
- Luxembourg, Marshal; in command of French army in Flanders (1678), 189; at the battle of St. Denis, 203; captures Mons, 305; defeats allied cavalry at Leuze, 307; invests Namur, 311 *et seq.*; his dispositions at the opening of the 1692 campaign, *ibid*; his vigilance, 316; movements preceding the battle of Steinkirk, 317, 318; the battle, 319 *et seq.*; after the battle and winter quarters, 329 *et seq.*; preparations for 1693 campaign, 334 *et seq.*; taking of Huy, 335; dispositions for the battle of Landen, 335 *et seq.*; the battle, 340 *et seq.*; taking of Charleroi, 325; manœuvres and movements during the summer of 1694, 358 *et seq.*; death of, 365.
- Maccarty, Charles, Lieutenant, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Macclesfield's Horse, 400.
- Mackay, Sir Donald, at Killiecrankie, 296; commander-in-chief of British infantry in Flanders, 311, 312; at battle of Steinkirk, 323; killed, 327.
- Mackay's Regt., 203 (note), 270, 312, 323 (and note), 323 (at battle of Steinkirk), 333, 338 (at Landen), 353, 357, 368, 372, 381 (note) (storming of Namur).
- Mackintosh, Alexander, Chaplain, 530 (appendix).
- Maestricht, siege of (1632), 71; taken by



- the French (1673), 167; siege of (1676), 189.
- Maggett, John, Private, Holland Regt., 169.
- Maine, Duc du, defeats Villeroi's plans, 372 (and note), 373.
- Mainwaring, —, Ensign, 539 (appendix).
- Mainwaring, Charles, Captain; Holland Regt., 194 (and note), 209 (note), 230, 233, 235, 251, 257; Major and Lieut.-Colonel, 278; at Steinkirk, 320; death of, 354, 521 (appendix).
- Maitland, —, Brigadier-General, 388.
- Malines, surprise and capture of (1580), 18; disturbances between English troops and inhabitants (1694), 363.
- Maneton, Ambros, Lieutenant, in Netherlands service, 89; abjured British allegiance, 105.
- Manfield, Edward, Captain, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Manheim, defence of (1623), 54.
- Manley, Roger, Ensign, in Netherlands service, 90; appointed to the Holland Regt., June 23, 1665, 106, 108, 110, 115, promoted Captain, 120 (note); letter by, 140; Lieut.-Governor of Guernsey, 147; transferred to Grenadier Guards, 159 (note), 511 (appendix).
- Mannering, Thomas, Ensign, 383, 407, 533 (appendix).
- Marching power, instances of remarkable, 361, 438.
- Marine troops, armament of, 120.
- Marines, Regt. of (originally the Admiral's Regt., formed 1664, disbanded 1689), 86, 93, 113, 119, 122, 123, 128, 132, 135, 136, 137, 138, 141, 144, 150, 151, 154, 165, 183, 193, 195, 202, 215, 221, 229, 231 (note), 240, 246 (note), 248, 219.
- Marlborough, Duke of; Captain of Marines, 159 (and note); Colonel of a regiment in Holland, 181; on a special mission, 200; Brigadier-General in Flanders, 204; during Monmouth's rebellion, 237, 238; treachery to James II., 269, 270; Lieut.-General commanding Holland expeditionary force, 279, 286, 287; at Walcourt, 291 *et seq.*; expedition against Cork and Kinsale, 299, 303; in disgrace, 312; restored to favour, 405; proceeds to Holland, *ibid.*; capture of Liege, 431; plan of campaign for 1703, 436; capture of Bonn, 438; plans for invasion of Brabant and West Flanders, *ibid.*; capture of Huy, 441; capture of Limburg, 442; plans for 1704, 445 *et seq.*; forethought for comfort of troops, 449; battle of Schellenberg, 454 *et seq.*; subsequent movements, 465 *et seq.*; battle of Blenheim, 475 *et seq.*; surrender of Ulm, 500; capitulation of Landau, *ibid.*; seizure of Treves and Trarbach, 501.
- Marman, John, Lieutenant, 525 (appendix).
- Marsin, Marshal, at Blenheim, 479 *et seq.*
- Martin, John, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 194, 209 (note), 233, 235, 251, 258, 520 (appendix).
- Marton's Regt., 368, 388.
- Mason, W. Ensign, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Mathews, Abednego, Ensign, Barbadoes Regt., 131, 513 (appendix).
- Mathew's Dragoons, 368.
- Matthews, —, Brigadier-General, 356, 387; with Cadiz expedition, 409.
- Mauleverer, Chaplain, Holland Regt., 251, 278, 529 (appendix).
- McElligott's Foot, 265 (note).
- McElligott's Regt. (Irish), 254 (and note).
- Medical Arrangements (1674), 179.
- Medway, defences of the, entrusted to Emergency Regt. (1671), 145.
- Melvill, John, Ensign, 383; Lieutenant, 426, 503, 535 (appendix).
- Melvill, Robert, Ensign, 427, 540 (appendix).
- Menin, surprise of, by Scots (1579), 17.
- Meoles (? Miles, Moles), Henry, Major, in Netherlands service, 89, 99, 104.
- Meoles, John, Ensign, Holland Regt., 235; Lieutenant, 251, 258; Captain, 363, 383, 426, 494 (wounded at Blenheim), 503, 524 (appendix).
- Meoles, Wm. Ensign; in Netherlands service, 89; Holland Regt., 106, 109, 110, 115; Lieutenant, 124; Captain, 186, 192, 208, 511 (appendix).
- Meurs, capture of (1597), 45.
- Middleburg, siege of (1574), 11; action at sea (1574), 12.
- Middleton, Charles, Captain, 526 (appendix).
- Middleton, C., Captain, Admiral's Regt. (Marines), 145.
- Middleton, Earl of, Lieut.-Colonel, appointed to the Holland Regt., 182 (and note); in command of 2nd Battalion, 194, 200; appointed Secretary of State, 230; 518 (appendix).
- Miremont's Horse, Marq. de, 264 (note).
- Mirmont, —, Major-General, 376.
- Mirmont's Dragoons, 367.
- Moles, —, Major (? Henry Meoles, Miles, pp. 89 and 99), 110.
- Moloy, —, Major (? Henry Meoles, Miles or Moles, pp. 89, 99, and 110), 109.
- Monchevreuil, General de, at battle of Landen, 338, 340; killed, 342.
- Mongomery, Hugh, Ensign, 383, 427, 494 (wounded at Blenheim), 536 (appendix).
- Monily, —, Captain, in Netherlands service, 89.
- Monmouth, Duke of, 111 (note), 167, 195, 200, 202, 209, 211; memoir of 211 (note); rebellion, capture and execution, 236-238.
- Monmouth's Regt., Duke of, 148, 158, 162, 194, 195 (and note).
- Mons, capture of (1672), 5; surrenders to Marshal Luxembourg (1691), 305.
- Montal, Marquis de, 366, 369, 372, 377 (capture of Dixmude).



- Montecuculi, Austrian General, 188.
- Moore, Richard, Lieutenant, in Netherlands service, 107; Ensign, Holland Regt., 233, 235, 251, 257; Captain, 353, 383, 525 (appendix).
- Moore, Robert, Lieutenant, in Netherlands service, 89, 111.
- Mordaunt, Robert, Captain, in Netherlands service, 89; abjured British allegiance, 104.
- Morgan, Edward, Captain in Netherlands service, 88, 97, 104.
- Morgan, Robert, Captain, Holland Regt., 124, 125, 139, 512 (appendix).
- Morgan, Rowland, Captain, Holland Regt., 183, 519 (appendix).
- Morgan, Thomas, Captain, raises nucleus of British regiments for service in the Netherlands, 7.
- Morgan, Walter, Lieutenant Holland Regt., 186, 516 (appendix).
- Morgan, Sir William, enters service of Prince of Orange with a small number of English followers (1572), 5.
- Morgan, William, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 194, 520 (appendix).
- Morpeth's Regt., Lord, 202, 203.
- Mowat, John, Sergeant, recruiting warrant issued to, 143.
- Mulgrave, Earl of, Colonel, Holland Regt., 171, 172 (and notes); Court and other appointments, 210; commands Tangier Expedition, 215, 217; downfall, 222; restoration to royal favour and reappointment to colonelcy of Holland Regt., 229, 232, 235; vacates command of regiment, 241, 517 (appendix).
- Mulgrave's Regt., Earl of, formed 1673, 163 (and note); incorporated in the Holland Regt., 173; list of officers, 174; disbanded (1674), 176.
- Munster, Treaty of (1648), 78.
- Musgrave, Thomas, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 235, 251, 257, 528 (appendix).
- Musketeers, regulations for (167), 250; position in order of battle (1692), 310.
- Musters, regulations for, and punishments for offences in relation to, 211; observations on fraudulent rolls, 295.
- Mutiny Act, passing of first (1689), 283; allowed to lapse, 399.
- Mutiny of Royal Scots, 282.
- Myngs, Sir Christopher, killed in action at sea, 122.
- Namur, investment and capitulation of (1692), 311, 313-315; siege of (1695), 376, 377; surrender of town, 377; surrender of castle, 381.
- Nandick, —, Ensign, 530 (appendix).
- Napper, Fr., Ensign, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Nassau, Prince Casimir of, Lieut.-General, with army in Flanders, 332; at the battle of Steinkirk, 325.
- Nassau-Sarbruck, Prince of, 386.
- Nationality, brigading of regiments by, 313.
- Negus, Francis, Ensign, Holland Regt., 251, 258; Major, 374, 383, 418, 426, 529 (appendix).
- Netherlands, British regiments in the service of the. See British regts. States of the, solicit Queen Elizabeth's sovereignty (1575), 13; offer repeated and finally declined (1585), 20.
- Neules (? Meoles), John, Ensign, Holland Regt., 233, 524 (appendix).
- Newcastle's Foot, Duke of, 264 (note).
- Newtown Butler, engagement at (1689), 297.
- New York, taken from Dutch (1664), 85.
- Nicholson, Francis, Ensign, Holland Regt., 194, 520 (appendix).
- Nieuport, battle of (1600), 47.
- Night marching, 438.
- Nimeguen, Spaniards defeated at (1585), 22; capture of (1591), 38; congress of (1675-6), 189.
- Norfolk Regt. (originally Colonel Hy. Cornwall's Regt.), 239 (note), 240, 246 (note), 400, 405, 437 (note), 442.
- Norfolk's Regt., Duke of (now the Suffolk Regt., *q.v.*).
- Norfolk's Regt. of Foot, Duke of (now the Cheshire Regt., *q.v.*).
- Northorn, action at (1580), 18.
- Northumberland Fusiliers, 181, 203 (note), 357, 368, 387, 400.
- Norwood, —, Captain, killed at Landen, 350, 535 (appendix).
- Norwood, Wm., Ensign, in Netherlands service, 89; abjured British allegiance, 106.
- Noyelles, Count, Lieut.-General, 367, 386.
- O'Brien's Regt., Lord, 202, 203.
- O'Farrell, —, Brigadier-General, 316, 357, 368; surrenders Deynse, 378; tried and cashiered, 382.
- O'Farrell's Regt., 357.
- Officers, adversely affected by reductions in strength of army, 207, 209 (note); dress of, 231; weapons carried by (1672), 310.
- Ogle, Cornelis, Captain, in Netherlands service, 90; abjured British allegiance, 104.
- Ogle, Sir Thomas, Major, in Netherlands service, 90, 100; Captain, Holland Regt., 104, 115; Major, 119, 145; Lieut.-Colonel, 230, 232, 235, 244, 510 (appendix).
- Ogle's Regt., Earl of, formed (1673), disbanded (1674), 163 (note).
- Oglethorpe, John, Ensign, Holland Regt., 251 (a child), 257, 529 (appendix).
- Oglethorpe, Sir Theophilus, appointed Colonel of the Holland Regt., 242; previous career, *ibid.*; 248, 251, 257, 263, 264; Brigadier-General, 271; outlawed and deprived of his command, 277, 528 (appendix).
- O'Hara, Sir Chas., Major-General, with Cadiz expedition, 409; censured, 425.

- Oldenzael, capture of (1597), 45; (1626) 68.  
 Omar Ben Haddn, Moorish commander at Tangier, 214.  
 Ootmarsum, capture of (1597), 45.  
 Opdam, Dutch Admiral, killed off Lowestoft, 117.  
 Opdam, Dutch General, opposition to Marlborough, 430, 436 (note), 438, 439, 440, 446.  
 Orange, Prince of (William, the Silent), assassinated (1584), 20.  
 Orange, Prince of. See William III.  
 Organisation, results of want of, 297.  
 Orkney, Lord, Lieut.-General, 388, 483, 492 (battle of Blenheim).  
 Ormond, Duke of, Major-General; deserts cause of James II., 271; with army in Flanders, 332; wounded and taken prisoner at Landen, 348 (and note); in command of Cadiz expedition, 409 *et seq.*  
 Osborne, J., Captain, King's Regt. of Guards (Grenadier Guards), 144.  
 Ossory, Earl of, in command of an English Brigade in the Dutch service (1678), 200, 203.  
 Ostend, siege and defence of (1601-4), 49; capitulation of (1604), 54.  
 Oudenarde, invested by the Dutch (1674), 188.  
 Overkirk, General, 436 (note), 438, 447.  
 Oxborough, Henry, Ensign, 541 (appendix).  
 Palesters, Walter, Lieutenant, 353, 363, 368, 536 (appendix).  
 Pallandt, —, Brigadier-General, with Cadiz expedition, 409, 415; at Vigo, 420.  
 Palphery (Palphry, Palfrey), George, Lieutenant, 353, 363, 402, 407, 494, 504 (killed at Blenheim), 534 (appendix).  
 Palphery, Mrs., 504.  
 Palvesyn, James, Ensign in Netherlands service, 88; abjured British allegiance, 106.  
 Parker, John, Captain, appointed to Holland Regt. as ensign, 208; lieutenant, 520 (appendix).  
 Parliament, principle of control of Army by, 284, 399.  
 Parry, Seager, Captain; fights a duel, 330; killed at Landen, 350; 530 (appendix).  
 Paulier, Brigadier-General, killed at Steinkirk, 324.  
 Paulin, Richard, Ensign, 512 (appendix).  
 Payment of troops, method of (1679), 211.  
 Pearce, —, Lieut.-Colonel, at Cadiz, 418.  
 Peirce, Alex., Ensign, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.  
 Peirce, James, appointed Surgeon of the Holland Regt. on its formation, 115 (and note), 119, 233, 235, 251, 278, 512 (appendix).  
 Pendennis Castle, strength of garrison of (1667), 138.  
 Pensions, soldiers', 233, 234.  
 Peterborough's Regt., Earl of; formed 1673, 163 (note), 171, 173.  
 Peyton, Henry, Lieutenant, Holland Regt.; 233, 235; Captain, 251, 258; Major, 278; taken prisoner at Landen, 350; Lieut.-Colonel, 354, 363, 388, 426, 494 (wounded at Blenheim), 508; Brevet-Colonel, 526 (appendix).  
 Peyton, Humphrey, Lieut.-Colonel, in Netherlands service, 89; abjured British allegiance, 103.  
 Phettiplace, Philip, Ensign, in Netherlands service, 90; Holland Regt., 107, 109, 110, 115, 511 (appendix).  
 Phettiplace, Wm., Ensign, in Netherlands service, 89; Holland Regt., 107, 109, 110, 115 (and note), 511 (appendix).  
 Philips, John, Ensign, in Netherlands service, 88; abjured British allegiance, 107.  
 Philips Norton, repulse of royal troops at (1635), 237.  
 Piggott, John, Captain, Duke of Buckingham's Regt., 159.  
 Pikemen, position of, in order of battle (1692), 310.  
 Pilkington, George, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 233, 235, 251, 257, 526 (appendix).  
 Pinchback, Samuel, Ensign, 530 (appendix).  
 Pitt's Company of Miners, Colonel, with army in Flanders (1693), 363.  
 Plumptre, George, Lieutenant, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.  
 Plymouth, strength of garrison of (1667), 138.  
 Plymouth's Regt., Earl of, in Tangier Expedition, 215, 220.  
 Pomeroy, Henry, Captain, in Netherlands service, 89, 99; Holland Regt., 104, 111, 115, 145, 153, 189, 510 (appendix).  
 Pope, Thomas, Ensign, 353, 363, 535 (appendix).  
 Portland, Earl of, Lieut.-General, with army in Flanders, 332, 355.  
 Portland's Horse, 387.  
 Portmore, Lord, Major-General, with Cadiz Expedition, 409.  
 Portsmouth, measures for its defence (1667), 133; strength of garrison, 138.  
 Portugal, descent on (1596), 43.  
 Pracontal, General, at battle of Landen, 341.  
 Prater, Richard, Captain, 444; Brevet-Major, 541 (appendix).  
 Precedence of regiments, 128, 183, 199 (and note), 216, 223, 225, 229 (and note), 239, 313.  
 Preston, John, Lieutenant, 383, 426, 503, 536 (appendix).  
 Preston, Thomas, Ensign, in Netherlands service, 89; Holland Regt., 107, 111, 115, 511 (appendix).  
 Prideaux, John, Ensign, Holland Regt., 233, 235, 251; Lieutenant, 517 (appendix).



- Princess' Dragoons, The, 246 (note).  
 Profane language, prevalence of habit of using, in William IV. army, 357.  
 Protestants, influx of French, owing to revocation of Edict of Nantes, 246.  
 Putney Heath, royal review on (1684), 231.  
 Pyne, Thomas, Lieutenant, 383, 426, 503, 537 (appendix).  
 Queen Anne, accession of, 407.  
 Queen's Dragoons (Lloyd), 368.  
 Rain, capture of (1704), 466.  
 Ramsay, —, Brigadier-General, 332, 341 (at battle of Landen), 347, 348, 356, 367, 371, 376, 377 (siege of Namur), 386.  
 Ramsay's Regt. of Foot, with army in Flanders, 306, 312.  
 Rantzau, —, Major-General, at battle of Blenheim, 483.  
 Read, Wm., Captain, in Netherlands service, 89; abjured British allegiance, 104.  
 Reconnoitring, instance of insufficient, at Steinkirk, 327.  
 Recruiting, for French Army in England, 138; warrants relating to, 143, 152.  
 Recruits, Irish, objected to by English regiments, 256.  
 Reductions of establishment, effect of, on individual officers, 207; general effect of, 211.  
 Reminant, battle of (1578), 15.  
 Review, royal, on Hounslow Heath (1686), 248.  
 Rhineberg, relief of (1589), 34; capture of (1597), 45; seized by Spaniards (1598), 49; besieged and taken by Prince Maurice (1601), 51; defence and fall of (1606), 55; retaken (1633), 74.  
 Richards' Foot (now the Leicestershire Regt., *q.v.*).  
 Richardson, Francis, Ensign, Holland Regt., 194, 520 (appendix).  
 Richardson, John, Ensign, Holland Regt., 174, 183; Lieutenant, 187; Captain, 194, 208 (and note), 518 (appendix).  
 Richardson, Michael, Ensign, Holland Regt., 233, 235, 528 (appendix).  
 Rigby, Edward, Captain, Holland Regt., 230, 527 (appendix).  
 Riseley, Paul, Lieutenant, in Netherlands service (retired), appointed Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 107, 109, 110, 115, 510 (appendix).  
 Rivers, Earl, Major-General, 367.  
 Rochefort's Horse, 387.  
 Rogers, Francis, Ensign, Holland Regt., 208, 232, 235, 516 (appendix).  
 Rolleston, Major, King's Regt., of Guards (Grenadier Guards), 144, 145, 150.  
 Roman Catholics; disqualification of, for military service, 163, 164, 206, 277; during reign of James II., 245 *et seq.*, 253, *et seq.*, 282.  
 Rooke, Sir George, Admiral, at Cadiz, 414; at Vigo, 419.  
 Roper, John, Major, in Netherlands service, 89; abjured British allegiance, 104.  
 Ross, —, General, at the battle of Blenheim, 492.  
 Ross's Dragoons, 387.  
 Roules, Henry, Ensign, Holland Regt., 194.  
 Rouse, James (? Gervase), Ensign, in Netherlands service, 89, 100; Adjutant Holland Regt., 107, 109, 110, 115, 233.  
 Routes for movements of troops, 177, 241, 278, 299, 308, 309.  
 Rowe, —, Brigadier-General, at the battle of Blenheim, 477, 478, 482; mortally wounded, 484.  
 Rowe, Fra., Lieutenant, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.  
 Royal Fusiliers, 239 (note), 240, 246 (note), 254 (note), 265, 285, 306, 312, 326 (at Steinkirk), 333, 339 (at Landen), 353, 356, 368, 371 (note), 381, 388, 401, 409 (Cadiz expedition), 420 (at Vigo).  
 Royal Horse Guards, 138, 176, 231 (note), 246 (note), 400.  
 Royal Irish Regt (originally Forbe's Foot), 265 (note), 276 (note), 357, 368; distinguished conduct at the storming of Namur, 381 (note); 382, 387, 401, 405, 437 (note), 446, 478 (at battle of Blenheim).  
 Royal Scots, 176, 214 (note), 227 (note), 229 (note), 239, 246 (note), 254 (note), 279, 282, 285, 286 (note), 306, 312, 320, 321, 322 (at Steinkirk), 333, 339 (at Landen), 343, 353, 356, 368, 371 (note), 387, 388, 400, 405, 437 (note), 446, 457 (at Schellenberg), 467, 468, 478 (at Blenheim), 483 (note), 500.  
 Royal Warrants; relating to officers disbanded in the Netherlands, 109-111; relating to the Holland Regt., 113, 143, 153, 157, 173.  
 Rubantel, General, at battle of Landen, 338, 340, 342.  
 Rupert, Prince, 117, 121, 127, 144, 164, 166, 167.  
 Ruremonde, siege of (1632), 71.  
 Russell, John, Colonel, appointed member of a commission on the state of the Army, 144.  
 Ryswick, treaty of peace signed at (1697), 393.  
 Sackville, Edward, Captain, King's Regt. of Guards (Gren. Gds.), 159; Lieut.-Colonel, 215, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221.  
 Sairclair, Hen., Ensign 383.  
 Salisbury, Charles, Captain, 350 (wounded at Landen), 353, 383, 535 (appendix).  
 Salisbury's Horse, Earl of, 264 (note).  
 Salisch, —, General, at siege of Namur, 377.

- Salloway, Robert, Ensign, 525 (appendix).
- Salway (? Salloway, Robert), Lieutenant, family dispute of, subject of Court of Inquiry, 147 (and note).
- Sanby, John, Chaplain, 427, 504.
- Sanderson, Robert, Captain, in Netherlands service, 89; abjured British allegiance, 104.
- Sanderson, Thomas, Lieutenant, in Netherlands service, 89; abjured British allegiance, 105.
- Sandown, strength of garrison of (1667), 138.
- Sandwich, Earl of, in naval action off Lowestoft, 117; at Southwold Bay (1672), 150; death of, 151.
- Santa Catalina, Fort, surrender of, 417.
- Sants, Thomas (? Wm. Sands), Captain, in Netherlands service 99, 100, 105, 111.
- Sarsfield, General, raises the siege of Athlone, 302; mortally wounded at Landen, 342.
- Sas-van-Ghent, capture of (1644), 78.
- Saunders, Thomas, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 186, 233, 235, 251, 515 (appendix).
- Saunderson's Regt., 368, 371 (note), 388.
- Sawl, Richard, Ensign, in Netherlands service, 90, 107, 109, 110.
- Sayers, Sir Wm., Lieut.-Colonel, in Netherlands service, 90, 99; rejoins British service, 103.
- Scarborough, Earl of, Major-General, 332, 355.
- Scarborough, strength of garrison of (1667), 138.
- Scarsdale, Lord, Governor of Hull, 223.
- Schellenberg, battle of (1704), 459 *et seq.*; gallantry of British troops, 464.
- Schinck, Fort, surprised by Spaniards and re-taken by Prince of Orange (1635-6), 74.
- Schomberg, Duke of, 164, 167, 168, 297, 301 (killed at the battle of the Boyne).
- Scilly, strength of garrison of (1667), 138.
- Scotch regiments in the service of France, 139.
- Scotch regiments in the service of the Netherlands, at the commencement of 1665, 90; doubts as to their loyalty to Charles II., 92, 93, 96; terms and process of disbandment, 98; officers who refused to abjure British allegiance, 106; see also British Regts.
- Scotch troop of Life Guards, 265 (note).
- Scotland, rising in (1679), 209; Dundee's rebellion (1689), 296.
- Scots Fusiliers, Royal (originally Buchan's Foot), 265 (note), 306, 312, 333; at battle of Steinkirk, 320, 321, 322 (and note); at Landen 338; 353, 368, 388, 401, 405, 437 (note), 446, 467, 478 (at battle of Blenheim), 500.
- Scots Guards, 122, 123, 139, 246 (note), 254, (note), 265 (note), 306, 312, 332; at battle of Landen, 338, 339, 342, 345; 353, 356, 367, 371 (note), 387, 401.
- Scott, Colonel of a Scotch regiment in the service of the Netherlands, 90.
- Scott, Hugh, Lieutenant, 383, 426, 504, 532 (appendix).
- Scott, John, Lieutenant, 426, 504, 540 (appendix).
- Scottish Borderers, King's Own (originally the E. of Leven's Regt. of Foot), 283 (note), 312, 322 (at battle of Steinkirk), 333, 338 (at battle of Landen), 353, 357, 368, 371 (and note), 388, 401.
- Scottish Rifles (originally the E. of Angus' Regt. of Foot), 283 (note), 296 (at Dunkeld), 306, 312, 322 (and note) (at battle of Steinkirk), 338 (at Landen), 353, 357, 368, 371 (note), 388, 405, 437 (note), 446, 468, 478 (at battle of Blenheim).
- Scouting; indifferent, 372; instance of efficient, 393.
- Scravenmore, Lord, Lieut.-General, with army in Flanders (1693), 332.
- Scripseur, Alexander, Lieutenant, 383, 494, 504 (killed at Blenheim), 533 (appendix).
- Sea, service at, land forces detached for, 116, 118, 119, 122, 140, 143, 145, 149, 150, 164, 165, 167, 195.
- 2nd Dragoon Guards, 239 (note), 246 (note), 355, 367, 387, 400.
- 2nd Dragoons, 265 (note), 356, 401, 437 (note), 446, 461.
- Selwyn, —, Brigadier-General, 387.
- Seneffe, battle of (1674), 181, 188.
- 7th Dragoon Guards, 332, 365, 367, 387, 400, 437 (note), 446.
- 7th Hussars, 387, 401.
- Seymour, —, Brigadier-General, with Cadiz Expedition, 409.
- Seymour's Regt., 368, 371 (note), 388.
- Shannon's Regt., with Cadiz expedition, 409; at Vigo, 420.
- Sheerness, captured by de Ruyter (1667), 132; strength of garrison (1667), 138.
- Sheldon, Richard, Captain, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Shovell, Sir Cloudeley, Admiral, at Vigo, 424.
- Sidearms, prohibition against carrying of, when off duty, 250.
- Sidney, Henry, Captain, 133 (and note), 139, 149, 152; Colonel, 263 (and note), 514 (appendix).
- Sidney, Robert, Colonel, commands an English regiment in Holland, 190; list of his officers at commencement of 1665, *ibid.*; mentioned, 92, 93, 97, 99; appointed Colonel of the Holland Regiment, 103, 115; text of his commission, 111; his antecedents, *ibid.* (note); death of, 140; 510 (appendix).
- Sidney's Regt., Colonel, 202.
- 6th Dragoon Guards, 239 (note), 246 (note), 311, 355, 367, 387, 400, 437 (note), 442, 446.
- 6th Dragoons, 283 (note), 356, 400.
- Skelton, Sir B., Captain, King's Regt. of Guards (Gren. Gds.), 144, 159, 162, 168, 181.



- Skelton's Foot, Colonel Bevil, 264 (note), 277.
- Skrimpton (? Shrimpton), Job, Ensign, Holland Regt., 232, 235, 251; Lieutenant, 257, 527 (appendix).
- Slangenberg, General, at Walcourt, 292, 436 (note), 440.
- Slingelant, G. van; minute of February 25, 1665, respecting disbandment of English and Scotch troops remaining in the service of the Netherlands, 95.
- Slingsby's Horse, 264 (note).
- Slingsby's Regt., Colonel, 202.
- Sloughter, John, Captain, 426, 494 (wounded at Blenheim), 503, 539 (appendix).
- Sluys, defence of (1537), 27; capture of (1604), 53; defence against Spaniards (1603), 55.
- Smallbones, John, Surgeon, Holland Regt., 278, 383, 427, 504, 532 (appendix).
- Smith, Benjamin, Ensign, 541 (appendix).
- Smith, Sir Jeremy, makes raid on Dutch mercantile fleet (1667), 134.
- Smith, Thomas, Ensign, Holland Regt., 233, 235, 251, 525 (appendix).
- Smith, Thomas, Ensign, 426, 494 (wounded at Blenheim), 504, 539 (appendix).
- Solms, Count, accompanies William III. to the Continent, 303; second-in-command of army in Flanders, 313; at battle of Steinkirk, 322 *et seq.*; his responsibility for the loss of that battle, 328; mortally wounded at Landen, 348.
- Somersetshire L.I. (originally the E. of Huntingdon's Regt.), 239 (note), 240, 246 (note), 254 (note), 296 (at Killiecrankie), 401, 405, 437 (note), 442.
- Southland, Spaniards defeated at (1572), 9.
- South Wales Borderers (originally Sir E. Dering's Regt. of Foot), 283 (note), 401, 405, 437 (note), 446, 467, 478 (battle of Blenheim).
- Southwold Bay, naval action off (May 28, 1672), Dutch fleet defeated, 150.
- Spain; expedition to (1596), 41; expedition to, from Flanders (1703), 442.
- Spanish contingent, with Anglo-Dutch army in Flanders, 288.
- Spanish Succession, war of the; its causes, 404; expedition to Holland, 405 (and note); plan of operations for 1702-3, 428; situation in May, 1703, 435; surrender of Bonn, 438; capture of Huy, 441; capture of Limburg, 442; expedition to Spain, 442; battle of Schellenburg, 454 *et seq.*; movements preceding the battle of Blenheim, 465 *et seq.*; battle of Blenheim, 475 *et seq.*; seizure of Treves and Trarbach, 501.
- Sparr, Baron, Major-General, with Cadiz expedition, 409; at Vigo, 420.
- Spragge, Sir Edward, Admiral, under Prince Rupert, 166; in action at sea (1673), 166, 167.
- Sprey, Edw., Lieutenant, in Netherlands service, 89; abjured British allegiance, 105.
- Stafford, William, Ensign, 524 (appendix).
- Stafford's Foot, Earl of, 264 (note).
- St. André, Fort, siege of (1600), 46.
- State Papers, Dutch, referred to and quoted, 84, 87-90, 95, 96, 98, 99, 101, 102-108.
- St. Denis, battle of (1678), 203.
- Steenbergen, taken from Spaniards (1622), 63.
- Steenwick, relief of (1579), 17; capture of (1592), 39.
- Steinkirk, battle of (1692), 319 *et seq.*; comparative statement of forces engaged, 324; gallant conduct of Lincolns and Bufts, 325; losses, 326, 327.
- Sterling, Francis, Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 232, 235, 251, 257; Captain, 316; wounded at Steinkirk, 327; 516 (appendix).
- Sterling, James, Lieutenant, in Netherlands service, 90; Holland Regt., 105, 109, 110, 115; Captain, 209; Major, 230, 232, 235, 248, 251, 257, 277, 511 (appendix).
- Stevens, Josias, Quarter-Master, in Netherlands service, 88.
- Steward, Henry, Captain, in Netherlands service, 89 (note).
- Stone, Robert, Captain of Dutch Horse, abjured British allegiance, 107.
- St. Omer, taken by French (1677), 190.
- St. Quinton (Sequinton), Walter, Ensign, 353; Lieutenant, 383, 534 (appendix).
- Strathnaver's Regt., 357, 368, 388, 401.
- St. Ruth, French General, defeated and killed at Aughrim, 304.
- Stuart, —, Brigadier-General, 357.
- Subsistence, weekly rates allowed for, of officers and men (1686), 243, 252.
- Suffolk Regt. (originally the Duke of Norfolk's Regt.), 239 (note), 240, 246 (note), 254 (note), 256, 356, 368, 371 (note), 377 (surrender of Dixmuide), 388, 401.
- Surgeons, allowances of (1674), 179.
- Suritier, Henry, Ensign, 538 (appendix).
- Sussex Regt., Royal, 406, 409 (with Cadiz expedition).
- Swaen, Wm., Captain, in Netherlands service, 88, 104.
- Swedish contingent, with Anglo-Dutch army in Flanders (1689), 288.
- Tactical formations (1692), 310.
- Tallard, Marshal, 430, 431, 435, 447, 448, 450, 458, 468, 469, 472; at the battle of Blenheim, 476 *et seq.*; made prisoner of war, 490, 497.
- Tallies, payment of troops by means of, 432 *et seq.*
- Talmach (? Tollemache), Lieut.-General, with army in Flanders (1693), 332; at battle of Landen, 348; in command of Brest expedition, 364.

- Talmash (Tollemache), Thomas, Lieut.-Colonel, Coldstream Guards, with Tangier expedition, 215, 218.
- Tangier; Expedition to (1680), 213 *et seq.*; abandonment of (1683), 220.
- Tangier Horse, 215.
- Tangier Regt., 216, 220, 225, 229, 230 (note).
- Teignmouth, sacking of, by French fleet (1680), 299.
- Temple, —, Captain, in Netherlands service, 89.
- Texel, action between Dutch and allied English and French fleets (Aug. 11, 1673), 167.
- Thanet's Regt. of Horse, Earl of, 239 (note).
- 3rd Dragoon Guards, 239 (note), 246 (note), 311, 332, 355, 367, 387, 400, 437 (note), 446.
- 3rd Hussars, 239 (note), 246 (note), 356, 887, 400, 409.
- Thomas, Humphry, Lieutenant, 517 (appendix).
- Thornton, Thomas, Captain, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Throckmorton, Herbert, Captain, Holland Regt., 230, 233, 235, 250, 251, 257, 527 (appendix).
- Tiddeman, Rear-Admiral, unsuccessful in attack on Dutch East India Fleet (1665), 117.
- Tiffeny, —, Colonel, as Brigadier-General in Flanders, 369, 370, 388.
- Tiffin's Regt. of Foot, Colonel E. (now the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, *q.v.*).
- Tilbury and Gravesend, strength of garrison of (1667), 138.
- Tilly, Wm., Surgeon, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Tirlemont, capture of (1635), 74.
- Title, change of, of Holland Regt., 279 (and note), 280, 411.
- Tollemache, Brigadier-General, at Walcourt, 293.
- Tongres, investment, gallant defence, and surrender of (1703), 433.
- Torbay, Dutch landing at, prevented (1667), 134.
- Torrington, Admiral, at Beachy Head, 298.
- Tower of London, strength of garrison of (1667), 138.
- Transport of companies, cost of (1674), 177.
- Trelawny, John, Captain, Fitzgerald's Regt., 159.
- Treves, Capture of by Imperialists (1675), 189.
- Tromp, Dutch Admiral, 121, 166, 167.
- Turenne, Marshal, at the battle of Steinkirk, 324.
- Turner, Thomas, Lieutenant, 518 (appendix).
- Turner, William, Chaplain, 524 (appendix).
- Turnhout, battle of (1597), 43.
- Tuscany, Duke of, extract from diary, 141 (and note).
- Twisden, Francis, Ensign, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Tynemouth, strength of garrison of (1667), 138.
- Tyreconnel, Lord, General and Lord Deputy of Ireland, 282.
- Tyrone's Regt., Lord, 164.
- Ulm, siege and capitulation of (1704), 498, 500.
- Unity of command, essential for success, 310, 311, 451.
- Upnor Castle, attack on by de Ruyter (1667), 132; strength of garrison (1667), 138.
- Vallaro, Don Felix, killed during defence of Cadiz, 415, 416.
- Vallenciennes, taken by French (1677), 190.
- Vane, Sir Walter, Lieut.-Colonel, in Netherlands service, 88; 93, 97, 99; rejoins English service, 103; appointed colonel of Holland Regt., 140; member of commission on state of the army, 144; mentioned, 145, 149, 152; Major-General in Dutch service, 171, 180; killed at the battle of Seneffe, 181, 188, 516 (appendix).
- Van Ghent, Dutch Admiral, at Southwold Bay, 150.
- Vauban, Marshal, conducts siege operations before Namur, 311.
- Vaudemont, Prince de, 289, 294, 366, 370 *et seq.*, 385, 389, 390, 392.
- Vaughan's Regt., Lord; formed 1673, 163 (note), 171.
- Vaux (Faux or Fausse), Patrick, Lieutenant in Netherlands service, appointed Quartermaster and Marshal in the Holland Regt., 108, 109, 110, 115 (and note), 512 (appendix).
- Venloo; daring exploit during siege of (1586), 24; siege of (1632), 71; investment and capture of (1702), 430; British gallantry, *ibid.*
- Vesey, Dorre, Lieutenant, 383, 538 (appendix).
- Vigo, attack on French squadron in (1702), 419 *et seq.*; operations on shore, *ibid.*
- Villars, Marshal, 431.
- Villeroi, Marshal; at the battle of Landen, 343 *et seq.*; succeeds Marshal Luxembourg in command of French army, 365; designs capture of Brussels, 378; fails to relieve Namur, 380; strength of his forces in May, 1696, 385; manoeuvres during campaign of 1696, 389, 390; disposition of his forces in the spring of 1697, 391; move against Brussels, 393; strength of his command at beginning of 1703 campaign, 436; movements at opening of campaign of 1704, 447 *et seq.*
- Virginia, Colony of, outbreak of disturbances (1676), 184; details of expedi-



- tion to, *ibid*; list of officers of expeditionary corps, 186 (and note); expeditionary corps recalled, 187, 192 (and note), 197 (and note).
- Voorn, Island of, defence of (1589), 34; (1598), 46.
- Waemes (? Wemyss), Lieutenant in Netherlands service, 108, 110.
- Walcourt, battle of (1689), 290 *et seq.*; brilliant conduct of English troops, 292, 293.
- Waldeck, Prince of; in command of Anglo-Dutch army (1689), 285, 286, 288; remarks on condition of English troops under Marlborough, 288 *et seq.*; defeated at Fleurus, 298.
- Walsh, Hollis, Captain-Lieutenant, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174.
- Walter, J., Captain, King's Regt. of Guards (Gren. Gds.), 144.
- Warnaer (? Warner), Hans Aelbert, Quarter-Master, in Netherlands service, 90.
- Warresfeldt, skirmish near (1586), 25.
- Warwickshire Regt., Royal (successively Col. Lillington's, Col. Bellasis', Princess Anne of Denmark's Regt.), 180, 181, 203, 239 (note), 240, 256, 312, 322 (and note), 323 (battle of Steinkirk), 332, 368, 371 (note), 400, 409 (Cadiz expedition), 420 (at Vigo).
- Watkins, Peter, Captain, in Netherlands service, 88; abjured British allegiance, 104.
- Wats, James, Lieutenant in Netherlands service, 108, 111.
- Watts, Edward, Ensign, 516 (appendix).
- Wauchope, —, Colonel, killed at the battle of Steinkirk, 327.
- Wauchop's Regt. (Irish), 254 (and note).
- Webb, —, Major-General, at the battle of Blenheim, 478, 483, 491.
- Welsh Fusiliers, Royal (originally Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Regt.), 283 (note), 357, 368, 372, 388, 401, 405, 437 (note), 446 458 (note) (battle of Schellenberg), 467, 478 (battle of Blenheim).
- Werden's Regt. of Horse, Major-General, 246 (note).
- Wesel, capture of fort near (1590), 36.
- West Riding Regt., 405, 437 (note).
- West Surrey Regt., Queen's Royal (originally the Tangier Regt.), 216 (note), 220, 225, 227 (note), 229, 230 (note), 239 (and note), 246 (note), 248, 257, 265, 333, 339 (battle of Landen), 343, 353, 356, 368, 371 (note), 400, 409 (Cadiz expedition), 420 (at Vigo), 431, 435, 437 (note), 438 (defence of Tongres), 458 (note) (battle of Schellenberg).
- West Yorkshire Regt. (originally Sir E. Hale's Regt.), 239 (note), 240, 245, 333, 339 (battle of Landen), 353, 357, 368, 371 (and note), 401.
- Wheeler, Trevor, Captain, Holland Regt., 194, 521 (appendix).
- Wheeler, Sir Wm., Captain, Holland Regt., 230, 233, 235, 251, 525 (appendix).
- White, Thomas, Ensign, 407; Lieutenant, 426, 504, 539 (appendix).
- Widows, bounties to soldiers', 234.
- Wigmore, Thomas, Ensign, Holland Regt., 252, 253, 257, 530 (appendix).
- Wildbore, Robert, Lieutenant, in Netherlands service, 90; Holland Regt., 106, 109, 110, 115; Capt.-Lieut., 177, 510 (appendix).
- Wilkes, —, Major-General, at the battle of Blenheim, 477, 478.
- William III. (Prince of Orange); at the battle of Seneffe, 188; compelled to raise siege of Maestricht, 189; retreat to Ypres, 190; marriage with Princess Mary, 191; landing in England, occupation of London and assumption of government, 268 *et seq.*; proclaimed king, 278; ability as an organiser, 297; proceeds to Ireland, 298; at the battle of the Boyne, 301; proceeds to the Continent, 303; marches to the relief of Mons, 305; brings strong reinforcements to Flanders, 306; dispositions at opening of 1692 campaign, 311; battle of Steinkirk, 319 *et seq.*; subsequent movements, 329; mistaken division of his forces, 334; movements prior to battle of Landen, 325 *et seq.*; disposition of forces, 338; his personal gallantry on the battle field, 342, 343, 344, 346, 348; events succeeding battle of Landen, 350 *et seq.*; proceeds to Breda, 352; manœuvres during 1694, 358 *et seq.*; proceeds to England, 362; rejoins army, 366; measures for defence of Brussels, 379; siege of Namur, 379 *et seq.*; plot for his assassination, 384; campaign of 1693, 389 *et seq.*; strength of army in May, 1697, 392; skilful manœuvres for the defence of Brussels, 393; treaty of peace signed at Ryswick, 393; relations between King and Parliament on military questions, 397 *et seq.*; death of the King, 407.
- Williams, —, Lieut.-Colonel. See Cromwell, Wm.
- Williamson, Francis, Ensign, E. of Mulgrave's Regt., 174; Lieutenant, Holland Regt., 123, 233, 235, 251, 258; Captain, 519 (appendix).
- Williamson, George, Lieutenant, in Netherlands service, 89; Holland Regt., 106, 108, 110, 115, 511 (appendix).
- Wilson, —, Ensign, 427, 540 (appendix).
- Wilson, Samuel, Ensign, 520 (appendix).
- Wilson, Samuel, Lieutenant, 541 (appendix).
- Wincauton, encounter at, between troops of James II. and William III., 269.
- Windsor, strength of garrison of (1667), 138.
- Wirttemberg, Duke of, with army in Flanders, 313; fails in an attempt of retaking Mons, 316; at battle of Steinkirk, 320 *et seq.*; in command of a detached force, 334; storms lines of Dotignies, 335; rejoins main army, 350;